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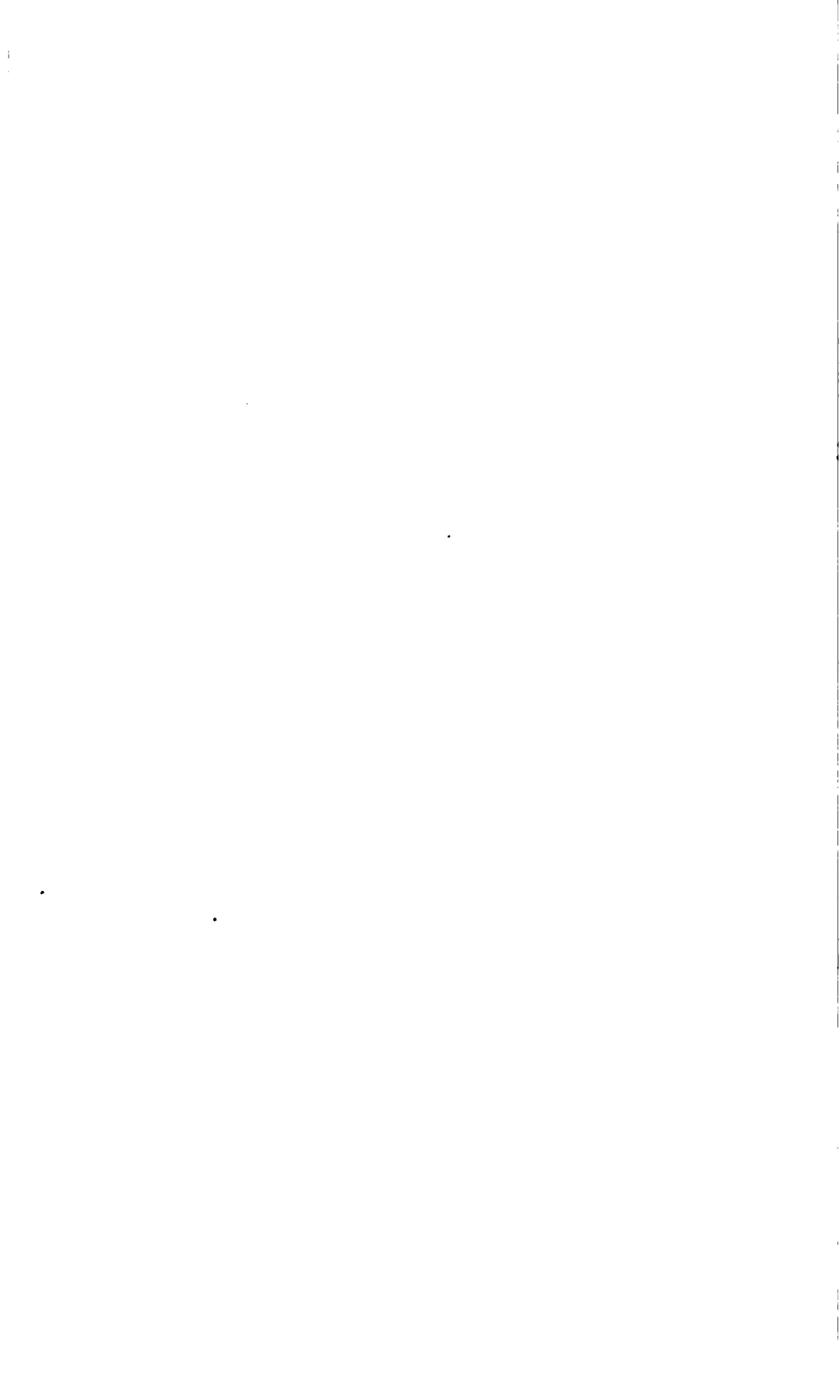
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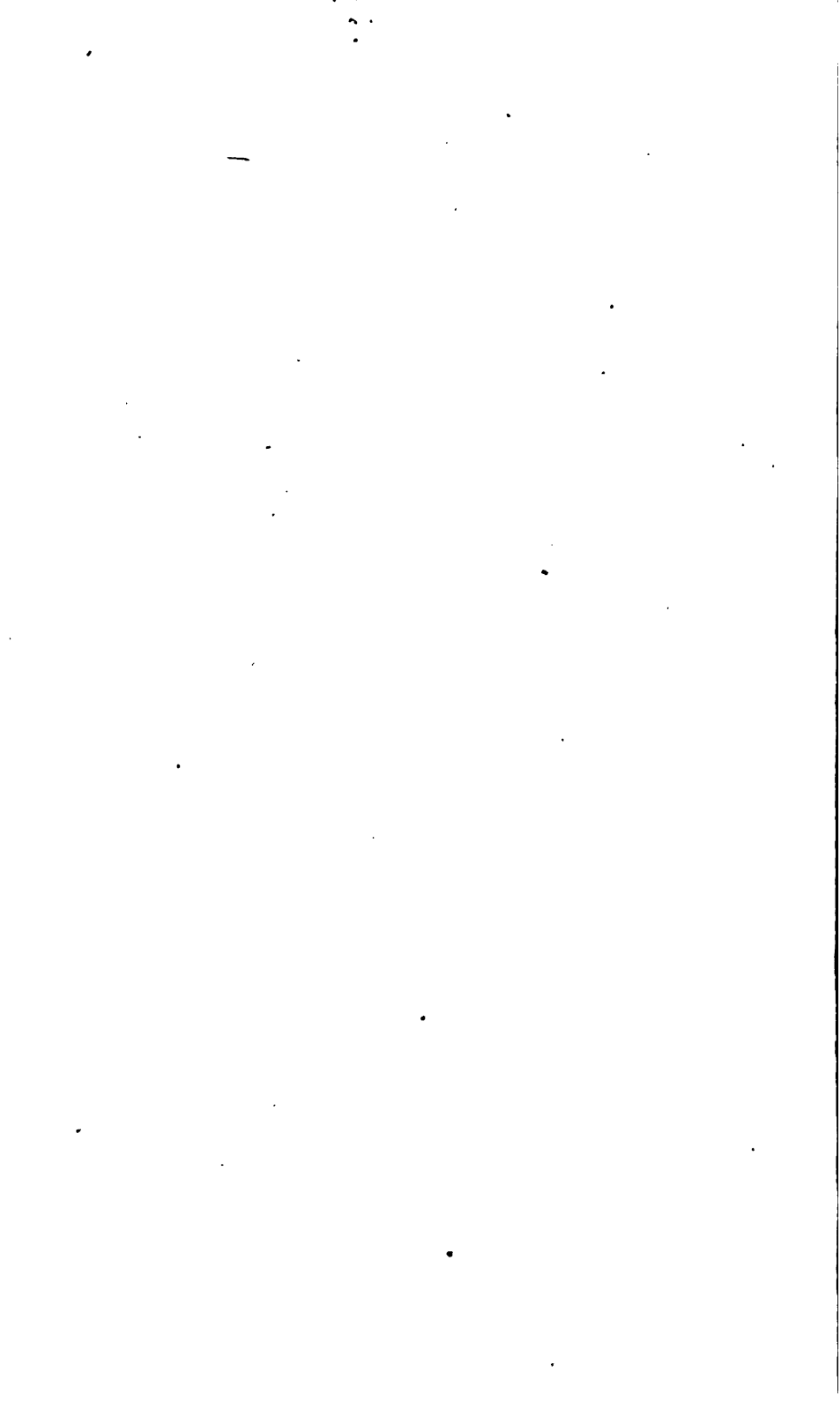
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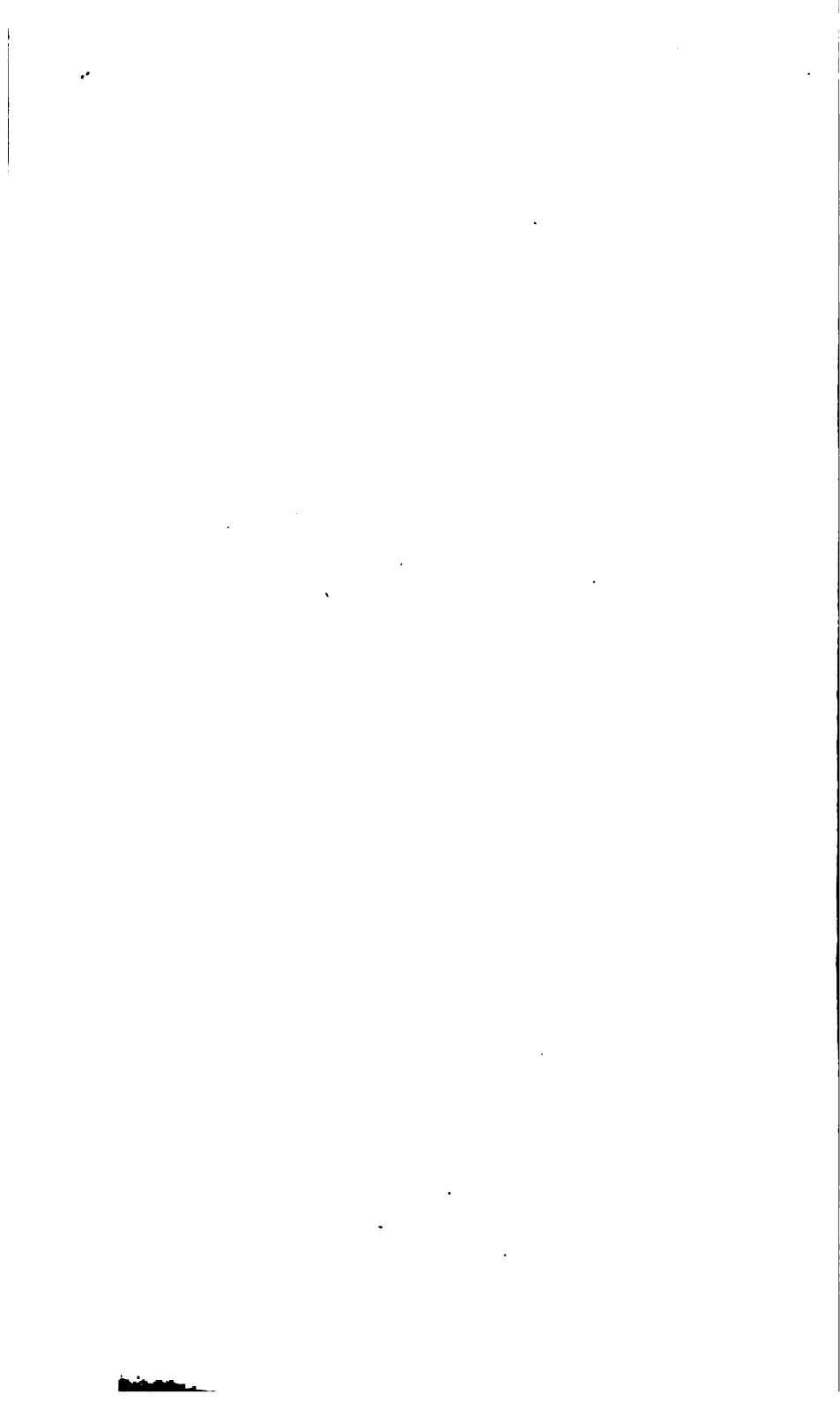
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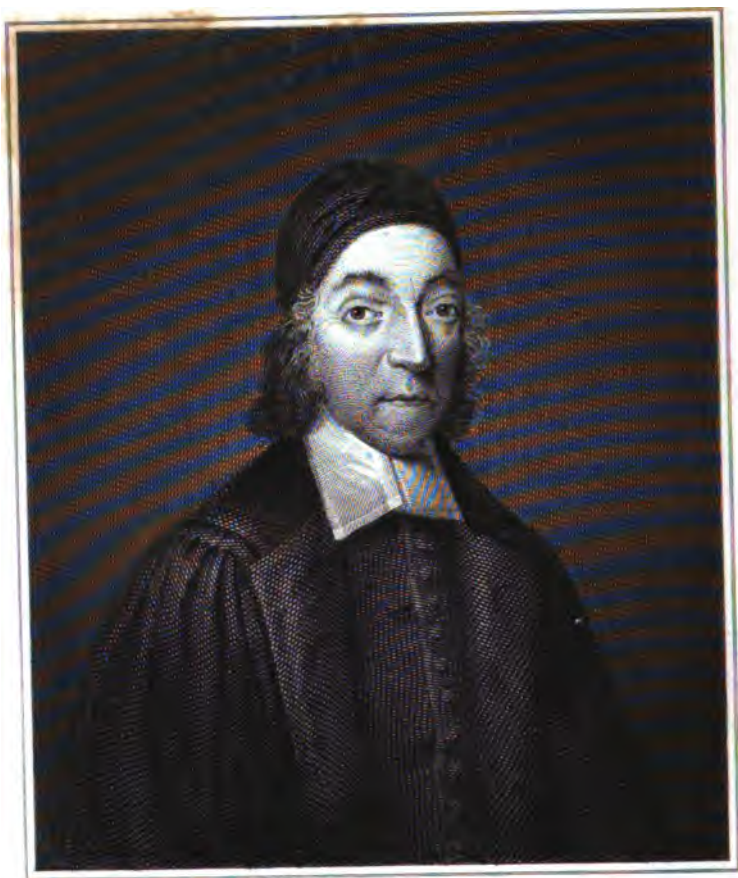




THE
L I F E
OF THE
REV. PHILIP HENRY, A. M.
&c.







Engraved by R. Smith from an original Painting

Philip Henry. M. A.

Ob. June 24. 1696. Aet. 65.

Non sub Lege, sed sub Gratia.

Dec. 15. 93.

*your unworthy Cosin
Friend & Brother
Philip Henry*

LIFE

OF

Rev. PHILIP HENRY, A.M.

Funeral Sermons

PREACHED BY

BY

Rev. MATTHEW HENRY, V.D.M.

At the funeral of the late

Rev. Philip Henry

at St. Paul's Church, London, on the 25th of May, 1863.

By J. J. Williams, D.D.

BY J. J. WILLIAMS, D.D.

LONDON

PRINTED FOR L. J. ROBERTS,

11, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

MDCCLXXX



THE
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OF THE
REV. PHILIP HENRY, A.M.

WITH
Funeral Sermons

FOR
MR. AND MRS. HENRY,
BY THE
REV. MATTHEW HENRY, V.D.M.

Magnum et memorabile nomen.

VIRGIL.

An example,—in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.

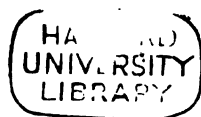
ST. PAUL.

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED
John Richardson
BY J. B. WILLIAMS, F. S. A.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR B. J. HOLDSWORTH,
18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. S. HUGHES, 66, PATERNOSTER ROW.

P R E F A C E

TO

T H E P R E S E N T E D I T I O N .

IN presenting to the publick a new edition of the Life of that "wise, good, and truly wonderful man, Mr. Philip Henry,"* the editor cannot forbear to state, that early and established prepossessions have powerfully concurred in its production.

The published work has been long distinguished by special approbation. Sir James Stonhouse designated it his "favourite piece of biography."† Dr. Doddridge "often spoke of it as affording him much instruction and encouragement."‡ By another writer it is represented, as "one of the most instructive and interesting pieces of religious biography ever written."§ Mr. Chalmers pointedly notices "the piety, christian moderation, and good sense, which pervade the whole."|| And, by a late

* Life of the Rev. T. Rosewell, p. 20, oct. 1718.

† Letters from the Rev. Job Orton, and the Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, Bart. M.D. to the Rev. Thomas Stedman, M.A. Vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, ed. 1805, vol. 2, p. 300; and see also, vol. 1, p. 171, note.

‡ Life, by Orton, p. 63, oct. 1766.

§ Eclectic Review, N. S. vol. 7, p. 273.

|| Gen. Biog. Dict. vol. 17, p. 361, by Alexander Chalmers, F. S. A.

revered friend, Dr. Edward Williams, it is appropriately characterized, "a beautiful delineation of primitive christianity, and the power of godliness, where social religion and personal holiness are drawn to the life, and eminently manifested; where, in a word, the doctrine of the life of God in the soul of man, derives a striking proof, and a venerable sanction."*

Judicious friends have repeatedly suggested to the writer, that existing manuscripts might be so selected, and incorporated with the work, as still to increase the estimation of this edifying volume, and have urged him to undertake the service. The materials in his possession, and within his reach, frequently disposed him to comply. Of late, various occurrences have served to engage his attention to it more fixedly, and the supply of numerous relicks afforded a stimulus to the undertaking.

The whole seemed to form a deposit so favourable to the object, that, if attendant difficulties were not insurmountable, the obligation to publish was rendered imperative.

Indeed, had the task been declined, might not the editor have incurred an imputation of selfishness, for improperly hoarding treasure so calculated for general usefulness? These, and other considerations, determined him to commence the work, and to proceed with it as quickly as constant professional engagements would allow.

In the "Entire Collection of Mr. Matthew Henry's Writings,"† the Life of his Father was inserted.

* Preface to Morrice's *Social Religion Exemplified*, p. xv. ed. 1786.

† In seven volumes, 4to. 1811, edited by the Rev. George Burder, and the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A. M.

With this exception, the editor is not aware of any *genuine* edition, since the third, which was published in 1712; improved by the author's final corrections,* and the addition of a sermon, preached by himself, on the death of his honoured mother.

A new and valuable, but abridged republication, appeared in 1765, under the superintendence of the Rev. Job Orton. The copy which he used on that occasion,† with the alterations, in his own hand, being in the possession of Mr. Stedman, through his kindness, an opportunity was afforded to the present editor, of noticing the great extent of the variations. It was dedicated,—“To the Descendants and other Relations of Mr. Philip Henry;” and, in the opinion there expressed, most readers will concur. “I esteem it,” says Mr. Orton, “one of the chief excellencies of this book, that it is, as the author hints in his Preface, the history of a person, who manifested such an eminence of piety, prudence, humility, zeal, and moderation, as would have adorned the highest station, and is scarcely to be equalled. He is, therefore, a suitable, and bright example to persons of every rank, as well as an admirable model for the ministers of the gospel.”‡

Of the second edition§ of the original work, a re-impression has lately been given by a dignitary of the

* 1711-12, January 22. I began to read over my father's *Life*, to correct it for the press. Rev. Matthew Henry's *Diary*. Orig. MS.

† The first edition, 1698.

‡ Dedication, pp. iv. v. See Mr. Griffin's Sermon on “*The Decline of Religion*,” oct. 1812, p. 68. Mr. Henry's *Life* is there urgently recommended to ministers.

§ Printed in 1699.

Established Church,* Dr. Wordsworth; who, in his Preface, has observed, that, “if he could any where have found nonconformity united with more christian graces than in Philip Henry,” the example should have obtained its station in the work.

Various other editions, both Scotch and English, more or less inaccurate, might be enumerated, but the supply can furnish no reason for withholding one more correct, and enlarged.

A minute detail of the sources whence the new materials have been derived, has been deemed unnecessary. Nor has it been thought expedient to distinguish, in every instance, the particular nature of the manuscript resorted to.

The diary, in compliance with well-established custom, is uniformly pointed out. A few, but immaterial alterations have been made; such as occasional abridgments, and transpositions, and the completion of, here and there, a sentence. Sometimes obsolete words or phrases have been changed, or expunged.

In general,—“to prevent any repellent effect, it was thought advisable to adopt the modern orthography.” In two instances, the one a letter from Lady Puleston, the other from Mrs. Henry, the original spelling has been retained.

Being favoured with nearly the whole of the Life, in Mr. Matthew Henry’s hand-writing,† the editor has, by

* See Ecclesiastical Biography; or, Lives of Eminent Men connected with the History of Religion in England, by Christopher Wordsworth, M. A. Dean and Rector of Bocking, (now D. D. and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge,) in 6 vols. oct. 1810.

† In the possession of Mr. Witton.

The following notice of the undertaking, in a letter to the Rev. F. Tallents, shows the author’s anxious desire of accuracy :—

collating, been enabled to make such comparisons, and additions, as to insure uniform accuracy.

As to the general plan, much difficulty was felt; but, to have made alterations, or to have done otherwise than *reprint*, would have been to destroy the charm which will ever attend the volume, as a memorial of strict fidelity and filial affection; as distinguished, also, by an enviable simplicity, and a *naïveté** of expression, in perfect unison with the subject.

Objections may arise to such large additions to the

“Chester, November 21, 1696.

“If this find you, as I trust it will, somewhat revived, let it also acquaint you, that I am over-persuaded myself to put together what materials we have of my dear father’s life, wherein I shall, as well as I can, pursue the directions you gave me; when it is done, (and it is not yet begun,) I shall submit it to your censure, and desire you to put a short preface before it. I purpose, in a chapter by itself, to give some very short accounts of his friends, and brethren in the ministry, that went to heaven before him, having materials for it out of his own diary; only, I do not remember that I met with any thing there concerning Mr. Hildersham, of Felton, who yet, I know, was his great friend. When you are at leisure, I shall be glad to have from you two or three lines concerning him, particularly his age, and the time of his death; and, whether he ordered this to be his epitaph, (as I think I have heard,)—‘Here lyes S. H. Minister of Welsh Felton,’ till August 24, 1602.” Matthew Henry. Orig. MS. British Museum, fol. No. 4275. Plut. 111. E. Bibl. Birch.

* It was not till after the above paragraph was written, that the editor noticed, in the *History of Dissenters*, by Messrs. Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, p. 295, a like statement. The Rev. Master of Trinity College has adopted a different phraseology. He says of the work in question,—“It abounds somewhat too largely in certain quaintnesses of expression introduced into religious subjects, and affected by the puritanical divines.” *Eccl. Biog.* v. 6, p. 109, *ut supra*. If it be here intended to insinuate that quaintness of expression was *peculiar* to the puritans, a query at once presents itself as to Bishops Latimer, and Andrews, and Fell, the Poet Herbert, and other eminent episcopallians. See *Post.* p. 437.

Were *they* puritanical divines? And was Sir Edward Coke of the same fraternity? Mr. Justice Blackstone says.—‘The great oracle was *not a little infected with quaintness*.” *Comment.* v. 1. *Intro.* §. 3, p. 71; 15th ed. The truth is, that, in those times, to adopt a remark made by Mr. Nichols in his Preface to the improved edition of *Fuller’s Worthies of England*,—“Quaintness was the characteristick of almost every writer of eminence.”

original volume, and it may be feared that the editor, through partiality, or for other reasons, has been led to introduce passages too unimportant for publicity. He hopes, however, to stand acquitted, at all events, by those who regard his *end*, and that, on perusal, the book will display somewhat of watchful caution for the avoidance of such an error. He does not expect, indeed, that *all* will approve, either the plan adopted, or the selections furnished. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to arrange, or extract from, a mass of theological effusions, like Mr. Henry's, so as to give *universal* satisfaction. Nothing is made publick, it is hoped, which can justly be deemed offensive to a discriminating judgment, inconsistent with a due regard* to the venerated writer, or prejudicial to the interests of that charity for which he was so deservedly famed.

To suppress what appeared fitted more fully to develop Mr. Henry's character, was deemed improper. And, more especially so, as it was considered, that, to give prominence to his sentiments on a variety of topics, would render more exemplary, and more instructive, his moderation and candour; virtues which, drawn into exercise by difference of judgment, impart gracefulness to the determinations of a well-regulated mind, give weight to argument, and attraction to christianity.

Excerpts of a nature so devout, and so practical as those, ordinarily introduced, appear, it is thought, with advantage in connexion with the events of their writer's life. They illustrate and enforce each other. Letters, particularly when fraught with evangelick sentiment,

* See Mr. Scott's Commentary, Dent. xxxiv. Practical Observations.

and adapted for *general* utility, are usually much esteemed, and, for biographical purposes, are invaluable.

“*Epistolæ vitam ipsam hominis repræsentant.*”

ERASMUS.

Letters, therefore, constitute a large proportion of the additions. For the sake of more convenient arrangement, these, with some other enlargements, have been interwoven with the original text, but, for easier distinction, are separated by brackets.

Many of the papers, thus exhibited, being scattered when the Life was originally written, were, probably, unknown to Mr. Henry's biographer. Various causes,* too, which might, at that time, have rendered omissions prudent, have now ceased to exist. We are, happily, removed to a distance from the irritations peculiar to that afflicted æra;—a kindly feeling of brotherly love, between christians of different parties, has gradually been diffused;—the rights of conscience are more widely recognized, and better understood, and an agreement to differ is acknowledged practically, as well as in theory, to suit human affairs better than the prejudices of ignorance, the penalties of legislative enactments, or the dogmas of assumed infallibility.

The work, abounding with allusions, required references to other compositions, and, frequently, extracts from them. The reader will perceive, that an effort has been made to supply illustrations, wherever practicable, from manuscripts hitherto unpublished; and, that brevity has been studied throughout.

* Sec Post. p. 462.

A scriptural phraseology characterizes the papers of Mr. Henry, and the Life now reprinted. In some instances, only, has it been thought advisable distinctly to solicit the reader's attention to such borrowed passages. To have done so in all cases was unnecessary, and would have been tedious.

There being only one note to the original work, (see p. 18,) it was thought needless to apply any mark of distinction to the annotations now introduced.

The references, occurring in the first edition of the funeral sermon for Mrs. Henry, were placed in the *margin*. The same course, for distinctness sake, is followed on the present occasion.

If a desire of accuracy have occasionally led to an exactness apparently trivial, the error may be classed among the few which are harmless, if not beneficial.

Most of the authors quoted were contemporary with Mr. Henry, or immediately precedent. Some are of a date still more ancient. This arose partly from necessity, and, in part, from choice. The editor, while he admires modern elegance, believes, with an antiquated poet, that,—

“ Out of the olde felde, as men saieth,
Cometh all this newe corn, fro yere to yere ;
And out of olde bookes, in good faieth,
Cometh all this newe science that men lere.”*

He is convinced, also, that many of the writings thus noticed, notwithstanding their style, and independently

* Learn. Chaucer's Parliament of Birds. verse 22.

of the clew they furnish to Mr. Henry's studies, are of peculiar value.* This, he acknowledges, has sometimes influenced him in these citations,—that the reader may be induced to study such compositions more at large. They commonly receive, it is admitted, a quaint designation, — “ Old Dyuynes,”† — as if, by inculcating a ceremonious reverence, to obstruct intimacy; — but familiarity, instead of producing its ordinary effects, will excite attachment, and perpetuate esteem.‡ *Inquire of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers. For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow.*

It is not, however, intended, that the passages so given, or referred to, should be regarded as a selection, either complete, or preclusive. Quotations from the Fathers, not to mention almost innumerable later theologians, and others, unnoticed in the following pages, would have furnished notes, perhaps, equally apt and useful. But the design was to avoid diffusiveness, and, by a reference to publications of comparatively easy access, to meet general convenience. The diligent admirer of antiquity§ will easily trace, in the more remote

* See a Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, by William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. chap. vi. pp. 379, 383. oct. 1797.

† The Dore of Holy Scripture, 1540, oct. Ames and Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, vol. 3, p. 410.

‡ When a young man, a little too forward, had, in presence of many, said, that he could conceive no reason, in the reading of the old authors, why men should so greatly admire them; — “ No marvel, indeed, (quoth Master Fox,) for, if you could conceive the reason, you would then admire them yourself.” Life of Fox, prefixed to the Martyrology, vol. 1. fol. 1684.

§ Blessed be God, for the monuments of antiquity, and the primitive church. Matthew Henry. Orig. MS.

"lights of the church," not a few of the sentiments and phrases here used, together with many illustrative parallels, which, for the reasons before mentioned, have been omitted.

Nor do the opinions, thus expressed, result from such love to the olden time as is implied in the perverse dotings of indiscriminate veneration;* nor yet in "a critical desire," as Dr. Johnson expresses it, "to find the faults of the moderns, and the beauties of the ancients." *Non vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi*. Such opinions cannot, therefore, be justly considered as disparaging to later compositions, particularly those, and they are various, whose prominent features display, "profound scholarship, disciplined and vigorous reason, masculine eloquence, and genius-breathing enchantment."† Productions, so exquisitely ornate, render comparisons invidious, and would aggravate detraction. The editor, because of their illustrious eminency, and without seeking to lessen their deserved influence, aims only to dissuade those who "seek and intermeddle with wisdom," from such a regard, as, from its exclusiveness, might prove injurious. Not only will the neglect of much "fruitful erudition" be thus effectually prevented, but, in the assiduous use of means so excellent, a kindly impulse will be given to the whole process of edification;—

* See Caryl on Job, v. 1, p. 705, fol. 1676. And, Baxter's Practical Works, vol. 5, p. 586, oct. ed.

† Essay on Popular Ignorance, by John Foster, p. 89, 2d edit. See Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon, pp. 63, 64, 4to. 1801. Some curious remarks upon "bokes," and their "stile," occur in "Nicholas Udall's Preface to the Translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon Luke," the three last pages, fol. 1548.

“For, though old wrytynges apere to be rude;
Yet, notwithstandynge, they do include
The pythe of a matter most fructuously.”*

It furnishes an opportunity for congratulation, too congenial to be omitted, that, at a time when the capabilities of the English tongue, for elegant combination, have been so signally manifested, and so many invaluable productions have raised our national literature to an unprecedented elevation, sufficient encouragement should have been afforded to the enterprising spirit of typography, not only to reprint the remains of many early Reformers, and other Protestant Divines, but to give to the voluminous labours of Archbishop Leighton, Bishops Hall, Hopkins, Taylor, and Beveridge, Doctors Lightfoot, Barrow, Owen, Watts, and Doddridge; John Howe, Charnock, Baxter, Matthew Henry, and President Edwards, permanent external respectability. The omen is favourable; and the impulse, it is hoped, will not become extinct, nor even feeble.

But, while so much, in the signs of the times, is calculated to cheer, by a conviction of increasing intelligence and liberality, there still remains enough to render too apposite, in a spirit of mild accommodation, the caustick remark of Milton;—“Things of highest praise and imitation, under a right name, are mis-called, to make them infamous and hateful.”† To those who *follow the things which make for peace*, it cannot be otherwise than grievous, that such an attestation is not exclusively applicable to those times of perilous disquietude which

* Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, by Herbert, vol. 3, p. 1756.

† The Answer to Eikon Basilike. Milton's *Prose Works*, vol. 2, p. 399, oct.

prompted the complaint. And, still more so, that, of late, especially, and among the *literati* too, the originating cause of that complaint should have furnished new evidence of undecaying vigour. There needs but a slight acquaintance with the republick of letters, and particularly the history and biography of the last thirty years, both original and edited, to notice many confirmatory instances; instances which would have warranted, in the following annotations, a system widely different from that pursued. How much might be adduced,—to hold no inquest upon motives,—which is *adapted* to produce party-prejudice, and anti-christian temper! Has not the power of truth, by zeal for preferences, merely secular or ritual, been lamentably obstructed, and the censures of deists thus disgracefully countenanced? Has not godliness itself been so misrepresented, and caricatured, by attacks upon puritans, nonconformists, and calvinists, and so identified with alleged imbecility, or extravagance, as to inspire, in not a few cases, contempt and aversion? How irrational, to say the least, is such a course! As if the exhortations to love and good-will, which abound in the sacred oracles, and which are enforced by tremendous sanctions, were to be measured by human fancy; as if they respected only those whose thoughts run harmoniously about trifles, who congregate as one party, or rally under one visible standard! Not more incongruous would be the assertion,—that the cause of truth is best promoted by ignorance and error; or, that the enmity against God, (including his image, as impressed upon the saints,) which constitutes a carnal mind, would be most effectually counteracted by the infusions of hatred, the “moroseness of bigotry,” and the workings of bitter disaffection.

For the better avoidance of evils, like those referred to, the original design of the Life, the elevated spirit of catholicism which it breathes, and the sweet fragranc^y * which is uniformly associated with Mr. Henry's name, have been kept habitually in view.

The animadversions on some of Dr. Wordsworth's statements will appear to the reader, it is believed, in no wise inconsistent with this profession. Sincerely regretting the existence of those statements, the writer would have passed them by, had it been warranted by a conviction of their accuracy, or been consistent with official fidelity.

It is hoped that the introduction of the *fac-similes* and portraits will be deemed an improvement. Mrs. Henry's picture has not before been engraved. The print conveys the exact expression.

The engraving of Mr. Henry, by White, prefixed to the early editions of the Life, is a performance but ill evincing the justness of the character usually given of that once popular artist. Nor can any thing better be said of a subsequent attempt by Trotter.† A comparison of the three engravings, which are from the same painting, ‡ will demonstrate the superiority of the one now published.

The late Mrs. Brett, of West Bromwich, informed the editor, that Mrs. Savage, her near relation, and the eldest

* Mr. Dorney's Account of the Rev. Joseph Caryl. Divine Contemplations, p. 314, duod. 1684.

† In Middleton's Biog. Evan. vol. 4, p. 76, oct. 1786.

‡ Thus dated, "Ann. æt. 60, Aug. 21, 1691." The portrait illustrating Mr. Orton's Abridgment of the Life, *ut supra*, is a memorial of younger days.

daughter of Mr. Henry, pronounced the representation in the painting good, but rather too sorrowful.

“ *His eye was meek, and gentle ; and a smile
Play'd on his lips ; and, in his speech was heard
Paternal sweetness, dignity, and love.*”*

To Nicholas Ashton, of Woolton Hall, in the County of Lancaster, Esq., acknowledgments are due, and are thus publickly offered, for the contribution of the picture, from which Mr. Henry's portrait, introduced into this volume, was taken, and of which it is a faithful resemblance.

For permission to copy the painting of Mrs. Henry, and also for the communication of the baptismal covenant, from which the *fac-simile* has most accurately been made, as well as for various useful manuscripts, thanks are respectfully tendered to P. H. Witton, Esq., of the Ravenhurst, near Birmingham, a lineal descendant of Mr. Henry, whose name he bears.

The manuscript diaries used on this occasion, in addition to that which is possessed by the editor, were kindly furnished by his much-respected friend, Joseph Lee, Esq., Redbrook, near Broad Oak ; also, by Miss Bunnell, (now Mrs. Lewis,) London ; Mrs. Osborn, Worcester ; and, through the friendly application of the Rev. J. Robertson, of Stretton-under-Fosse, by Mrs. Bunting, Spratton. To all of whom the editor begs to express his grateful sense of their politeness and liberality.

* Cowper's Task, book ii.

The editor's excellent friend, the Rev. Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool, is entitled to particular remembrance, not only for the loan of manuscripts, but also for much personal trouble.

To the Rev. Thomas Stedman, and Thomas Weaver, Shrewsbury; J. Grundy, Leicester; James Payne, Ipswich; J. E. Good, Salisbury; and John Pearce, Wrexham;—also, to Mr. and Mrs. Bunnell, Islington, London; Mrs. Kenrick, Wynne Hall, near Wrexham; Miss Hunt, Exeter; Joshua Wilson, Esq., Highbury Place, Islington, London; Joseph Lee, Junior, Esq., Redbrook Farm, near Broad Oak; Mr. Lewin, Shrewsbury; Mr. Lewis, Wrexham; and Mr. W. Cook, Liverpool; the editor is likewise much indebted for the liberal communication of manuscripts.

Mr. Matthew Henry's sermon on the death of his father is now first published from an authentick transcript, obligingly communicated by Mr. Stedman.

To the learned and Rev. S. Butler, D. D. Archdeacon of Derby; and also to the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Owen, and the Rev. J. B. Blakeway, the elegant historians of Shrewsbury, the editor's obligations have been increased, in connexion with the present undertaking, by frequent information, as well as by friendly communications, at all times, from their curious and valuable libraries.

Nor, in this reference to the editor's obligations, can he content himself to omit his esteemed friend, Mr. Chalmers.* He is entitled to special acknowledgments, for repeated attentions, which, bestowed, in the midst of laborious avocations, became doubly obliging.

* See *ante*, p. v.

Should the engagement result in the correction of but one fatal error,—should it promote the establishment of only one sincere christian,—should it assist in estimating the importance, reality, and necessary effects of primitive piety,—should it aid in a correct judgment of the principles of the non-conformists,* and evince that there is no “connexion between dissent and fanaticism,” any more than between Christianity and imposture,—should it, therefore, tend to bury unjust censures, and display, with additional clearness, that friendship to monarchy, loyalty to the King, and attachment to the English Constitution, are perfectly compatible with separation from an ecclesiastical establishment,—should it, especially, be the means of promoting “living, powerful, religion,” which ever disdains the limits of a party,—the editor will regard apology as misplaced, his object will be happily attained, and his toil delightfully rewarded; nor will he regret having devoted to the undertaking, hours which were redeemed from morning slumbers, or stolen from the vacancies of leisure. †

The writer cannot dismiss these prefatory remarks, without trespassing upon the reader's patience, by a few hints in reference, more particularly, to the due *improvement* of biographical compositions. Mr. Henry's character will, thereby, be somewhat illustrated, his predilection for such writings ‡ explained, and similar attachments, it may be, excited. It is in the use of *means* that divine influence, so essential to the vigour

* See Dr. Doddridge's Works, vol. 4, p. 201, &c. oct. 1802.

† See Lord Bacon, on the Advancement of Learning, p. 10, 4to. 1605.

‡ See the Life. Post. p. 235.

and very existence of spiritual life, is to be expected; and an increasing recognition of that influence, with earnest desires for its possession, stands in near affinity to the proper observation of its *effects*.

So great and so obvious are the attractions of biography, when brought efficiently to bear upon personal history and individual excellence; and so decidedly is the meed of publick approbation bestowed upon it, that to explain at large, *why* the lives of wise and good men ought to be perused and esteemed; or, to inquire *how* it is that they are, in fact, daily read with profit and delight, would be a superfluous discussion. It will suffice to remark, of christian memoirs generally, with an appeal for confirmation to the present volume,—that, by illuminating the judgment, by enriching the memory, by elevating the affections, by demonstrating that eminent religious acquirements are attainable, such memorials conduce, in a very high degree, to the best interests of man.* Regulating the love of incident, and stimulating to laudable emulation, they are adapted to give to thoughtful habits a correct tendency, and inquiries, as the narrative proceeds, instead of being instituted for the gratification of curiosity, are associated with self-observance and self-improvement.† Whence, asks the awakened intellect,

* It doth us good to read and hear such true, holy, and approved histories, monuments, oration^s, epistles, and letters, as do set forth unto us the blessed behaviour of God's dear servants. Bishop Coverdale's Address, prefixed to his Letters of the Martyrs; reprinted in "The Fathers of the English Church," vol. 4, p. ix. oct. 1899.

† See Mr. Orton's Preface to his Memoirs of Dr. Doddridge, p. vii. *ut supra*. "One page of Philip Henry's Life," observes an eminent preacher of the present

this comparative indifference (as in the case of Mr. Henry) to all things earthly, in the midst of their diligent use, and happiest enjoyment? Wherefore an ardour in the service of Jehovah so vigorous, and unabating? By what process has subjection to his appointments, thus enlightened, and uniform, and acquiescent, been attained? Whence can be derived peace so holy, uprightness so inflexible? Whence springs, and what nourishes, compassion towards transgressors, and affection even for enemies, so tender, and so sincere?

To such queries Christianity alone can furnish a satisfactory reply. In accordance with the inspired testimony, a *life of faith* may thus luminously be demonstrated to be the *path of the just*, the principle of spiritual animation, and all real virtue. By that sublime grace,—significantly designated the *evidence of things not seen*,—it was, that the admired subject of the ensuing portraiture, beholding *him who is invisible*, connected all his actions, and all his thoughts, with eternity and with God.*

The subject thus exhibited, is both directive† and animating. Mr. Henry's biographer, indeed, has more than once given to the idea due prominence. Nor is it too much to affirm, that the volume, unfolding, with enviable attractiveness, the *one thing needful*, and the

day, "makes me blush more than all the folios of his son Matthew's Peerless Exposition." The Rev. J. A. James's Address at his Brother's Ordination, appended to the Church Member's Guide, p. 231.

* There is a God. There is a judgment to come. Were these two firmly *believed*, what a change would it make! Phillip Henry, Orig. MS.

† See Mr. Baxter's Remarks, prefixed to the Life of the Rev. Joseph Alleine, *dued*. 1672. Introd. p. 4. And, also, Mr. Wilberforce's Practical View, ch. vii. §. 11, pp. 466, 467, *ut supra*.

fruits of early instruction, so discovers the happy consequences of fervent piety and enlightened decision, as to instruct the inquiring, to cheer the timid, to invigorate the feeble, and to fill with joy the cup of the desponding. While it illustrates the christian warfare, and shows, that high attainments in holiness furnish no exemption from the ordinary calamities of life, it inculcates the *pleasantness* of religion, and teaches all who tread her paths, instead of encouraging doubts, or yielding to despondency, to look *constantly* to the Saviour, as the centre and medium of revealed mercy, and as *made of God* to all believers, *wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption*. Not only will the *plants of righteousness*, under such influence, bud and blossom, as did the rod of Aaron, but they will bear, in gladdening abundance, those fruits of peace, which, like the *leaves of the tree of life*, are intended for the *healing of nations*.

The editor feels it unnecessary to indulge in eulogy upon the illustrious character delineated in the following pages ; or to point out the light which they cast over the history of Britain, civil and ecclesiastical ; nor has he a desire to animadvert upon the persecuting spirit of the times,—a spirit, which, notwithstanding its hostile and provoking tendencies, seemed, in the case of Mr. Henry, and of many others, to elicit and nerve the sublimest virtues. Yet he cannot forbear to reiterate the remark of Mr. Jay,—“ Who, without sentiments of love and veneration, can think of Philip Henry ? ”* If Ennius was justly commended by Cicero, for having bestowed

* Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, Mr. Henry's eldest daughter. Preface, p. 1.

lofty epithets upon poets, because of their peculiar gifts, a like course, in the present instance, would, for similar and more powerful reasons, have been defensible; for, undoubtedly, *Mr. Henry* was “one of the most pious and excellent men of the age in which he lived, or any other.”* At the same time, let it not be inferred, that he constituted an anomaly in the records of the new creation. Although he is even “believed by many, to have come as near the pattern of the apostles, and the first ministers of the christian church, as any that, to this day, have succeeded them:”† and although it deserves acknowledgment, to the glory of God, that no public blot defaces the accurate delineation here exhibited, enough of the “stain of human frailtie” is visible, to show that he was *human*, and, therefore, to prevent “esteem above that which behoveth.”‡

Connected with, and perhaps in proportion to such impressions, the work of *praise* to God, a duty always incumbent, will not be overlooked. The eye of the mind, instead of resting upon the picture, how beauteous soever, will ascend to the Eternal Benefactor, § in devout adoration of his mercy, and the triumphs of his grace. *Love to the brethren* is an affection, neither sordid nor imbecile: while ministering, with obedient assiduity, to the *household of faith*, it rises, instinctively, to the ever-blessed Jehovah; by whose power the new nature is, in every instance, produced, and into whose image

* Dr. Richards's Welsh Non-conformists' Mem. p. 360.

† The New Spiritual Magazine, 1783, vol. 1, p. 63.

‡ Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Pref. §. 4, fol. 1662.

§ See Reeves's Apologies of Justin Martyr, &c. vol. 2, p. 35, oct. 1709: also, post. p. 328.

the indispensable transformation is invariably effected. When, therefore, that sacred renovation, which forms the attractive cause of christian love, has been *perfected*, though by the violence of death, the expectants of similar dignity, instead of occasioning, by inferior considerations, a suspension of the principle, should *indulge* in lively gratitude, and the anticipation of a more endearing friendship. Shall the entrance of the *heirs of God* upon their unfading kingdom, occasion only *heavenly* acclamations? Shall it excite on *earth* no delight; inspire no “hymn of laud, no solemn canticle?” Shall not hope restrain sorrow, and faith exult over the vanquished grave? When Mrs. Henry was bereaved of her venerated husband, she expressed her thankfulness that she had him so long, and that she had the prospect of being eternally with him in glory.*

It cannot escape remark, that those associations with eternity, which, by a moral necessity, attend written lives, gain, in a case like the present, special *ascendancy*: they seize the mind with a firm grasp, and, if duly cherished, disentangle it from the world. Having traced the earthly sojournings of the heaven-bound traveller, and witnessed the increasing development of principles, as unvarying as they are immortal, every advance towards the “final hour” occasions new and refined excitements. At length placed, in imagination, upon the brink of that river which “has no bridge,” we gaze upon the pilgrim as he draws nigh to the water, and listen to his parting salutation; as the billows rise and swell around him, every thing irrevelant and unhallowed is absorbed in personal interest; the “reign

* See post. p. 224.

of stillness" commences, and other cares, and other thoughts, save those of future and interminable existence, are silenced and suppressed.

How singularly, how deeply interesting* the communications of an expiring believer! The attention is arrested, nay, awed, by reflecting, that the chief result of vigilant observation is then imparted,—in the immediate prospect of eternity. Mr. Henry, consciously unable to recapitulate his history, or to detail his enjoyments, or to dispense, minutely, his counsels, and in haste to enter upon the "blessedness of the righteous," gave utterance, with a rapidity peculiarly striking, to the one main sentiment of his soul. *Follow peace and holiness* was the instructive exhortation. The accents, now that the spirit has long fled to celestial occupations, seem to linger upon the fancy; the last flashings of the fire ethereal are yet seen through the lengthened distance, and each word, at all times valuable, becomes, by no violent metamorphosis, a pearl indeed,—deriving an additional lustre from the deepened shadowings of the "vale of death," the use of succeeding generations, and the hope of that untold felicity, which will consist in their fullest exemplification, and ever-brightening splendour.

The disregard, or non-improvement, of an event so momentous as the soul's transition to unknown regions, involves deplorable indifference, if not stupidity, comparable only to that of the Egyptian monarch, or the very auditors of Zechariah: concerning the latter of

* Some remarks on this subject, with more particular reference to the latest revelations of Jesus, introduce Bishop Heber's Lectures on the Personality and Office of the Christian Comforter, pp. 1—4.

whom, it is affirmed, to their perpetual reproach, that they *made their hearts as an adamant stone*. It should always be remembered, that death, in the case of every human being, is so inevitably certain, as to render, when the appointed season shall arrive, every plea, whether for exemption or postponement, fruitless. *No man hath power in the day of death: there is no discharge in that war*. And an apostle, as if to force onward the thoughts with an impetuous ardour, urges the solemn warning,—*We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ*.

When man's probationary existence, its termination, and the altered, but endless mode of being which then commences, are *thus* contemplated, not only is biography suitably improved, but the proclamation, that — *time shall be no longer*—once to be *heard* from the apocalyptic angel,—will fill the mind, and chase to a distance, with irresistible authority, all terrestrial attractions. Visions of eternity, succeeding in awful progression, and undefinable grandeur, obliterate those “characters of divinity which men set upon absurdities, and errors;” * *sweep away, as with hail, every refuge of lies*, and exalt the religion of the Bible to her rightful pre-eminence. The glorified Saviour, as a prevailing Intercessor,—as the Vanquisher of unseen foes,—as still effecting the work of “redeeming mediation,” is beheld in the bright effulgence of uncreated divinity, and is invested, as the *Lamb that was slain*, with loveliness inexpressibly captivating. Employed in such meditations, the christian participates in the grateful admiration and vehement aspirings of Stephen, when, *full of the Holy Ghost, he saw Jesus*

* See Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, ch. iiii. §. 26.

standing on the right hand of God; and, mingling astonishment with triumph, uttered the memorable invocation,—
Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!

These views of the subject, while they prevent our wonder at the multiplicity of scripture-narratives, and account satisfactorily for the interest Mr. Henry took “in the lives, actions, and sayings of eminent men,”* discover also to the reflective and pious mind their legitimate effect. Nor can it escape notice, that the *chiefest of the apostles*, when closing the early records of faith, has consolidated, in one unexampled address, and as a deduction from the whole, sentiments the most noble and sublime;—*Seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us; and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.*

Let it never be forgotten, that admiration, however glowing, bestowed upon the affecting structure of a passage, like that just cited, can avail, for practical purposes, either personal, or in reference to the community, only, as the metaphorical allusions, which it embodies,

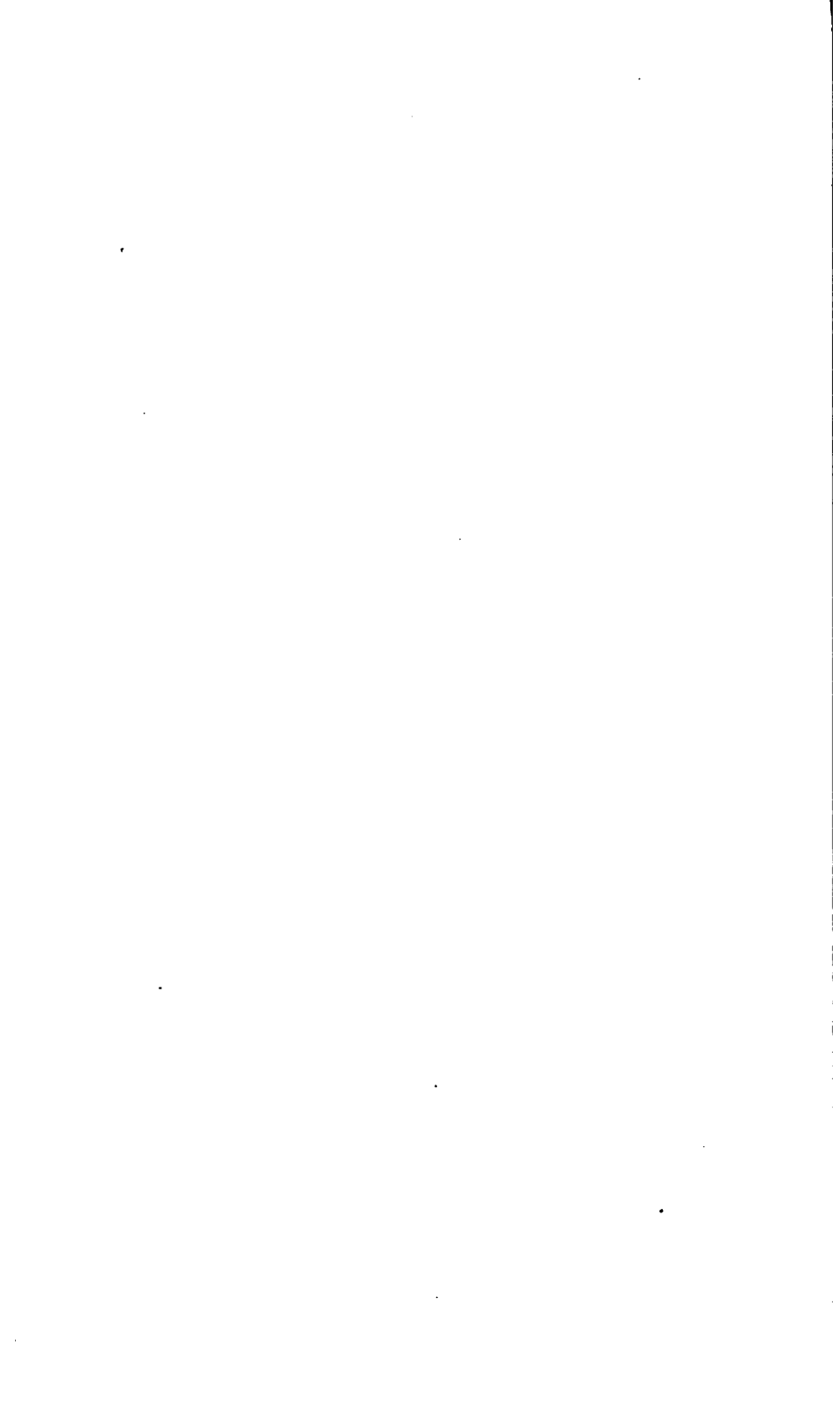
* See the *Life*, post. p. 235. The names of the ancient Fathers should be very precious with us, and the remains of their lives and labours; the first Reformers in our own land, in other lands; the good old puritans. Those ministers and Christians who have been eminent in our own country. We should not despise the way of our fathers, but be ashamed to think how short we come of them. We must regard their testimony; and, as far as it agrees with the word of God, put a great value upon it. We must follow them as far as they followed Christ. Matthew Henry. Orig. MS. And, see post. p. 372.

are duly regarded. But let that regard be once prevalent; let the eye be intently fixed upon high examples, and not upon those who rank, at best, only as inferiors in the school of Christ; let the attention be, especially, directed to the Great Exemplar himself; and effects, fruitful and all-pervading, will invariably follow. Then will be given to base companionship the happiest overthrow; then will calumniated piety be upheld by unanswerable vindications; religious attainments will be advanced to an enviable maturity; and, while individual happiness, and the prosperity of the "holy church" universal, are efficiently promoted, *glory in the highest*, ever justly due, will be secured to the *only living and true God*.

JOHN BICKERTON WILLIAMS.

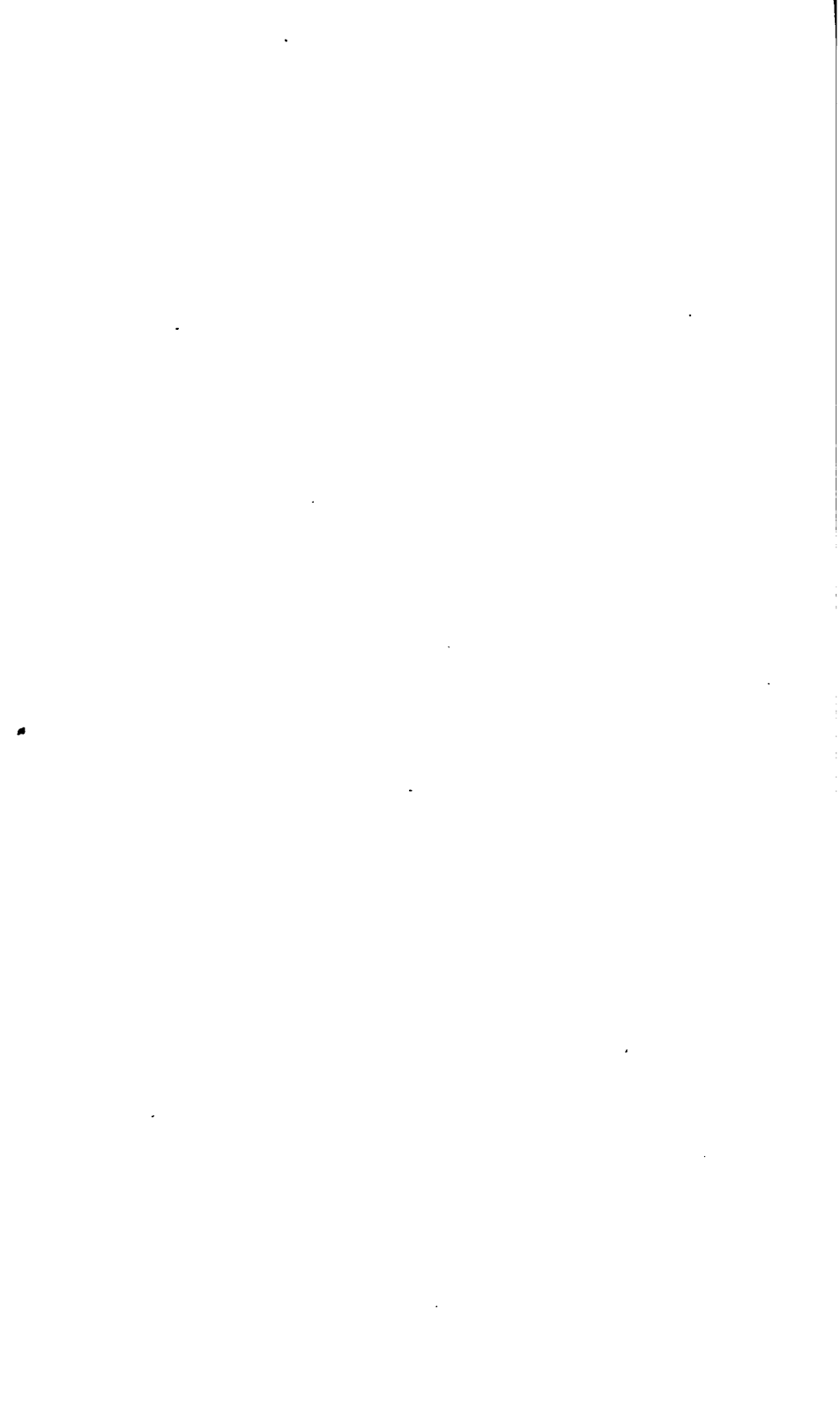
Swan Hill, Shrewsbury,

February 12, 1825.



DEDICATION,

8c. 8c.



TO
HIS MUCH HONOURED FRIEND,
SIR HENRY ASHURST,
BARONET.

SIR;

THE ministers of the gospel are, in the scripture language, stars in the right hand of Christ, to signify their diffusive light and beneficial influences. As in the future state of the resurrection, some stars shall differ from others in glory, so, in the present state of the regeneration, some ministers are distinguished from others, by a brighter eminence in their endowments, and a more powerful emanation of light in their preaching. Of this select number was Mr. Philip Henry, in whom there was a union of those real excellencies of parts, learning,* and divine graces, that signalized him among his brethren. This does evidently appear in the narrative of his life, drawn by one very fit to do it;—as having had entire knowledge of him, by long and intimate conversation; and having, by his holy instructions, and the impression of his example, been made partaker of the same sanctifying Spirit. The describing the external actions of saints, without observing the holy principles

* Every one knows Mr. Philip Henry was an excellent scholar; he was certainly possessed of a rich treasure of all polite and useful learning, both in languages, and in the sciences. Life of the Rev. Matthew Henry, by W. Tong, oct. 1716, p. 24.

and affections from whence they derived their life and purity, is a defective and irregular representation of them. It is as if an account were given of the riches and fecundity of the earth, from the flowers and fruits that grow upon it, without considering the mines of precious metals contained in its bosom. Now, only an inward Christian, that has felt the power of religion in his heart, can, from the reflection upon himself, and his uncounterfeit experience, discover the operations of grace in the breasts of others.

Mr. Henry was dedicated to the service of Christ by his mother, in his tender age. His first love and desires, when he was capable to make a judicious choice, were set upon God. He entered early into the ministry, and consecrated all the powers of his soul, understanding, memory, will, and affections, with his time and strength, to the service of Christ. And such was the grace and favour of God to him, that he lost no days in his flourishing age, by satisfying the voluptuous appetites; nor in his declining age by diseases and infirmities, but incessantly applied himself to his spiritual work. He was called to a private place in Wales, but his shining worth could not be shaded in a corner. A confluence of people, from other parts, attended on his ministry. Indeed, the word of truth, that dies in the mouths of the cold and careless, (for they are not all saints that serve in the sanctuary,) had life and spirit in his preaching; for it proceeded from a heart burning with zeal for the honour of Christ, and salvation of souls. Accordingly, he suited his discourses to the wise and the weak; and imitated the prophet, who contracted his stature to the dead body of the widow's son, applying his mouth to the mouth of the child, to inspire the breath of life into him. The poor and despised were instructed by him, with the same compassionate love and diligence as the rich, notwithstanding the civil distinction of persons, which will shortly vanish for ever; for, he considered their souls were of the same precious and immortal value. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, he expressed the just temperament of sweetness and severity. With melting compassion he invited all relenting and returning sinners to come to Christ, and receive their pardon sealed with his blood. But he was so jealous of the honour of Christ, that he deterred, by the most fearful consequences, the rebellious, that indulged their lusts, from coming to partake of the

feast of the unspotted Lamb. He was not allured by temporal advantage, which is the mark of a mercenary, to leave the first place, where, by the divine disposal, he was seated.

When the fatal Bartholomew-day came, though he had fair hopes of preferment by his attendance upon the King and Duke of York, in their early age,—of which the remembrance might have been revived,—yet he was guided by a superior spirit, and imitated the self-denial of Moses, (a duty little understood, and less practised by the earthly-minded,) *rather choosing to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the good things of this world.* As the light of heaven, when the air is stormy and disturbed, does not lose the rectitude of its rays; so his enlightened conscience did not bend in compliance with the terms of conformity, but he obeyed its sincere judgment.

After his being expelled from the place of his publick ministry, his deportment was becoming a son of peace. He refused not communion with the Church of England in the ordinances of the gospel, so far as his conscience permitted. Yet he could not desert the duty of his office, to which he was, with sacred solemnity, set apart. He was faithful to improve opportunities for serving the interest of souls, notwithstanding the severities inflicted on him. And, after the restoring our freedom of preaching, he continued in the performance of his delightful work till death put a period to his labours.

After this account of him as a minister of Christ, I will glance upon his carriage as a christian. His conversation was so holy and regular, so free from taint, that he was unaccusable by his enemies. They could only object his nonconformity as a crime;—but his vigilant and tender conscience discovered the spots of sin in himself, which so affected his soul, that he desired repentance might accompany him to the gate of heaven. An excellent testimony of humility, the inseparable character of a saint. His love to God was supreme, which was declared by his chosen hours of communion with him every day. The union of affections is naturally productive of union in conversation. Accordingly, our Saviour promises;—*He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.* And he repeats the promise;—*If a man love me he will keep my words: and my*

Father will love him, and we will come to him, and make our abode with him. To his special and singular love to God, was joined an universal love to men. He did good to all according to his ability. His forgiving of injuries, that rare and difficult duty, was eminently conspicuous in the sharpest provocations. When he could not excuse the offence, he would pardon the offender, and strive to imitate the perfect model of charity express in our suffering Saviour; who, in the extremity of his sufferings, when resentments are most quick and sensible, prayed for his cruel persecutors. His filial trust in God was correspondent to God's fatherly providence to him. This was his support in times of trial, and maintained an equal temper in his mind, and tenour in his conversation. In short, he led a life of evangelical perfection, most worthy to be honourably preserved in the memory of future times. The following narrative of it, if read with an observing eye, how instructive and affecting will it be to ministers, and apt to transform them into his likeness!

Thus, Sir, I have given a short view of the life of that man for whom you had such a high veneration, and dear love. It argues a clearer spirit, and a diviner temper, than is usual in persons of conspicuous quality, when holiness is so despicably mean in the esteem of carnal men, to value it above all titles and treasures, and the perishing pride of this world. I am persuaded it will be very pleasing to you, that your name, and excellent Mr. Henry's, are joined in the same papers.

I am,

Sir,

•
Your very humble and faithful servant,

WILLIAM BATES.*

* The Rev. W. Bates, D. D. died July 14, 1699, æt. 74. See the Biog. Brit. v. 1, p. 687.

A

P R E F A C E

TO THE

R E A D E R.

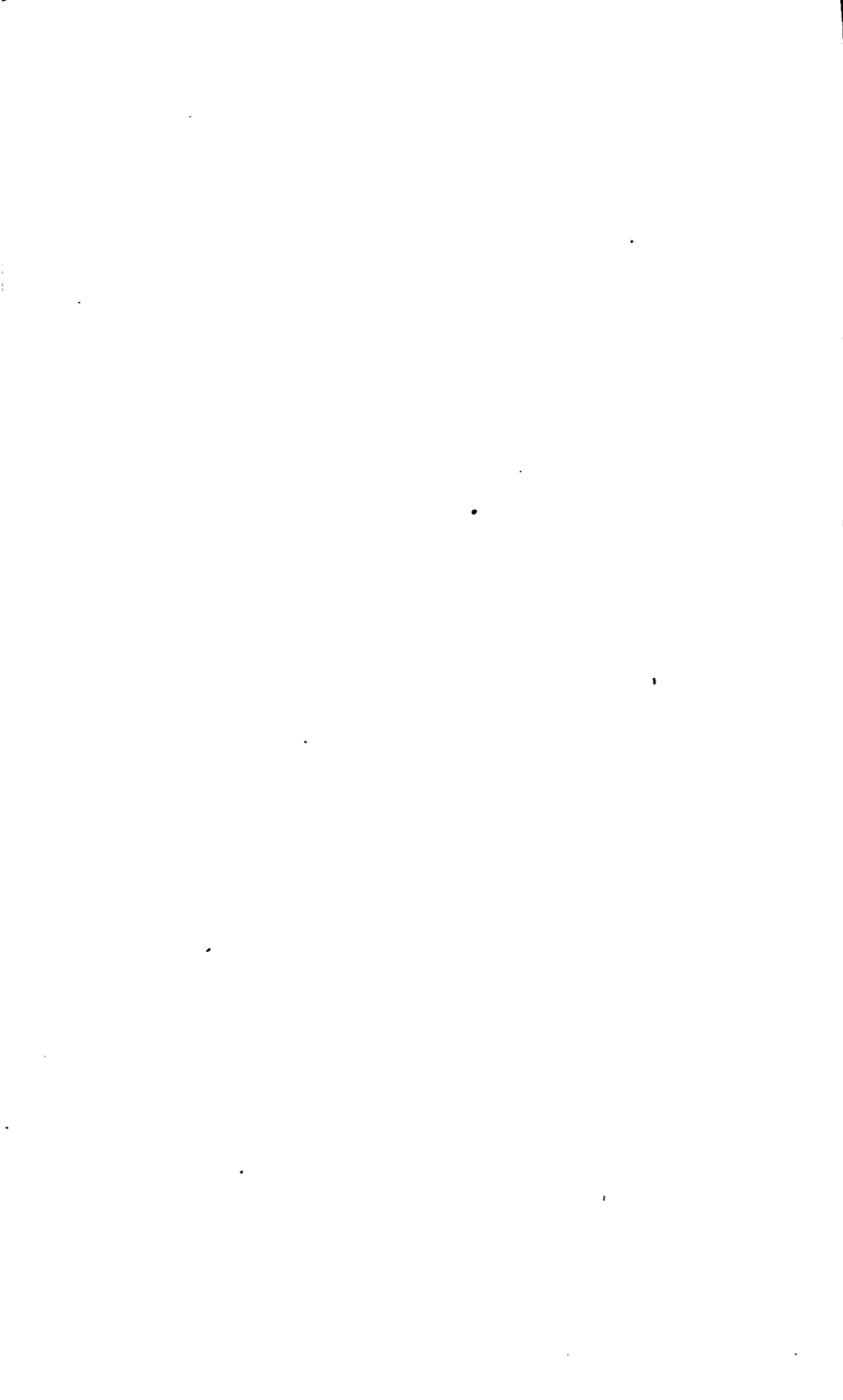
THAT which we aim at in this undertaking, and which we would set before us at our entrance upon it, is, not so much to embalm the memory of this good man, though that also is blessed, as to exhibit to the world a pattern of that primitive christianity, which all that knew him well observed to be exemplified in him, while he lived; and, when they saw *the end of his conversation*, as it were, with one consent, desired a publick and lasting account of, or rather demanded it, as a just debt owing to the world, by those into whose hands his papers came, as judging such an account likely to conduce much to the glory of God's grace, and to the edification of many, especially of those that were acquainted with him. He was one whom the Divine Providence did not call out, as neither did his own inclination lead him, to any very publick scene of action. He was none of the forward men of the age, that make themselves talked of. The world scarce knew that there was such a man in it. But, in his low and narrow sphere, he was a *burning and shining light*; and, therefore, we think his pious example is the more adapted to general use, especially, consistin

not in the extacies and raptures of zeal and devotion,—which are looked upon rather as admirable than imitable;—but, in the long series of an even, regular, prudent, and well-ordered conversation, which he had in the world, and in the ordinary business of it, with *simplicity and godly sincerity*; not with *fleshly wisdom*, but *by the grace of God*. It hath been said, that quiet and peaceable reigns, though they are the best to live in, yet they are the worst to write of, as yielding least variety of matter for the historian's pen to work upon;—but, a *quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty*, being the sum and substance of practical christianity, the recommending of the example of such a life, in the common and familiar instances of it, together with the kind and gracious providences of God attending it, may be, if not as diverting to the curious, yet every whit as useful and instructive to the pious readers. If any suggest, that the design of this attempt is to credit and advance a party, let them know that Mr. Henry was a man of no party, but true catholick christianity, not debauched by bigotry, nor leavened by any private opinions, or interests, was his very temper and genius. According to the excellent and royal laws of this holy religion, his life was led with a strict and conscientious adherence to truth and equity; a great tenderness and inoffensiveness to all mankind; and a mighty tincture of sincere piety and devotedness to God. And, according to those sacred rules, we shall endeavour, in justice to him, as well as to our reader, to represent him in the following account; and, if any thing should drop from our pen, which might justly give offence to any, which we promise industriously to avoid, we desire it may be looked upon as a false stroke; and, so far, not truly representing him, who was so *blameless, and harmless, and without rebuke*. Much of our materials for this structure we have out of his own papers, especially his diary, for by them his picture may be drawn nearest to the life, and from thence we may take the truest idea of him, and of the spirit he was of. Those notes being intended for his own private use in the review, and never communicated to any person whatsoever; and, appearing here, as they ought to do, in their own native dress,* the candid reader will excuse it, if sometimes

* See p. 461. And, Tong's Life of the Rev. Matthew Henry, p. 3, *ut supra*.

the expressions should seem abrupt; they are the genuine, unforced, and unstudied breathings of a gracious soul, and, we hope, will be rather the more acceptable to those, who, through grace, are conscious to themselves of the same devout and pious motions. For, as in water, *face answers to face*, so doth one sanctified and renewed soul to another; and, as Mr. Baxter observes, in his Preface to Mr. Clark's Lives,*—"God's graces are much the same in all his holy ones; and, therefore, we must not think that such instances as these are extraordinary rarities; but God hath in wonderful mercy raised up many, by whose graces even this earth is perfumed and enlightened." But, if *one star* be allowed to *differ from another star in glory*, perhaps our reader will say, when he hath gone through the following account, that Mr. Henry may be ranked among those of the first magnitude.

* The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Latter Age; in Two Parts; Part I. Of Divines; Part II. Of Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes. By Samuel Clark. Fol. 1683.



POSTSCRIPT.

THIS Account of the Life and Death of my honoured father, was first published the year after he died; and, in a little time, there was a second impression of it, in which many considerable errors of the first were amended. It having now been long out of print, and often inquired for, this third edition comes abroad at the request of many who have found this portraiture of a Nathaniel, *an Israelite indeed*,—a genuine son of faithful Jacob,—that *plain man dwelling in tents*,—very serviceable to themselves and others, both for direction, quickening, and encouragement in the ways of God and godliness, for even this way, as well as in conversation,—*as iron sharpens iron, so a man sharpens the countenance of his friend*.

Frequent mention being made in the book of the comfort he had in all the branches of his family, whom, with satisfaction, he saw planted in families of their own, it may not be amiss here to mention the changes which the Divine Providence made among them, soon after the Lord had taken away our master from our head, who was a daily intercessor for us.

In the year 1697, the year after my father died, two of his four daughters died, in Chester, of a malignant fever, within three weeks one of another; two excellent Christians; and one of them, by some papers of her writing found after her death, appearing to have had such an experimental acquaintance with the principles, powers, and pleasures, of the spiritual and divine life, as few Christians, that have more than doubled her years, attain to.

In the year 1699, two of his four sons-in-law* died, likewise, in Chester, within four or five months one of another; both of them useful good men in their places, and blessings to their families. One of them was Dr. John Tylston, a physician,—like St. Luke,—*a beloved physician*; some time of Trinity College, in Oxford. Though he died at thirty-five years of age, he was, for several years, very eminent, and of great repute, in his profession. He was a universal scholar, had abundance of knowledge, and used it aright; and was a very devout, serious, conscientious Christian, and one that made it his business to *do good*. Many excellent papers he also left behind him, full fraught with proofs both of his learning and piety. He was greatly and generally lamented; and his memory is, and will be, very precious in this city. Having this occasion, I cannot forbear, even at this distance of time, dropping some tears afresh over his dust, thus publicly; for he was to me as my own soul; and, upon every remembrance of him, I must still say, as I did then, what David said of Jonathan,—*I am distressed for thee, my brother; very pleasant hast thou been unto me.*

It pleased God graciously to prolong the life of my dear and honoured mother,† almost eleven years after my father, very much to the comfort of all her relations; she continued, to the last, at her house at Broad Oak, where she was born, a great example of wisdom, piety, and usefulness, and abounding in good works. I think I may say, in her sphere and capacity, she was not inferior to what my father was in his. She was very happy in a constant calmness and serenity of mind, not easily disturbed; which, as it was a singular gift of the divine grace, and an instance of her wisdom, so it contributed very much to her close and comfortable walking with God, and her doing good. She lived and died rejoicing

* The one, Dr. John Tylston, died April 8, 1699. See his Life in the Investigator, v. 2, p. 254, &c.

The other, Mr. Samuel Radford, died August 30, 1699. See an interesting record of this event by Mrs. Savage, in the Memoirs of her Life and Character, p. 22, &c. Also, Tong's Life of the Rev. Matthew Henry, p. 149, *ut supra*.

† Appendix, No. I.

in Christ Jesus, and in a pleasing expectation of the glory to be revealed. Dr. Benyon* preached her funeral sermon in the meeting-place at Broad Oak, not a year before I preached his at Shrewsbury, on Hebrews, vi. 12;—*Be ye followers of them, who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises.* The first sermon I preached at Broad Oak after that sad occasion, I wrote over at large afterwards, designing it for the benefit, not only of her children, but of her grand-children, of whom she had twenty-three following her to her grave. They have had it in manuscript among them, and now, in compliance with the desire of many of my friends, I have here added it to this edition of my father's life; and it is all I have thought fit to add to it.

I confess, I am not so solicitous, as some perhaps may think I should be, to make an excuse, and to ask pardon for troubling the world with the little affairs of my poor family, and with the indulgencies of my natural affection to it. I design nothing in it but, if it may be, by the grace of God, to do good to plain people like myself.

MATTHEW HENRY.

Chester,

February, 27, 1711-12.

* Tutor of an Academy at Whixall, in Shropshire, afterwards at Shrewsbury. He was born June 14, 1673; and died March 4, 1707-8, æt. 35. See Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, p. 750. Messrs. Burder and Hughes's edition, 4to.

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AN
 ACCOUNT
 OF THE
 LIFE AND DEATH
 OF
 MR. PHILIP HENRY,
 &c.

CHAPTER I.

*Mr. Philip Henry's Birth, Parentage, Early Piety, and
 Education at School.*

HE was born at Whitehall, in Westminster, on Wednesday, August 24, 1631, being Bartholomew Day. I find, usually, in his Diary, some pious remark or other upon the annual return of his birth-day. As in one year he notes, that the Scripture mentions but two who observed their birth-day with feasting and joy, and they were neither of them copies to be written after: viz. Pharaoh, Gen. xl. 20. and Herod, Matt. xiv. 6.—But, saith he, I rather observe it as a day of mourning and humiliation, because *shapen in iniquity, and conceived in sin*. And when he had completed the thirtieth year of his age, he noted this,—So old, and no older, Alexander* was, when he had conquered the great world, but, saith he, I have not yet subdued the little world, myself. At his thirty-third year he hath this humble reflection,—A long time lived to small purpose, What shall I do to redeem it? And, at another,—I may mourn, as Cæsar† did, when he reflected upon Alexander's early achievements, that others, younger than I am, have done much more than I have done for God, *the God of my life*. And, to mention no more, when he had lived forty-two years, he thus

* Plutarch's Lives, v. 4. p. 223. ed. 1792, oct.

† Julius Cæsar. Plut. v. 4. pp. 337, *ut supra*. Also, Paradise Regained, Book iii. 39, &c. Milton's Poetical Works by the Rev. H. J. Todd, M. A. F. S. A. v. 5. p. 153, note.

writes, — I would be loath to live it over again, lest, instead of making it better, I should make it worse; and besides, every year and day spent on earth, is lost in heaven. This last note minds me of a passage I have heard him tell of a friend of his, who, being grown into years, was asked how old he was, and answered, — On the wrong side of fifty; — which, said Mr. Henry, he should not have said; for, if he was going to heaven, it was the right side of fifty.

He always kept a will by him ready made; and it was his custom, yearly, upon the return of his birth-day, to review, and, if occasion were, to renew and alter it. For it is good to do that at a set time, which it is very good to do at some time. The last will* he made bears date, — This 24th day of August, 1695, being the day of the year on which I was born, 1631, and also the day of the year on which, by law, I died,† as did also near two thousand faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, 1662: alluding to that clause in the Act of Uniformity, which disposeth of the places and benefices of ministers not conforming, as if they were naturally dead.

His father's name was John Henry, the son of Henry Williams, of Britton-Ferry, betwixt Neath and Swansea, in Glamorganshire. According to the old Welsh custom, (some say conformable to that of the ancient Hebrews, but now almost in all places laid aside,) the father's christian name was the son's surname.‡ He had left his native country, and his father's house, very young, unprovided for by his relations; § but it pleased God to bless his ingenuity and industry with a considerable income afterwards, which enabled him to live comfortably himself, to bring up his children well, and to be kind to many of his relations; but publick events making against him at his latter end, when he died he left little behind him for his children, but God graciously took care of them. Providence brought this Mr. John Henry, when he was young, to be the Earl of Pembroke's|| gentleman, whom he served many years. The Earl coming to be Lord Chamberlain, preferred him to be the King's Servant. He was first made Keeper of the Orchard at Whitehall; [For which he had, besides a dwelling-house at the garden-stairs, with the perquisites of the water-gate, and lodgings of considerable yearly value, ¶ and the profits of the orchard, ten groats per diem,** standing wages, with livery out of the wardrobe, — †† per annum, insomuch that he lived plentifully, and in good repute, but laid by nothing. ‡‡

* Appendix, No. II.

† When that eminent martyr, "Master George Wischard," was prohibited preaching, "he grew pensive; and being asked the reason, said, — 'What do I differ from a dead man, but that I eat and drink?'" Clarke's Gen. Martyr. p. 263. Fol. 1677.

‡ See Verategan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, p. 311. 1628. 4to.

§ He had from his father, as I have heard, but one groat. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

¶ Ob. 23rd Jan. 1649-50. Collins's Peerage, v. 2, p. 127, &c. ed. 1812.

¶ £50 or £60 per annum. Orig. MS. of the Life of P. Henry, by Matt. Henry.

** Above £60 per annum. Ib.

†† £27 per annum. Ib.

‡‡ P. Hen. Orig. MS.

He was] afterwards Page of the Back Stairs to the King's second son, James,* Duke of York, which place obliged him to a personal attendance upon the Duke in his chamber. He lived and died a courtier, a hearty mourner for his royal master King Charles the First, whom he did not long survive.† He continued, during all the war-time, in his house at Whitehall, though the profits of his places ceased. The King, passing by his door, under a guard, to take water, when he was going to Westminster, to that which they called his trial, inquired for his old servant, Mr. John Henry, who was ready to pay his due respects to him, and prayed God to—Bless his Majesty, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies; for which the guard had like to have been rough upon him.‡

His mother was Mrs. Magdalen Rochdale, of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in Westminster. She was a virtuous pious gentlewoman, and one that feared God above many. She was altogether dead to the vanities and pleasures of the court, though she lived in the midst of them. She looked well to the ways of her household; prayed with them daily, catechized her children, and taught them the good knowledge of the Lord betimes. I have heard him speak of his learning Mr. Perkins's § Six Principles, || when he was very young; and he often mentioned, with thankfulness to God, his great happiness in having such a mother, who was to him as Lois and Eunice were to Timothy, acquainting him with the Scriptures from his childhood; and, there appearing in him early inclinations both to learning and piety, she devoted him in his tender years to the service of God, in the work of the ministry. She died of a consumption, March 6, 1645, leaving behind her only this son and five daughters. A little before she died, she had this saying, "My head is in heaven, and my heart is in heaven; it is but one step more, and I shall be there too."

His susceptrors in baptism were Philip ¶ Earl of Pembroke, (who gave him his name, and was kind to him as long as he lived, as was

* Afterwards King James II.

† 1652, Feb. 28th. My dear father, Mr. John Henry, died at his house in Whitehall. A very great affliction both to myself and sisters, especially the two little ones. The Lord provide for us! He was born July 20, 1590. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

‡ See a Mem. of the reign of K. Ch. I. by Sir P. Warwick, p. 379 and Sir Tho. Herbert's Memoir, p. 163.

§ The Rev. W. Perkins died A. D. 1602, aged 44. Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hist. p. 850, 4to. 1654. It was the motto of the learned and godly divine, Mr. Perkins, *Fidei vita vera vita*;—the true life, is the life of faith; a word which that worthy servant of God did both write and live. Bishop Hall. Works. vol. viii. p. 30. oct. ed.

|| See Mr. Perkins's Works, vol. i. p. 1. fol. 1608.

¶ See Dunton's Life and Errors, v. 1, p. 344. ed. 1818. He died Dec. 11, 1669. Collins's Peerage, v. 3, p. 140, &c. *ut supra*.

also his son Philip after him,) James* Earl of Carlisle, and the Countess of Salisbury.†

Prince Charles and the Duke of York‡ being somewhat near of an age to him, he was in his childhood very much an attendant upon them in their play, and they were often with him at his father's house, and they were wont to tell him what preferment he should have at court, as soon as he was fit for it. He kept a book to his dying day, which the Duke of York gave him; and I have heard him bewail the loss of two curious pictures, which he gave him likewise. Archbishop Laud§ took a particular kindness to him when he was a child, because he would be very officious to attend at the water-gate, (which was part of his father's charge in Whitehall,) to let the Archbishop through when he came late from Council, to cross the water to Lambeth.

[And when the Archbishop was a prisoner in the Tower, his father took him with him to see him, and he would remember that the Archbishop gave him some new money.||]

These circumstances of his childhood he would sometimes speak of among his friends, not as glorying in them, but taking occasion from thence to bless God for his deliverance from the snares of the court, in the midst of which it is so very hard to maintain a good conscience and the power of religion, that it hath been said, though blessed be God, it is not a rule without exception, *Exeat ex aula qui velit esse pius.*¶ The breaking up and scattering of the court, by the calamities of 1641, as it dashed the expectations of his court preferments, so it prevented the danger of court entanglements. And, though it was not, like Moses's, a choice of his own, when come to years, to quit the court; yet when he was come to years, he always expressed a great satisfaction in his removal from it, and blessed God, who chose his inheritance so much better for him.

Yet it may not be improper to observe here what was obvious, as well as amiable to all who conversed with him; viz. that he had the most sweet and obliging air of courtesy and civility that could be; which some attributed in part to his early education at court. His mien and carriage were always so very decent and respectful, that it could not but win the hearts of all he had to do with. Never was any man further from that rudeness and moroseness which some scholars, and too many that profess religion, either wilfully affect, or carelessly allow themselves in, sometimes to the reproach of their profession. It is one of the laws of our holy religion, exemplified in

* Died without issue in 1660, on which his titles became extinct. Collins's Peerage, v. 7, p. 205, *ut supra*.

† Lady Catharine Howard, youngest daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk. She was married to William, the second Earl of Salisbury, Dec. 1, 1608. Collins's Peerage, v. 2, p. 490, *ut supra*.

‡ Afterwards King Charles II.

§ He was born A. D. 1573, and beheaded Jan. 10, 1644-5. Hist. of his Troubles, Trial, Diary, &c. 3 vols. fol. 1695.

|| Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

¶ Lucretius.

the conversation of this good man, to *honour all men*. Sanctified civility is a great ornament to Christianity. It was a saying he often used,—Religion doth not destroy good manners; [it destroys not civility but sanctifies it;*] and yet he was very far from any thing of vanity in apparel, or formality of compliment in address; but his conversation was all natural and easy to himself and others, and nothing appeared in him, which even a severe critic could justly call affected. This temper of his tended very much to the adorning of the doctrine of God our Saviour; and the general transcript of such an excellent copy, would do much towards the healing of those wounds which religion hath received, in the house of her friends, by the contrary. But to return to his story.—

The first Latin school he went to was at St. Martin's church, under the teaching of one Mr. Bonner.† Afterwards he was removed to Battersey,‡ where one Mr. Wells was his school-master. The grateful mention which in some of his papers he makes of these that were the guides and instructors of his childhood and youth, brings to mind that French proverb to this purpose, "To father, teacher, and God all-sufficient, none can render equivalent."

But in the year 1643, when he was about twelve years old, he was admitted into Westminster School, in the fourth form, under Mr. Thomas Vincent, then usher, whom he would often speak of, as a most able diligent school-master; and one who grieved so much at the dulness and non-proficiency of any of his scholars, that falling into a consumption, I have heard Mr. Henry say of him,—That he even killed himself with false Latin.

A while after he was taken into the upper school, under Mr. Richard Busby, afterwards Dr. Busby;§ and in October, 1645, he was admitted King's scholar, and was first of the election, partly by his own merit, and partly by the interest of the Earl of Pembroke.

Here he profited greatly in school-learning, and all his days retained his improvements therein to admiration. [Nor was there any part of his life which he did more frequently speak of with pleasure than the years he spent at Westminster School.||] When he was in years, he would readily in discourse quote passages out of the classick authors that were not common, and had them *ad unguem*, and yet rarely used any such things in his preaching, though sometimes, if very apposite, he inserted them in his notes. He was very ready and exact in the Greek accents, the quantities of words, and all the several kinds of Latin verse; and often pressed

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Who was very loving to me, and took pains with me. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ Where I tabled at one Mr. Heyborn's by the water-side, and went to school to one Mr. Wells. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ Died April 6, 1695, æt. 89. See Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 7, p. 436, &c. And Mattaire's Ep. at the end of the Preface in Vit. Joh. Barwick, S. S. P. ed. 1721. In the same volume is preserved an anecdote at once descriptive of the Doctor's exemplary temperance and the sad effects of prejudice. p. 233.

|| Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

it upon young scholars, in the midst of their university-learning, not to forget their school-authors.

Here and before, his usual recreation at vacant times was, either reading the printed accounts of publick occurrences, or attending the courts at Westminster-Hall, to hear the trials and arguments there, which I have heard him say, he hath often done to the loss of his dinner, and oftener of his play.

But *paulo majora canamus*.—Soon after those unhappy wars begun, there was a daily morning-lecture set up at the abbey-church, between six and eight of the clock, and preached by seven worthy members of the assembly of divines in course, viz. Mr. Marshal, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Herl, Dr. Staunton, Mr. Nye, Mr. Whitaker, and Mr. Hill. It was the request of his pious mother to Mr. Busby, that he would give her son leave to attend that lecture daily, which he did, not abating any thing of his school-exercise, in which he kept pace with the rest; but only dispensing with his absence for that hour. And the Lord was pleased to make good impressions on his soul, by the sermons he heard there. His mother also took him with her every Thursday, to Mr. Case's* lecture at St. Martin's. On the Lord's day he sat under the powerful ministry of Mr. Stephen Marshal, in the morning, at New-chapel; in the afternoon at St. Margaret's Westminster, which was their parish church. In the former place Mr. Marshal preached long from Phil. ii. 5, 6, &c.; in the latter from John, viii. 36, of our freedom by Christ. This minister, and this ministry, he would, to his last, speak of with great respect, and thankfulness to God, as that by which he was, through grace, in the beginning of his days, *begotten again to a lively hope*. I have heard him speak of it, as the saying of some wise men† at that time,—That if all the Presbyterians had been like Mr. Stephen Marshal, and all the Independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs,‡ and all the Episcopal men like Archbishop Usher,§ the breaches of the church would soon have been healed. He also attended constantly upon the monthly fasts at St. Margaret's, where the best and ablest ministers of England preached before the then House of Commons; and the service of the day was carried on with great strictness and solemnity, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. [He likewise frequented extraordinary fasts and thanksgivings.¶ Here he used to sit always upon the pulpit stairs,¶ and] it was his constant practice, from eleven or twelve

* Thomas Case. P. Henry. Orig. MS. Thomas Case, M. A. died May 30, 1682, æt. 84. See the Nonconf. Mem. v. 1, p. 153. ed. 1802.

He preached a Lecture at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields every Thursday, which he kept up above twenty years. Fun. Sermon by Thomas Jacob, D. D. p. 41. 4to. 1682.

† Mr. Baxter used to say so. Neal's History of the Puritans, v. 3, p. 349. ed. 1795.

‡ Nat. A. D. 1559. ob. Nov. 14, 1646. Lives of the Puritans, v. 3, p. 18.

§ Nat. Jan. 4, 1580. ob. Mar. 21, 1655. Life and Letters, by his Chaplain Dr. Parr, fol. 1686.

¶ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

¶ Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

years old, to write, as he could, all the sermons he heard, which he kept very carefully, transcribed many of them fair over after, and, notwithstanding his many removes, they are yet forth-coming.

At these monthly fasts, he himself hath recorded it, he had often sweet meltings of soul in prayer, and confession of sin, (particularly once with special remark, when Mr. William Bridge,* of Yarmouth, prayed,) and many warm and lively truths came home to his heart, and he daily increased in that wisdom and knowledge which is to salvation. Read his reflections upon this, which he wrote many years after. "If ever any child," saith he, "such as I then was, between the tenth and fifteenth years of my age, enjoyed *line upon line, precept upon precept*, I did. And was it in vain? I trust, not altogether in vain. My soul rejoiceth, and is glad at the remembrance of it; the word *distilled as the dew, and dropt as the rain*. I loved it, and loved the messengers of it; their very feet were beautiful to me. And, Lord, what a mercy was it, that, at a time when the poor countries were laid waste; when the noise of drums and trumpets, and the clattering of arms was heard there, and the ways to Sion mourned, that then my lot should be where there was peace and quietness, where *the voice of the turtle was heard*, and there was great plenty of gospel opportunities! *Bless the Lord, O my soul! As long as I live, I will bless the Lord. I will praise my God while I have my being*. Had it been only the restraint that it laid upon me, whereby I was kept from the common sins of other children and youths, such as cursing, swearing, sabbath-breaking, and the like, I were bound to be very thankful. But that it prevailed, through grace, effectually to bring me to God, how much am I indebted! And *what shall I render?*"

Thus you see how the dews of heaven softened his heart by degrees.—From these early experiences of his own,

1. He would blame those who laid so much stress on people knowing the exact time of their conversion, which he thought was, with many, not possible to do. Who can so soon be aware of the day-break, or of the springing up of the seed sown? The work of grace is better known in its effects than in its causes.

He would sometimes illustrate this by that saying of the blind man to the Pharisees, who were so critical in examining the recovery of his sight. This, and the other, I know not concerning it, but,—*This one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see*. John, ix. 25.

2. He would bear his testimony to the comfort and benefit of early piety, and recommend it to all young people, as a good thing to bear the yoke of the Lord Jesus in youth. He would often witness against that wicked proverb, "A young saint, an old devil;" and would have it said rather,—A young saint, an old angel.†

* See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3. p. 19. He died Mar. 12, 1670, æt. 70.

† Remember the olde proverbe, young saints, old devils; which proverbe, in very deed, is naught and deceitfull; therefore we may say thus,—Young devil, old devil; Young saints, old saints. Sermons by Bishop Latimer, p. 171, 4to. 1607.

He observed it concerning Obadiah, and he was a courtier, that he *feared the Lord from his youth*; 1 Kings, xviii. 12; and it is said of him, verse 3, that he “feared the Lord greatly.” Those that would come to fear God *greatly*, must learn to fear him *from their youth*. No man did his duty so *naturally* as Timothy did, Phil. ii. 20, who, from a child, knew the Holy Scriptures. He would sometimes apply to this that common saying,—He that would thrive, must rise at five. And, in dealing with young people, how earnestly would he press this upon them,—I tell you, you cannot begin too soon to be religious, but you may put it off too long. Manna must be gathered early, and he that is the first, must have the first. He often inculcated, Eccles. xii. 1, *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth*; or, as in the original, “the days of thy choice,”—thy choice days, and thy chusing days.

[He would say sometimes,—The life of a Christian is a life of labour; *Son, Go, work*;—it is necessary work, and excellent work, and pleasant work, and profitable work; and it is good to be at it when young.*]

I remember a passage of his in a Lecture Sermon, in the year 1674, which much affected many. He was preaching on that text, Matt. xi. 30, *My yoke is easy*; and, after many things insisted upon, to prove the yoke of Christ an easy yoke, he at last appealed to the *experience* of all that had drawn in that yoke.—*Call, now, if there be any that will answer you; and to which of the saints will you turn?* Turn to which you will, and they will all agree, that they have found *wisdom's ways pleasantness*; and Christ's *commandments not grievous*;—and, saith he, I will here witness for one, who, through grace, has, in some poor measure, been drawing in this yoke, now above thirty years, and I have found it an easy yoke, and like my choice too well to change.

3. He would also recommend it to the care of parents, to bring their children betimes to public ordinances. He would say, that they are capable, sooner than we are aware, of receiving good by them. The scripture takes notice, more than once, of the *little ones* in the solemn assemblies of the faithful; Deut. xxix. 11; Ezra, x. 1; Acts, xxi. 5. If we lay our children by the pool-side, who knows but the Blessed Spirit may help them in, and heal them.† He used to apply that scripture to this, Cant. i. 8. Those that would have communion with Christ, must not only go forth by the *footsteps of the flock*, themselves, but *feed their kids too*,—their children, or other young ones that are under their charge, *beside the Shepherd's tents*.

The devil himself, says Bishop Hall, devised that old slander of early holiness, “A young saint, an old devil.”—Sometimes young devils have proved old saints; never the contrary; but true saints, in youth, do always *prove angels in their age*. Works. vol. vi. p. 5. *ut supra*. And see the Works of the Rev. S. Hieron, p. 410. fol. 1635.

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See John, v. 2—8.

4. He would also recommend to young people the practice of writing sermons. He himself did it, not only when he was young, but continued it constantly till within a few years before he died, when the decay of his sight, obliging him to the use of spectacles, made writing not so ready to him as it had been. He never wrote short-hand, but had an excellent art of taking the substance of a sermon in a very plain and legible hand,* and with a great deal of ease. And the sermons he wrote he kept by him, in such method and order, that, by the help of indexes, which he made to them, he could readily turn almost to any sermon that ever he heard, where he noted the preacher, place, and time; and this he called,—Hearing for the time to come. He recommended this practice to others, as a means to engage their attention in hearing, and to prevent drowsiness, and to help their memories after hearing, when they come either to meditate upon what they have heard themselves, or to communicate it to others; and many have had reason to bless God for his advice and instruction herein. He would advise people sometimes to look over the sermon-notes that they had written, as a ready way to revive the good impressions of the truths they had heard, and would blame those who made waste-paper of them;—for, saith he, the day is coming, when you will either thank God for them, or heartily wish you had never written them.

But it is time we return to Westminster School, where, having begun to learn Christ, we left him in the successful pursuit of other learning, under the eye and care of that great Master, Dr. Busby; who, on the account of his pregnancy and diligence, took a particular kindness to him, called him his *child*, and would sometimes tell him he should be his heir; and there was no love lost betwixt them.† Dr. Busby was noted for a very severe schoolmaster, especially in the beginning of his time. But Mr. Henry would say sometimes, that, as in so great a school there was need of a strict discipline, so, for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once, and then, saith he, in some of the remarks of his youth, which he wrote long after, I deserved it.

* It hath been observed of many eminent men, that they have written but bad hands, and some think that is the meaning of Paul's *καλικοις γράμμασι*, Gal. vi. 11, "Ye see with what sort of letters (how ill made) I have written to you with my own hand." But if that be a rule, Mr. Henry was an exception from it. Life. Orig. MS. *at supra*. The same could not be said of the excellent commentator. Aware of it, in a letter to his friend, the Rev. S. Clark, he thus writes;—"I oft blame myself for writing carelessly, especially when my mind is intent." Chester, Dec. 4, 1700. Orig. MS.

† Mr. John Ireland, the editor of Hogarth's works, numbered Mr. Henry among his ancestors. His mother, the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Holland, of Wem, in Shropshire, was Mr. Henry's great-grand-daughter.

The first time Mr. Ireland was introduced to Dr. Johnson, he was stated to be a descendant of Mr. Philip Henry, on which that great man remarked, in his emphatic manner,—“Sir, you are descended from a man, whose genuine simplicity, and unaffected piety, would have done honour to any sect of Christians; and, as a scholar, he must have had uncommon acquirements, when Busby boasted of having been his tutor.” Public Characters of 1800—1801, p. 330.

For, being monitor of the chamber, and, according to the duty of his place, being sent out to seek one that played truant,* he found him out where he had hid himself, and, at his earnest request, promised to make an excuse for him, and to say he could not find him; which, saith he, in a penitential reflection upon it afterwards, I wickedly did. Next morning, the truant coming under examination, and being asked whether he saw the monitor, said, Yes, he did; at which Dr. Busby was much surprised, and turned his eye upon the monitor, with this word, *Kai ou τίξας*; *What thou, my son!*† and gave him correction, and appointed him to make a penitential copy of Latin verses, which, when he brought, he gave him sixpence, and received him into his favour again.

Among the mercies of God to him in his youth, (and he would say, it were well if parents would keep an account of those for their children, till they came to be capable of doing it for themselves, and then to set them upon the doing of it,) he hath recorded a remarkable deliverance he had here at Westminster School, which was this. It was customary there, among the studious boys, for one, or two, or more, to sit up the former part of the night at study; and when they went to bed, about midnight, to call others; and they others, at two or three o'clock, as they desired. His request was to be called at twelve; being awaked, he desired his candle might be lighted, which stuck to the bed's head; but he dropt asleep again, and the candle fell, and burnt part of the bed and bolster, ere he awaked; but, through God's good providence, seasonable help came in, the fire was soon quenched, and he received no harm. This gave him occasion, long after, to say, —*It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed.*

When he was at Westminster School he was employed by Dr. Busby, as some others of the most ingenious and industrious of his scholars were, in their reading of the Greek Authors, to collect, by his direction, some materials for that excellent Greek Grammar, which the Doctor afterwards published.

But, be the school never so agreeable, youth is desirous to commence man by a removal from it. This step he took in the sixteenth year of his age. It was the ancient custom of Westminster School, that all the King's Scholars, who stood candidates for an election to the University, were to receive the Lord's Supper the Easter before, which he did with the rest, in St. Margaret's Church, at Easter, 1647; and he would often speak of the great pains which Dr. Busby took with his scholars, that were to approach to that solemn ordinance, for several weeks before, at stated times; with what skill and seriousness of application, and manifest concern for

* One Nath. Bull, afterwards a Master of Paul's School. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

† The historian, narrating the murder of Julius Cæsar, records, that, —“with 8 and 20 wounds he was stabbed: during which time he gave but one groan, without any words uttered, and that was at the first thrust; although some have written, that, as M. Brutus came running upon him, he said, *Kai ou τίξας*; *And thou, my sonne!*” Suetonius, p. 23, fol. 1696.

their souls, he opened to them the nature of the ordinance, and of the work they had to do in it; and instructed them what was to be done in preparation for it; and this he made a business of, appointing them their religious exercises instead of their school exercises. What success this had, through the grace of God, upon young Mr. Henry, to whom the Doctor had a particular regard, read from his own hand. "There had been treaties," saith he, "before, between my soul and Jesus Christ, with some weak overtures towards him; but then, then, I think, it was, that the match was made, the knot tied: then I set myself, in the strength of divine grace, about the great work of self-examination, in order to repentance; and then I repented; that is, solemnly and seriously, with some poor meltings of soul. I confessed my sins before God, original and actual, judging and condemning myself for them, and casting away from me all my transgressions, receiving Christ Jesus the Lord, as the Lord my Righteousness, and devoting and dedicating my whole self, absolutely and unreservedly, to his fear and service. After which, coming to the ordinance, there, there I received him indeed; and He became mine;—I say, *Mine. Bless the Lord, O my soul!*"

Dr. Busby's agency, under God, in this blessed work, he makes a very grateful mention of, in divers of his papers,—The Lord recompense it, saith he, a thousand fold into his bosom.*

I have heard him tell how much he surprized the doctor, the first time he waited upon him after he was turned out by the act of uniformity: for when the doctor asked him, "Prythee, child, what made thee a nonconformist?—Truly, Sir, saith Mr. Henry, you made me one; for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming.

"Encouraged by this experience, I have myself," saith he, in one of his papers, "taken like pains with divers others at their first admission to the Lord's table, and have, through grace, seen the comfortable fruits of it, both in mine own children and others. To God be glory."

Mr. Jeremy Dyke's† book of the sacrament, I have heard him say, was of great use to him at that time, in his preparation for that ordinance.

Thus was this great concern happily settled before his launching out into the world, which, through grace, he had all his days more

* Upon hearing of the death of Dr. Busby, in April, 1695, after he had been near fifty-eight years Schoolmaster of Westminster School, Mr. Henry thus writes,—I believe I have as much reason to bless God for him, as any scholar that ever he had,—he having been so instrumental in beginning the good work in him. *Life. Orig. MS. ut supra.*

† He was "of a cheerful spirit; and know, reader, that an ounce of mirth, with the same degree of grace, will serve God farther than a pound of sadness." Fuller's *Worthies*, Hartfordshire, p. 28. fol. 1662. He died A.D. 1620.

The book referred to is entitled, "A Worthy Communicant; or, a Treatise, shewing the Due Order of Receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." Duod. 1645.

or less the comfort of, in an even serenity of mind, and a peaceful expectation of the glory to be revealed.

May 17, 1647, he was chosen from Westminster School to Christ-church in Oxford, *jure loci*, with four others, of which he had the second place. At his election he was very much countenanced and smiled upon by his godfather, the Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the electors.

CHAPTER II.

His Years spent at Oxford.

THOUGH he was chosen to the University in May, yet, being then young, under sixteen, and in love with his school-learning, he made no great haste thither. It was in December* following, 1647, that he removed to Oxford. Some merciful providences, in his journey, he being a young traveller, affected him much, and he used to speak of them, with a sense of God's goodness to him in them, according to the impressions then made by them; and he hath recorded them with this thankful note,—That there may be a great mercy in a small matter; as the care that was taken of him by strangers, when he fainted and was sick in his inn the first night; and his casual meeting with Mr. Annesly, son to the Viscount Valentia, (who was chosen from Westminster School, at the same time that he was,) when his other company, going another way, had left him alone, and utterly at a loss what to do. Thus the sensible remembrance of old mercies may answer the intention of new ones, which is to engage our obedience to God, and to encourage our dependance on him.

Being come to Oxford, he was immediately entered commoner of Christ-church, where Dr. Samuel Fell† was then Dean; the tutor assigned to him and the rest of that election was Mr. Underwood, ‡ a very learned, ingenious gentleman.

His godfather, the Earl of Pembroke, had given him ten pounds to buy him a gown, to pay his fees, and to set out with. This in his papers he puts a remark upon, as a seasonable mercy in regard of some straits, which Providence, by the calamity of the times, had brought his father to. God had taught him from his youth that excellent principle, which he adhered to all his days, that every creature is that to us, and no more, than God makes it to be;§ and, therefore, while many seek the ruler's favour, and so expect to make their fortunes, as they call it, seeing every man's judgment proceedeth from the Lord, it is our wisdom to seek his favour, who is the Ruler of rulers, and that is an effectual way to make sure our happiness.

* Dec. 15. Orig. MS.

† Born, 1584; ob. Feb. 1648-9. Wood's Ath. Oxon. By Dr. Bliss, v. 3, p. 242, 4to, 1817.

‡ See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 110, fol. 1714.

§ Dr. Harris "would often say, God made it appear to all beholders, that the best man is no more than God makes him hourly." Life, by W. D.[urham.] p. 46, duod 1660. See Wood's Ath. v. 4, p. 146, *ut supra*.

To the proper studies of this place he now vigorously addressed himself; but still retaining a great kindness for the classick authors, and the more polite exercises he loved so well at Westminster School.

He was admitted student of Christ-church, March 24, 1647-8, by Dr. Henry Hammond,* that great man, then Sub-Dean, who called him his god-brother, the Earl of Pembroke being his god-father also, and Prince Henry the other, who gave him his name.

The visitation of the University by the Parliament happened to be in the very next month after. Oxford had been for a good while in the hands of the Parliament, and no change made; but now the Earl of Pembroke, and several others thereunto appointed, came hither to settle things upon a new bottom. The account Mr. Henry in his papers gives of this affair, is to this purpose. The sole question which the visitors proposed to each person, high and low, in every college, that had any place of profit, was this, "Will you submit to the power of the Parliament in this present visitation?" To which all were to give in their answer in writing, and accordingly were either displaced or continued. Some cheerfully complied, others absolutely refused; (among whom he would sometimes tell of one that was but of his standing, who gave in this bold answer, "I neither can nor will submit to the power of the Parliament in this present visitation; I say I cannot, I say I will not." J. C.†) Others answered doubtfully, pleading youth and ignorance‡ in such matters. Mr. Henry's answer was,—I submit to the power of the Parliament in the present visitation, as far as I may with a safe conscience, and without perjury. His reason for the last salvo, was, because he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy a little before, at his admission; which he was, according to the character of the good man, that he fears an oath, very jealous of doing any thing to contradict, or infringe; which hath made him sometimes signify some dislike of that practice of administering oaths to such as were scarce past children, who could hardly be supposed to take them with judgment, as oaths should be taken. However, this answer of his satisfied; and, by the favour of the Earl of Pembroke, he was continued in his student's place. But great alterations were made in that, as well as in other colleges, very much, no question, to the hindrance and discouragement of young scholars, who came thither to get learning, not to judge of the rights of government. Dr. Samuel Fell, the Dean, was removed, and Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was put in his room. Dr. Hammond

* See his Life by Dr. Fell, p. 2, duod. 1661. Dr. H. was born 18 Aug. 1605. Ob. 25 Ap. 1660.

† John Carrick. P. Henry. Orig. MS. See Walker, *ut supra*. Part II. p. 110. His answer provoked, and he was soon after turned out. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ See the Lives of John Leland, Thomas Hearne, and Anthony à Wood, v. 2. p. 52. oct. 1772.

and all the Canons,* except Dr. Wall, were displaced, and Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Pococke, and others,† of the Parliament's friends, were preferred to their places. His thoughts of this in the reflection long after, was, that milder methods might have done better, and would have been a firmer establishment to the new interest; but, considering that many of those who were put out, (being in expectation of a sudden change, which came not of many years after,) were exasperating in their carriage towards the visitors; and that the Parliament, who at this time rode masters, had many of their own friends ready for University-preferments, (which, Oxford having been from the beginning a garrison for the King, they had been long kept out of,) and these they were concerned to oblige, it was not strange if they took such strict methods. And yet nothing being required but a bare submission, which might be interpreted but as crying quarter, he thought withal, that it could not be said the terms were hard, especially, saith he, if compared with those of another nature imposed since.

Among other student-masters removed, his tutor, Mr. Underwood, was one, which he often bewailed as ill for him, for he was a good scholar, and one that made it his business to look after his pupils who were very likely, by the blessing of God, to have profited under his conduct. But, upon the removal of Mr. Underwood, he, with some others, was turned over to Mr. Finmore, who was then in with that interest which was uppermost, and was afterwards Prebendary of Chester; a person, as he notes, able enough, but not willing to employ his abilities for the good of those that were committed to his charge; towards whom he had little more than the name of a tutor. This he lamented as his infelicity, at his first setting out. But it pleased God to give him an interest in the affections of a young man, an under-graduate then, but two or three years his senior from Westminster, one Mr. Richard Bryan,‡ who took him to be his chamber-fellow while he continued at Oxford, read to him, overlooked his studies, and directed him in them. Of this gentleman he makes a very honourable mention, as one who was, through God's blessing, an instrument of much good to him. Mr. John Fell, also, the Dean's son, (afterwards himself Dean of Christ-church, and Bishop of Oxford,) taking pity on him, and some others that were neglected, voluntarily read to them for some time; a kindness which he retained a very grateful sense of, and for which he much honoured that learned, and worthy person.

Here he duly performed the college-exercises, disputations every day, in Term-time; themes and verses once a week, and declamations when it came to his turn; in which performances he frequently

* Dr. George Morley, Dr. Rich. Gardiner, Dr. Morris, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Payn, and one more. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Mr. Cornish, Mr. Langley, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Button, and Dr. Mills. Also, great alterations among the students, and the like, in other colleges. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 110.

came off with very great applause. And many of his manuscripts which remain, show how well he improved his time there, [though most of his philosophy collections were casually lost together in a trunk in some remove, which he oft lamented.*]

And yet, in some reflections I find under his hand, written long after, wherein he looks back upon his early days, he chargeth it upon himself, that for a good while after he came to the University, though he was known not to be inferior to any of his standing, in publick exercises,† yet he was too much a stranger to that hard study which afterwards he became acquainted with, and that he lost a deal of time which might have been better improved. Thus he is pleased to accuse himself of that, which, for ought I ever heard, no one else did, or could accuse him of. But the truth is, in all the secret accounts he kept of himself, he appears to have had a very quick and deep sense of his own failings and infirmities, in the most minute instances, the loss of time, weakness and distractions in holy duties; not improving opportunities of doing good to others, and the like; lamentably bewailing these imperfections, and charging them upon himself, with as great expressions of shame, and sorrow, and self-abhorrence, and crying out as earnestly for pardon and forgiveness in the blood of Jesus, as if he had been the greatest of sinners. [“I was,” he writes, “too much in love with recreation, a bowling-green, I remember, out of town, and a metheglin-house which I often went to in winter for my morning draught, and it was such a draught as disfitted me for study after, though I cannot say I was ever drunk. These things are now bitter to me, and have been formerly, many a time, in the reflection, and here I record them against myself.”‡] For, though he was a man that walked very closely, yet withal he walked very humbly with God, and lived a life of repentance and self-denial. This minds me of a sermon of his, which one might discern came from the heart, on that Scripture, Rom. vii. 24. *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!* A strange complaint, saith he, to come from the mouth of one who had learned in every state to be content. Had I been to have given my thoughts, said he, concerning Paul, I should have said, O blessed man that thou art, that hast been in the third heaven, a great apostle, a spiritual father to thousands, &c. and yet a wretched man all this while, in his own account and esteem. He never complains thus of the bonds and afflictions that did abide him, the prisons that were frequent, the stripes above measure; but

* Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

† What must needs be done in college-exercise, for disputations every day, in Term-time, for theames and verses once a week, and for declamations, when it came to my turn, I did as others of my standing, and sometimes had prayse for it. But as for that which wee call hard study, giving myself to reading, late and early, and digesting what I read by daily serious review, I was too much a stranger to it. P. Henry. Orig. MS. See Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Rev. Mr. Edmund Trench, p. 20, duod. 1693.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

the body of death ; that is, the body of sin, that was it he groaned under. How feelingly did he observe from thence,—That the remainders of indwelling corruption are a very grievous burden to a gracious soul.*

But to return. It may not be amiss to set down the causes to which he ascribes his loss of time when he came first to the University. One was, that he was young, too young, and understood not the day of his opportunities, which made him afterwards advise his friends not to thrust their children forth too soon from school to the University, though they may seem ripe, in respect of learning, till they have discretion to manage themselves. While they are children, what can be expected but that they should mind childish things? Another was, that, coming from Westminster School, his attainments in school-learning were beyond what generally others had that came from other schools ; so that he was tempted to think there was no need for him to study much, because it was so easy to him to keep pace with others ; which, he said, was the thing Dr. Caldecott, Chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke, and his great friend, warned him of at his coming to Oxford. Another was, that there were two sorts of persons, his contemporaries ; some of the new stamp, that came in by the visitation, and were divers of them serious, pious young men, but of small ability, comparatively, for learning, and those for that reason he desired not to have much fellowship with. But there were others that were of the old spirit and way, enemies to the Parliament, and the reformation they made ; and these were the better scholars, but generally not the better men. With them, for a while, he struck in because of their learning, and conversed most with them ; but he soon found it a snare to him, and that it took him off from the life of religion and communion with God. *Elanguescere mox cepit*, saith he, in a Latin narrative of his younger years, *pristinæ pietatis ardor*, &c. But, “for ever praised be the riches of God’s free grace,” saith he, in another account, “that he was pleased still to keep his hold of me ; and not to let me alone when I was running from him, but set his hand again the second time, as the expression is, Isa. xi. 11., to snatch me *as a brand out of the fire*.” His recovery from this snare he would call a kind of second conversion ; so much was he affected with the preventing grace of God in it, and sensible of a double bond to be for ever thankful, as well as of an engagement to be watchful and humble. It was a saying of his,—He that stumbleth and doth not fall, gets ground by his stumble.†

* See the Works of Bishop Reynolds, Fol. 1658, p. 624, and Dr. John Owen’s Treatise on In-dwelling Sin. 1668. oct.

† A similar phrase occurs in the writings of Mr. Paul Bayne ;—“He that stumbles, and comes not down, gets ground : the trippings of God’s children, in which they recover themselves, bring them on with greater advantage.” Christian Letters, p. 173, duod. 1697. Mr. Bayne died in 1617. See Clark’s Lives, annexed to the Martyrologie, p. 22, fol. 1677. Mr. Baxter thought him “one of the holiest, choicest, men, that ever England bred.” Saints’ Everlasting Rest. p. 416. 4to. 1662.

[Hence he writes, "Forasmuch as I have by often experience found the treachery and deceitfulness of my own heart, and being taught that it is my duty to engage my heart to approach unto God, and that one way of doing it is by subscribing with my hand unto the Lord; therefore let this paper be witness, that I do deliberately, of choice, and unreservedly, take God in Christ to be mine; and give myself to him, to be his, to love him, to fear him, to serve and obey him; and, renouncing all my sins with hearty sorrow and detestation, I do cast myself only upon free grace, through the merits of Christ, for pardon and forgiveness; and do propose, God enabling me, from this day forward, more than ever, to exercise myself unto godliness, and to walk in all the ways of religion as much as ever I can with delight and cheerfulness, as knowing that *my labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.*"*]

At the latter end of the year 1648, he had leave given† him to make a visit to his father at Whitehall, with whom he stayed some time; there he was, January 30, when the King was beheaded, and with a very sad heart saw that tragical blow given. Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day, which I know not whether any of the historians mention. One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, as it were with one consent, as he never heard before; and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was, that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing-cross towards King-street, and another from King-street towards Charing-cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to shift every one for his own safety. He did upon all occasions testify his abhorrence of this unparalleled action, which he always said was a thing that could not be justified, and yet he said he saw not how it could be called a national sin; for, as the King urged upon his trial, it was certain that not one

* See the Bishop of Chichester's Sermon before the King, Jan. 30, 1697, page 25, 29. where he saith he did not see how it could be called a national sin.

man of ten in the kingdom did consent to it;* nor could it be called the sin of the Long Parliament, for far the greatest part of them were all that time, while the thing was in agitation, imprisoned and kept under a force, and scarce twenty-seven of the forty that were left to carry the name of a Parliament;

* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 490; said to be printed from Mr. Henry's Diary.

† At the latter end of the year 1648 I had leave given me to goe to London to see my father; and during my stay there, at that time, at Whitehall, it was, that I saw the beheading of King Charles the First. Hee went by water to Westminster, for hee took barge at Garden-stayres, where wee lived, and once he spake to my father, and said,—Art thou alive yet?

On the day of his execution, which was Tuesday, Jan. 30, I stood amongst the

did give their vote for it; which the Commissioners for the trying of the King's Judges, in the year 1660, (some of whom had been themselves members of the Long Parliament,) urged again and again, in answer to that plea which the prisoners stood so much upon, that what they did was by authority of the Parliament. But it is manifest it was done by a prevailing party in the army, who, as he used to express it, having beaten their plowshares into swords, could not so easily beat their swords into plowshares again, as having fought more for victory and dominion than for peace and truth; but how far these men were acted and influenced by another sort of people behind the curtain, the world is not altogether ignorant.* For some years after King Charles II. came in, he observed the yearly day of humiliation† for this sin, desiring that God would not lay the guilt of blood to the charge of the nation. But, afterwards, finding to what purposes it was generally observed, and improved even to the reproach and condemning not only the innocent, but of some of the excellent ones of the land, and noting that there is no precedent in Scripture of keeping annual days of humiliation for particular sins; especially after the immediate judgment is at an end, Zech. viii. 19. Heb. x. 2, 3, he took no farther notice of it. But in his diary he adds this tender remark, according to the spirit he was of, "Yet good men, no doubt, may observe it to the Lord," Rom. xiv. 6. Thus he judged not, and why then should he be judged?

In the year 1650-1 he took his Batchelor of Arts degree, and he hath recorded the goodness of God in raising him up friends, who helped him out in the expenses. Such kindnesses have a peculiar sweetness in them to a good man, who sees and receives them as the kindness of God, and the tokens of his love.

He would often mention it with thankfulness to God, what great helps and advantages he had then in the University, not only for learning, but for religion and piety. Serious godliness was in reputation, and besides the publick opportunities they had, there were many of the scholars that used to meet together for prayer, and christian conference, to the great confirming of one another's hearts in the fear and love of God, and the preparing of them for the service of the church in their generation. I have heard him speak of the prudent method they took then about the University sermons on the Lord's day in the afternoon; which used to be

crowd in the street, before Whitehall gate, where the scaffold was erected, and saw what was done, but was not so near as to hear any thing. The blow I saw given, and, can truly say, with a sad heart. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* See Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, *ut supra*. Letters at the end, No. 293; and the Abr. of Baxter's Life and Times, v. 1. p. 57, &c. oct. 1713.

† 1671. Jan. 30. Brings to remembrance the horrid murder of the late King. Deliver the nation from blood-guiltiness, O God! P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

1673. Jan. 30. We remembered this day the death of Charles I. with grief, and prayer,—that God would please to forgive it,—Exod. xx. 5.—*visiting the iniquity*. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

See the Life of the Rev. Thomas Cawton, p. 25, duod. 1602; and Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 190, fol. 1683.

preached by the fellows of colleges in their course ; but, that being found not so much for edification, Dr. Owen* and Dr. Goodwin† performed that service alternately, and the young masters that were wont to preach it, had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them. The sermons he heard at Oxford he commonly wrote, not in the time of hearing, but afterwards, when he came home, in his reflection upon them, which he found a good help to his memory.

In December, 1652, he proceeded Master of Arts, and in January following preached his first sermon at South Hinksey in Oxfordshire, on John, viii. 34. *Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.* On this occasion he writes in his diary what was the breathing of his heart towards God,—The Lord make use of me as an instrument of his glory, and his church's good, in this high and holy calling.

His great parts and improvement, notwithstanding his extraordinary modesty and humility, had made him so well known in the University, that in the following act, in July, 1653, he was chosen out of all the masters of that year, to be junior of the act, that is, to answer the philosophy questions in *Vesperis*, which he did with very great applause ; especially for the very witty and ingenious orations which he made to the University upon that occasion. His questions were,—1. *An licitum sit carnibus vesci?* Aff. 2. *An institutio academiæ sit utilis in republicâ?* Aff. 3. *An ingenium pendeat ab humoribus corporis?* Aff. At the act in 1654, he was chosen *Magister Replicans*, and answered the philosophy questions in *comitiis*, with a like applause. His questions then were,—1. *An melius sit sperare quam frui?* Neg. 2. *An maxima animi delectatio sit a sensibus?* Neg. 3. *An utile sit peregrinari?* Aff.

Dr. Owen, who was then Vice-Chancellor, hath spoken with great commendation of these performances of Mr. Henry's to some in the University afterwards, who never knew him otherwise than by report ; and I have heard a worthy divine who was somewhat his junior in the University, and there a perfect stranger to him, say, how much he admired these exercises of his, and loved him for them ; and yet how much more he admired, when he afterwards became acquainted with him in the country, that so curious and polite an orator should become so profitable and powerful a preacher, and so readily lay aside the enticing words of man's wisdom, which were so easy to him.

There is a copy of Latin verses of his in print, among the poems which the University of Oxford published upon the peace concluded with Holland,‡ in the year 1654, which show him to be no less a poet than an orator.

He hath noted it of some pious young men, that before they

* Nat. 1616. Ob. Aug. 24, 1683. See his *Life* by Mr. Orme, *ut supra*.

† Nat. Oct. 5, 1600, ob. Feb. 23, 1679. *Life* prefixed to his works, vol. v. fol. 1704.

‡ Appendix, No. III.

removed from the University into the country, they kept a day of fasting and humiliation for the sins they had been guilty of in that place and state. And in the visits he made afterwards to the University, he inserts into his book, as no doubt God did into His, —a tear dropt over my University-sins.* [He would sometimes say, "When we mourn for sin because God is offended by it, and abstain from sin because of his honour, that we may not wrong him, or grieve him, this is more pleasing to him than burnt offerings and sacrifices.†]

* May not Sterne have had in view this sentence when he penned the well-known passage,—“The accusing spirit which flew up to heaven’s chancery with the oath, blushed as he gave it in;—and the Recording Angel, as he wrote it down, *dropped a tear* upon the word, and blotted it out for ever?” Works, vol. vi. p. 42, duod. 1762.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

CHAPTER III.

His Removal to Worthenbury, in Flintshire, his Ordination to the Ministry, and his Exercise of it there.

WORTHENBURY* is a little town by Dee side in that Hundred of Flintshire, which is separated some miles from the rest of the county, and known by the name of English Mailors,† because though it is reputed in Wales, as pertaining to Flintshire, yet in language and customs it is wholly English, and lies mostly between Cheshire and Shropshire. Worthenbury was of old a parochial chapel, belonging to the rectory of Bangor,‡ but was separated from it in the year 1658, by the trustees for uniting and dividing of parishes, and was made a parish of itself. But what was then done being vacated by the King's coming in, it then came to be *in statu quo*, and continued an appurtenant to Bangor, till, in the second year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, it was again by act of Parliament separated, and made independent upon Bangor. That was the only act that passed the royal assent with the act of recognition, at the beginning of the second parliament of this reign.§ The principal family in Worthenbury parish, is that of the Pulestons of Emeral. The head of the family was then John Puleston, Serjeant at Law, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

This was the family to which Mr. Henry came from Christchurch, presently after he had completed his master's degree, in 1653. Ordered into that remote, and unto him unknown, corner of the country, by that over-ruling Providence which determineth the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation.

The Judge's lady was a person of more than ordinary parts and wisdom, in piety inferior to few, but in learning superior to most of her sex, which I could give instances of from what I find among

* Beneth Bangor, still on the south side of Dee ryver, is a paroche callid Worthembre; in Walch, Guothumbre; having a faire church, but as a membre to Bangor. Leland's Itinerary, vol. v. p. 30; oct. 1744.

† See Leland, *ut supra*, v. 5. p. 30.

‡ Ibid.

§ Sir John Trevor, the Speaker, being father-in-law to Sir Roger Puleston, the Patron. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

Mr. Henry's papers,* particularly an elegy she made upon the death of the famous Mr. John Selden,† who was her great friend.

This was the lady whose agency first brought Mr. Henry into this country. She wrote to a friend of her's, Mr. Francis Palmer,‡ student of Christ-church, to desire him to recommend to her a young man to be in her family, and to take the oversight of her sons, some of whom were now ready for the University, and to preach at Worthenbury on the Lord's days, for which a very honourable encouragement§ was promised. Mr. Palmer proposed it to his friend Mr. Henry, who was willing for one half-year to undertake it, provided it might be required of him to preach but once on the Lord's day, and that some other supply might be got for the other part of the day, he being now but twenty-two years of age, and newly entered upon that great work. Provided also, that he should be engaged but for half a year, as little intending to break off so soon from an academical life, which he delighted in so much. But preferring usefulness before his own private satisfaction, he was willing to make trial for a while in the country, as one that sought not his own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, to whose service in the work of the ministry he had entirely devoted himself, bending his studies wholly that way. [One of the letters which passed on the occasion just referred to, has been preserved. It is introduced from the hand-writing of Lady Puleston, and the orthography correctly transcribed. It illustrates in some measure the nature of Mr. Henry's inquiries, and furnishes a pleasing corroboration of the character already given of its excellent writer.

19th Sept. 1653.

Cosin Palmer,

Y^e Messeng^r w^{ch} brought mee a lett^r fro y^e brought y^e judg one also fro his Nephew, Mr. Hamlet Puleston. But no motio of a Schoolm^r. However I rely so much on y^r choice of y^e gentl^m pposed, y^t thers' no need to trouble Mr. H. Puleston. I am content to abate one of y^e sermons, hoping hee will pray in y^e family, instead thereof, w^{ch} is so easy to a Christia y^t hee's rather lead then drawn therto, and if y^e expositions of chapters or Psalmes bee easier to him then preaching, I shal like it (as ever I have done) bett^r then y^e other. Im' confident wee shall not differ heerin ffor I shall eyther wait ffor y^e guifts and calling of God in him (w^{ch} are wthout repentance) or wholly indulg

* See Mr. Orme's Life of Dr. Owen. App. p. 511.

† John Selden, Esq. was born Dec. 16, 1584. He died Nov. 30, 1654. Mr. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 27, p. 317.

‡ Probably the same person who contributed a copy of verses when the poems of William Cartwright, "the most noted poet, orator, and philosopher, of his time," were "usher'd into the world," A.D. 1661, oct. See Wood's Ath. Oxon. v. 3. p. 70. *ut supra*.

§ My diet, and sixty pounds per annum salary. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

him firo y^e fformalities of preaching, praying, &c.—as some use y^m please to send him away ffor y^e half yeer firo y^e time hee comes till 26 weekes be compleat: his allowance shall be half y^e revenue pposd, and other accomodations mentiond formerly. This time of probatio will conclude us eyther on a ffarther time, or repaying to Oxford at Spring.

Please to keep y^e letter

as an evidence of our bargain. I have deliverd y^e Bearer 5*l*. ffor y^e Gentleman in part of y^e first quarteridg. what y^e charge of y^e journey takes out of it I will supply at y^e quarters end when I pay y^e rest to make out 15*l*. I have sent a horse and a footman to wait on him hither. Mr. Roberts is grown a worthy Christian and I greatly value him. if yⁿ have a mind to see what works God hath done in him, yⁿ shall finde him at one Mr. Courtneys Lodging in Milbanck neer Tattle-Fields. God can doo as much ffor Mr. Henry yⁿ know. I pray yⁿ hasten him hyther.

If pleas God to give success to y^{es} endeavours I shal bee glad. I wish y^e Gentlemⁿ to take his journey on Fryday, and rest at my sister Grayes on Lord's day so hee may bee at Emral on Munday night. I desire a good-journey. Francis Palmer (Juni.) & Tremeli.*) notes upo y^e Bible I desire yⁿ to send mee. & y^e Bible in Greek w^{ch} y^r learned ffrinds, Septuagint,, translated ffor Ptolomy.

I thank yⁿ ffor y^r respect and shal ever rest

Y^r welwishing Cosin

ELIZABETH PULESTON.

If yⁿ will come see how wee thrive yⁿ shal bee welcome. My Roger Puleston love to yⁿ & so y^e rest.

To my much-respected

Kinsman Mr. Francis Palmer

a Master of Arts

at Christ's Church in Oxford.

or in his absence to one Mr. Henry

Master of Art & of y^e same

House.†]

In the latter part of his time at Oxford, as one grown weary of that which he used to say he found little to his purpose; he employed his time mostly in searching the Scriptures, and collecting useful Scripture observations, which he made very familiar to him, and with which he was thoroughly furnished for this good work. He got a Bible interleaved, in which he wrote short notes upon texts of Scripture as they occurred. He would often say,—I read other books, that I may be the better able to understand the Scripture.

* Intending, by this playful compliment, the version of Francis Junius and Immanuel Tremellius, first published in 1575.

† Orig. MS.

It was a stock of Scripture knowledge that he set up with, and with that he traded to good advantage. Though he was so great a master in the eloquence of Cicero, yet he preferred far before it that of Apollon, who was *an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures*. Acts, xviii. 24.

He bid very fair at that time for University-preferment, such was the reputation he had got at the late act, and such his interest in Dr. Owen; but the salvation of souls was that which his heart was upon, to which he postponed all his other interests.

In September, 1658, he came down to Emral,* from whence a messenger was sent on purpose to Oxford to conduct him thither. Long after, when it had pleased God to settle him in that country, and to build him up into a family, he would often reflect upon his coming into it first; what a stranger he then was, and how far it was from his thoughts ever to have made his home in those parts; and, passing over the brook that parts between Flintshire and Shropshire, would sometimes very affectionately use that word of Jacob's,—*With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands*.

At Emral he prayed in the family, was tutor to the young gentlemen, and preached once a day at Worthenbury, other help being procured for the other part of the day, according to his request, out of a fear, being so young, to take the whole work upon him. But it soon happened, that, one Lord's day, the supply that was expected failed; and so he was necessitated, rather than there should be a vacancy, to preach twice, in which he found the promise so well fulfilled, *As thy day is, so shall thy strength be; and, To him that hath* (i. e. that hath, and useth what he hath) *shall be given, and he shall have abundances*; that, to the great satisfaction of his friends there, from thenceforward he waved looking out for other help than what came from above, and would sometimes speak of this as an instance, that we do not know what we can do, till we have tried.

Here he applied himself to a plain† and practical way of

* On leaving Broughton I took the road towards Bangor. On the right lies Emral Hall, the seat of the Pulestons; a family settled here in the time of Edward I. but which took its name from Pulesdon, a township in Shropshire. Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, v. i. p. 207. See Leland, *ut supra*, v. 6, pp. 32, 33.

† Let your preaching be plain. Painted glass is most curious; plain glass is most perspicuous. Be a good crucifix to your people. Preach a crucified Saviour in a crucified style. Paul taught so plainly, that the Corinthians thought him a dunc. Let your matter be substantial; wholesome food; God and Christ, and the gospel, faith, repentance, regeneration. Aim purely at God's glory and the salvation of souls. Study, as if there were no Christ; preach, as if there had been no study. Preach plainly, yet with novelty; preach powerfully, as Micah;—as Paul, in intension of spirit, not extension of voice. To this end get your sermon into your own souls. It is best, from the heart, to the heart. Preach prudentially,—as stewards, to give each their portion. Get your sermons memoriter. How can you expect your people should remember, and repeat, if you read? Yet use caution. Our memories are not of brass,—they are cracked, in all, by the fall. Beware of giving occasion to say,—I may stay at home in the afternoon; I shall hear only the same song. Mr. Porter at an Ordination. From a MS. in the hand-writing of P. Henry.

preaching, as one truly concerned for the souls of those he spoke to. He would say sometimes, — We study how to speak that you may understand us; and, I never think I can speak plain enough when I am speaking about souls and their salvation. I have heard him say, he thought it did him good, that for the first half year of his being at Worthenbury, he had few or no books with him, which engaged him in studying sermons to a closer search of the Scripture, and his own heart. What success his labours had in that parish, which, before he came to it, I have been told, was accounted one of the most loose and profane places in all the country, may be gathered from a letter of the Lady Puleston's to him, at the end of the first half year after his coming to Emral, when he was uncertain of his continuance there, and inclinable to return to settle at Christ-church. Take the letter at large.

Dear Mr. Henry;

The indisposition that my sadness hath bred, and the stay of Mrs. V. here yesterday, hindered my answering your last expressions. As to ordering the conversation, and persevering to the practice of those good intents, taken up while one is in pursuit of a mercy, you and I will confer, as God gives opportunity, who also must give the will and the deed, by his Spirit, and by the rule of his word. As to begging that one thing for you, God forbid, as Samuel said, that *I should cease to pray*, &c. This I am sure, that having wanted hitherto a good minister of the word among us, I have oft by prayer and some tears, above five years besought God for such a one as yourself; which, having obtained, I cannot yet despair, seeing he hath given us the good means, but he may also give us the good end. And this I find, that your audience is increased three for one in the parish, though in winter more than formerly in summer; and five for one out of other places. And I have neither heard of their being in the ale-house on our Lord's day, nor ball-playing that day, which, before you came was frequent, except that day that young Ch. preached. I think I can name four or five in the parish, that of formal christians are becoming or become real. But you know all are not wrought on at first, by the word. Some come in no misfortune like other men, and this is the cause they be so holden with pride, &c. Hypocrites also have converted conversion itself. Yet God may have reserved those that *have not bowed the knee to Baal*, &c. and may call them at the latter part of the day, though not in this half year. It is a good sign, most are loath to part with you; and you have done more good in this half year, than I have discerned these eighteen years. But, however, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, you have delivered your own soul. I have prayed, and do pray, seeing God hath sent you, that you may be for his glory, and not for our condemnation.

It is easy to imagine what an encouragement this was to him,

thus at his first setting out to see of the travail of his soul, and what an inducement it was to him not to leave those among whom God had thus owned him. However, that spring he returned to Oxford. The Lady Puleston soon after came to him thither, with her five sons, of whom she placed the two eldest under his charge in the college. In the following vacation he went to London to visit his relations there; and there, in October he received a letter from Judge Puleston, with a very solemn and affectionate request, subscribed by the parishioners of Worthenbury, earnestly desiring his settlement among them, as their minister, which he was persuaded to comply with, having fixed to himself that good rule,—In the turns of his life, to follow Providence, and not to force it. So, in the winter following he came down again, and settled with them. He continued in his student's place in Christ-church for two or three years, attending the service of it once a year; but disposing of most of the profit of it for the use of poor scholars there.

The tithe of Worthenbury belonged to [the] Emral family, paying some rent to the Rector of Bangor. This tithe Judge Puleston was willing to give, clear of that charge, to the minister of Worthenbury for ever. But such was the peculiar and extraordinary kindness he had for Mr. Henry, upon the experience of his merits, that he chose rather by deed of indenture, bearing date October 6, 1655, between himself and Mr. Henry,—“In consideration of his being pleased to undertake the cure of souls, and to preach and teach, and perform other duties of divine service in the parish church of Worthenbury, (so the deed runs,) to give, grant, and confirm for himself and his heirs, unto the said Philip Henry, the yearly rent of one hundred pounds, charged upon all his messuages, lands, and tenements in the several counties of Flint, Denbigh, and Chester, to be paid quarterly, until such times as the said Philip Henry shall be promoted or preferred to some other spiritual or ecclesiastical living or preferment, with power of distress in case of non-payment.” A hundred a year was more than Worthenbury tithes were worth at that time; and the manner of the gift freed the maintenance from much of that loss and incumbrance which commonly attends the gathering of tithe.

[About this period, judging from the hand-writing of the following letter, addressed to a friend at Oxford, (no doubt Dr. Owen, who was then Dean of Christ-church, and Vice-Chancellor,*) he received a summons to that city, which led him to add the postscript. But as the letter furnishes an illustration of Mr. Henry's character as a young minister, the whole may be here fitly introduced.

Most honoured Sir;

Being importuned to improve my interest for the supply of a vacant curacy in these parts, I make bold to acquaint you with

* Le Neve, pp. 281, 466, fol. 1716.

the state of it, that, if you know of any, either in your own college or elsewhere, that is willing to accept of it, you would please to be instrumental in sending him hither.

The place is called Holt, it is in Denbighshire; but I think a man may throw a stone out of it into Cheshire; it is distant from Wrexham about three miles, and from Cheshire five; the situation of it for convenience is beyond exception; there are but few such hereabouts, only the salary, I fear, may appear somewhat too small to some so far for. It is as yet, upon certainty, but £45 per annum, but it is probable may be made, ere long, £65, paid in money, and no deductions out of it for taxes; for the place of his abode, if he be a single man, the Major of the town, a very godly person, hath promised it in his own house, till such time care be taken to provide for him otherwise. For his qualifications, Sir, he must, in a judgment of charity, be one that fears God, in regard he comes, not to a place that never heard of Christ, (as many such there be in Wales,) but to a knot of eminent, discerning Christians, scarce the like anywhere hereabouts, among whom there are divers able, indeed, to be themselves teachers of others, so that if he himself be one that hath no savour of the things of God, he will be no way acceptable or useful there. He must, moreover, be either fitted already for the administration of the ordinances, or in a capacity of being suddenly fitted; if he make haste hither, he may have an opportunity shortly of being ordained here in Shropshire.

Sir, if God, the Lord of the harvest, shall make use of you in his providence, as an instrument of thrusting forth a faithful labourer into this corner of his vineyard, I no way doubt but you will be often mentioned by some of them with rejoicing at the throne of grace, and that you, yourself, when you shall have reaped the fruit of their prayers, will bless God for putting such a prize into your hands.

Sir, craving your pardon for my boldness in troubling you, I leave the matter with your care, and yourself, and all your relations and concerns, with our ever good God.

Your Servant very much obliged,

P. H.

Sir, since my purpose of writing to you about the business above mentioned, I have received information from Christ-church of a summons to appear personally there, before Michaelmas Term: whereupon my request to you is, that by a line or two you would please to acquaint me, whether I may not obtain to be dispensed with. 1. In regard I was so lately there. 2. In regard of the great distance I am now at from thence; above four score miles. 3. Of the unusual unseasonableness of the ways and weather: and 4. Which is most of all, my very great indisposedness in point of health. If I may be excused, I would intreat you, Sir, to endeavour it for me; if not, that you would please to send me word,—1.

Whether it will not serve if I come sooner: and 2. How long it will be required that I make my stay there. Sir, I have more reason to beg your pardon for this latter trouble than the former.*]

He still continued for some years in the Emeral family, where he laid out himself very much for the spiritual good of the family, even of the meanest of the servants, by catechising,† repeating the sermons, and personal instruction, and he had very much comfort in the countenance and conversation of the judge and his lady. Yet he complains sometimes in his diary of the snares and temptations that he found in his way there, especially because some of the branches of the family, who did not patrizare, were uneasy at his being there, which made him willing to remove to a house of his own; which, when Judge Puleston perceived, in the year 1657, out of his abundant and continued kindness to him, he did, at his own proper cost and charges, build him a very handsome house in Worthenbury, and settled it upon him by a lease, bearing date March 6, 1657, for threescore years, if he should so long continue minister at Worthenbury, and not accept of better preferment.

He hath noted in his diary, that the very day that the workmen began the building of that house, Mr. Mainwaring, of Malpas,‡ preached the lecture at Bangor, from Psalm cxxvii. 1. *Except the Lord build the house,§ they labour in vain that build it.*—There never was truth, saith he, more seasonable to any than this was to me. It was a word upon the wheels.|| He hath recorded it as his great care, that his affections might be kept loose from it, and that it might not encroach upon God's interest in his heart. When it was finished, he thus writes:—I do from my heart bless God, that no hurt or harm befel any of the workmen in the building of it.

Thus was his maintenance settled at Worthenbury. In the year 1659, he was, by a writing of Judge Puleston's, collated,

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Use catechising. Heretofore, catechising justled out preaching; now, preaching justles out catechising. Let the ship be ballasted with fundamental truths. Hearers will then not be so easily whirled about with every wind. Luther was called,—*discipulus catechismi*. Mr. Porter, 1659. From a MS. in P. Henry's handwriting.

‡ See Dr. Townson's Works, v. 1, p. xix. *ut supra*, and Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire, v. ii. p. 328, &c.

§ Mr. Henry has the following notes on this passage:—

The house; that is, the family. Build; that is, constitute, maintain, preserve, augment. If we would have God to build our houses, we must be careful to build God's house by caring for his worship, ordinances, interests. Hag. i. 9. ii. 18. 2 Sam. vii. —; to alim at his glory in our buildings, not at self, as Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 30;—to build in faith, relying upon the promises, Heb. xi. 9, 10;—in the fear of God, Exod. i. 21; in righteousness and honesty, Prov. x. 25; Hab. ii. 12.—We must fetch in God by prayer, and keep him there by family duties, Josh. xxiv. 15; Ps. ci. Orig. MS.

|| "A word, fitly spoken, is like apples of gold in pictures of silver;" Prov. xxv. 11; or, as the Hebrew hath it,—*"A word spoken upon his wheels;"* that is, rightly ordered, placed, and circumstanced. Brooks's Arke for all God's Noahs, Ep. Ded. p. 1, duod. 1662. See, also, Jer. xviii. 3.

nominated, and presented, to the church of Worthenbury; and, the powers that then were, having so appointed, he had an approbation thereof from the commissioners for approbation of publick preachers.

Some little opposition was made to his settlement at Worthenbury by Mr. Fogg,* then Rector of Bangor, because he conceived it an intrenchment upon his right to Worthenbury, and thought it might prejudice his recovering of it by course of law. I only mention this for the sake of the note he hath upon it in his diary, which is this:—I do earnestly desire that the Judge may give Mr. Fogg all reasonable satisfaction, that there may be no appearance of wrong to him, or any other in this thing. And when Mr. Fogg insisted upon it, that he would have Mr. Henry give it under his hand, that he desired the consent of the said Mr. Fogg to be minister of Worthenbury; he yielded to do it for peace sake, and from thenceforward there was an intimate and entire friendship between Mr. Fogg and him.

Being thus settled at Worthenbury, his next care was touching ordination to the work of the ministry, to which he would see his call very clear, before he solemnly devoted himself to it. And though afterwards in the reflection, especially when he was silenced, it was some trouble to him, that he had so long deferred to be ordained, (and he would often, from the consideration of that, press those who intended the ministry, not to put it off,) yet, as the times then were, there was something of a reason for it.

The nearest acting class of presbytery, was in the Hundred of Bradford North, in Shropshire, wherein Mr. Porter, of Whitchurch, was the leading man, of whom Mr. Baxter† gives so high a character in his Life, part 3, page 94, and who was one of those whom he recommended to the Lord Chancellor, as fit to be made a Bishop, part 2, page 283. This class was constituted by ordinance of parliament, in April, 1647; the members of it then, were the aforesaid Mr. Porter, Mr. Boughy, of Hodnet, Mr. Houghton, of Prees, Mr. Parsons,‡ of Wem, and Mr. John Bisby;§ and afterwards Mr. Malden,|| of Newport, Mr. Binney, of Ightfield, and Mr. Steel, of Hanmer, though in Flintshire, were taken in to them, and acted with them. This class in twelve years' time publicly ordained sixty-three ministers. Mr. Henry was very desirous to have been ordained at Worthenbury, *plebe prasente*, which he thought most agreeable to the intention, but the ministers

* See the Noncon. Mem. v. iii. p. 480, &c.

† See Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, or, Mr. R. Baxter's Narrative of the most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times. Fol. 1696.

‡ See the Noncon. Mem. v. iii. p. 163.

§ Minister of Edstaston, in Shropshire. Wood's Ath. Oxon. v. 4. p. 640, *ut supra*. Walker mentions him as a Prebend. of Pipa Minor, *alias* Prees. Suff. of the Clergy, Part II. p. 41.

|| See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3. p. 149.

were not willing to set such a precedent. However, that was one thing which occasioned the delay, so that he was not ordained till September 16, 1657.

The way and manner of his ordination was according to the known directory of the Assembly of Divines, and the common usage of the Presbyterians; and yet, he having left among his papers a particular account of that solemnity, and some of the workings of his soul towards God in it; I hope it may be of some use both for instruction and quickening to ministers, and for the information of such as are perhaps wholly strangers to such a thing, to give some account of the whole transaction.

He made addresses to the presbytery, in order to his ordination, July 6, at Prees, when he submitted to trial, and inquiry was made, in the first place, concerning his experience of the work of grace in his heart; in answer to which he gave a *reason of the hope that was in him, with meekness and fear*; that the spirit of grace had been dealing with him when he was young; and, he hoped, had discovered to him his need of Christ, and had bowed his will in some measure to close with him upon his own terms, &c. His skill in the original languages of the Scripture was then tried; and he read and construed two verses in the Hebrew Bible, and two in the Greek Testament. He was then examined in Logick and Natural Philosophy, next in Divinity, what authors he had read, and what knowledge he had, touching the mediation of Christ, &c. And his skill in the Scripture was tried, by propounding to him a difficult text to give his sense of; a case of conscience was also put to him to be resolved, an inquiry made into his acquaintance with church-history. Lastly, a question was given him to provide a thesis upon against next meeting, which was this; *An Providentia Divina extendat se ad omnia? Aff.* On this question he exhibited his thesis. August 3. and defended it. Several of the ministers opposed, and Mr. Porter moderated. He then produced two certificates, which he left with the register of the class, one from Oxford, subscribed by Dr. Wilkinson,* Dr. Langley,† &c. the other from the neighbour ministers, Mr. Steel, Mr. Fogg, &c. both testifying of his conversation, &c. "The Lord forgive me," saith he, in his diary upon this, "that it hath not been more exemplary, as it ought, for piety and industry. Amen, Lord in Christ." The day for ordination was appointed to be September 16, at Prees,‡ of which notice was given at Worthenbury by a paper, read in the church, and afterwards affixed to the church door the Lord's day before, signifying also, "That, if any one could produce any just exceptions against the doctrine or life of the said Mr. Henry, or any sufficient reason why he might not be ordained, they should

* Nat. 1602; ob. June, 1675. Wood's Ath. Oxon. *ut supra*, v. 3. p. 1038.

† Ob. Sept. 1679. Wood's Fasti, *ut supra*, v. 4, pp. 113. 157.

‡ A small village in the Hundred of North Bradford, Salop, five miles from Whitchurch, and about four from Wem.

certify the same to the classis, or the scribe, and it should be heard and considered."*

On the day of ordination there was a very great assembly gathered together. Mr. Porter began the publick work of the day with prayer, then Mr. Parsons preached on 1 Timothy, i. 12; *I thank Christ Jesus, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry.* Putting men into the ministry is the work of Jesus Christ. After sermon, Mr. Parsons, according to the usual method, required of him a confession of his faith, which he made as follows.

2 Pet. i. 21. The ground and rule of my faith towards God, is the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. I believe they were written by holy men, immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost; having found the efficacy of them, in some measure, upon my own heart, I believe they are further able to make me wise to salvation.

Heb. xi. 6. Concerning God, I believe that he is, and that he is the Rewarder of those that diligently seek him.

1 John, v. 7. The Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead, I receive and own as a truth, I admire and adore as a mystery; though no man hath seen God at any time, yet the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him; and what he hath declared concerning him, that I believe. John, i. 18. I believe that God is a Spirit, for the Son hath said, "God is a Spirit." I believe that he hath life in himself, and that he hath given to the Son to have life in himself. I believe all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. John, i. 3. I believe by his providence he preserves, guides, and governs, all the creatures, according to the purpose of his own will, to his own glory; for the Father worketh hitherto, and the Son also worketh. John, v. 17.

Eccles. vii. 29. I believe he made man upright, after his own image and likeness, which image consisted in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness; but man, by sin, lost it. Gen. i. 26. Coloss. iii. 10. Ephes. iv. 24.

Psalm li. 5. I believe we were all in the loins of our first parents, and that they stood and fell as publick persons, and upon that account justly, without any colour of wrong, we bear our share, both in the guilt of their disobedience, and also the corruption of nature following thereupon; so that we came into the world children of wrath, and heirs of the curse, one, as well as another; enemies to God, hating him, and hated of

him: averse to what is good, and prone to all manner of evil. Though all are born in this condition, yet there are some that do not die in it.

I believe there is a Mediator, and there is but one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus. Those whom the Father hath from everlasting pitched his love upon, and given to Christ, not because of works or faith foreseen, but merely of his free grace; for those I believe Christ was sent forth into the world, made of a woman, made under the law; for their sakes he sanctified himself, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross; wherefore God also highly exalted him; and having raised him from the dead on the third day, set him at his own right hand, where he ever lives to make intercession for those for whom he shed his blood. All these elect redeemed ones, I believe, are, in due time, sooner or later, in their lives, effectually called, washed, sanctified, justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

I believe the righteousness of Christ alone, apprehended by faith, is the matter of our justification before God; and that no flesh can stand in his sight upon any other terms, for he is the Lord our Righteousness, and in him only the Father is well pleased.

I believe the work of sanctification, managed by the Spirit, who dwelleth in us, though, in respect of parts, it be complete, for the whole man is renewed; yet, in respect of degrees, it is not fully perfected till we come to glory; and I believe all that are justified shall be glorified; for we are kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation.

I believe the gathering in, and building up, of saints, is the special end why pastors and teachers are appointed in the church; and that Jesus Christ, according to his promise, will be with them, in that work, to the end of the world.

The two Sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, I receive and own as signs and seals of the covenant of grace; the former instituted by our Lord Jesus, as a sign and seal of our engrafting into him, due of right, to all the infants of believing parents, and but once to be administered; the other instituted by our Lord Jesus in the night wherein he was betrayed, to show forth his death, and to seal the benefits purchased thereby to his church and people, and to be often repeated.

When the body returns to the dust, I believe the soul returns to God that gave it; and that imme-

Gen. vi. 5.

1 Tim. ii. 5.

Ephes. i. 4, 5.

Rom. v. 11.

Gal iv. 4.

John, xvii. 19.

Phil. ii. 8, 9.

Eph. i. 20, 21.

Heb. vii. 25.

John, xvii. 9.

Rom. viii. 30.

1 Cor. vi. 11.

Rom. v. 1.

Ps. cxliii. 2.

Jer. xxiii. 6.

Matt. iii. 17.

Rom. xv. 16.

Coloss. iii. 11.

1 Cor. xiii. 9,

10.

1 Peter, i. 5.

Ephes. iv. 11.

Matt. xxviii.

20.

Rom. iv. 11.

Matt. xxviii.

19.

Rom. vi. 7.

Acts, ii. 39.

Matt. xxvi. 26.

1 Cor. xi. 26.

Eccles. xii. 7.

- Matt. xxv. 34, 41. diately it receives from him the sentence, according to what hath been done in the flesh, either, "Come, inherit the kingdom;" or, "Depart, accursed, into everlasting fire."
- Acts, xvii. 31. I believe, besides this, a day of general judgment in the end of the world, wherein we must all appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ; and that our bodies being raised, by an almighty power, from the dust, shall be united to the same souls again, and shall partake with them, in the same condition, either of happiness or misery, to all eternity. Those that have done good, shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil, to the resurrection of damnation.
- 2 Cor. v. 10.
- 1 Cor. xv. 42.
- John, v. 20.

This is the sum and substance of my faith, into which I was baptized, and in which, by the grace of God, I will live and die.*

Mr. Parsons then proposed certain questions to him, according to the instructions in the Directory, to which he returned answer, as followeth.

Question 1. *What are your ends in undertaking the work and calling of a minister?*

Answer. As far as upon search and inquiry I can hitherto find, though there be that within me that would seek great things for myself, (if indeed they were to be found in this calling,) yet with my mind I seek them not. But the improvement of the talent which I have received in the service of the gospel, for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, I hope, is in my eye; if there be any thing else, I own it not. I allow it not. While so many seek their own, it is my desire, and shall be my endeavour, to seek the things of Jesus Christ.

Question 2. *What are your purposes, as to diligence and industry, in this calling?*

Answer. I do purpose and resolve, by the help of God, to give myself "wholly" to these things; to prayer, reading, meditation,

* This confession Mr. Orton recommends as a "good model." See his *Letters to Dissenting Ministers*, v. 2, p. 37.

The History of Mr. Henry's Ordination can scarcely be dismissed without adverting to an edition of his Life, of recent date, and, professedly, "corrected and improved," by Samuel Taylor; printed by T. Cordeux, 1818; in which performance a considerable part of his confession of faith is omitted, or mis-stated. The following explanation of the liberty thus taken is indeed given; "It is but an act of common justice to acknowledge that Mr. Henry was, in theory, a Calvinist, and that he subscribed the doctrine of election, &c. in the Calvinistick sense. The editor, however, has left out that part of the confession, believing the omission will prove no injury to the cause of vital christianity." p. 36.

How the concluding sentence of the confession could still obtain a place, is submitted to the reader's judgment.—*This is the sum and substance of my faith.*

In attempts of this description, there is, to say the least, a manifest want of candour, and editorial fidelity.

instant preaching, in season, and out of season, wherein I shall very gladly spend and be spent, if by any means I may both save myself and them that hear me. And when at any time I fail herein, I desire God, by his Spirit, and my christian friends, neighbours, and brethren, by seasonable reproof and admonition, to put me in mind of this engagement now made, in the presence of this great congregation.

Question 3. Do you mean to be zealous and faithful in the defence of truth and unity, against error and schism?

Answer. I believe what the Spirit hath foretold, that, in the last days, perilous times shall come, wherein men will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall heap unto themselves teachers. It is my resolution, by the grace of Christ, to watch in all things; to contend earnestly for the faith, to hold fast the form of sound and wholesome words, even "the words of our Lord Jesus, and the doctrine which is according to godliness;" in meekness, as I am able, instructing those that oppose themselves. And for peace and unity, if my heart deceive me not, I shall rather choose to hazard the loss of any thing that is most dear to me, than be any way knowingly accessary to the disturbance of these in the churches of Christ.

Question 4. What is your persuasion of the truth of the Reformed Religion?

Answer. My persuasion is, that the Bishop of Rome is that man of sin, and son of perdition, whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the spirit of his mouth, and whom he will destroy by the brightness of his coming.* And the separation which our first Reformers made, I do heartily rejoice in, and bless God for; for had we still continued to partake with him in his sins, we should, in the end, have partaken with him also in his plagues.

Question 5. What do you intend to do when the Lord shall alter your condition, and bring a family under your charge?

Answer. When the Lord shall please, in his Providence, to bring me into new relations, I hope he will give me grace to fill them up with duty; it is my purpose to wait upon him, and to keep his way, to endeavour, in the use of means, that all that are mine, may be the Lord's.

Question 6. Will you, in humility and meekness, submit to admonition and discipline?

Answer. I believe it to be a duty incumbent upon all that profess the name of Christ, to watch over one another, and that when any is "overtaken in a fault," those that are spiritual are to set him in joint† again "with the spirit of meekness." It shall be my

* 1696, Nov. 28, I was indisposed, yet refreshed with the exposition of Rev. xi. concerning the slaying and reviving of the two witnesses; nay, more than that, my father told us in discourse, at dinner, he believed some of us young ones might live to see the antichrist fall; for he thinks it is not far off. If I may not see that happy day, however, I believe it shall be. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

† Gal. vi. 1. Vid. Pol. Synop. in loc.

endeavour, in the strength of Jesus Christ, to walk without rebuke, and when, at any time, I step aside, (for who is there that lives and sins not,) I shall account the smittings of my brethren kindness, and their wounds faithful.

Question 7. What, if troubles, persecutions, and discouragements, arise, will you hold out to the end notwithstanding?

Answer. Concerning this I am very jealous over my own heart; and there is cause; I find a great want of that zeal and courage for God, which I know is required in a minister of the gosgel; nevertheless, I persuade myself, that "no temptation shall befall me, but such as is common to man; and that God, who is faithful, will not suffer me to be tempted above that which I am able, but that with the temptation he will also make a way to escape, that I may be able to bear it." I promise faithfulness to the death, but I rest not at all in my promise to God, but in his to me; "When thou goest through the fire, and through the water, I will be with thee."

When this was done, Mr. Parsons prayed; and in prayer he and the rest of the Presbyters, Mr. Porter, Mr. Houghton, Mr. Malden, and Mr. Steel, laid their hands upon him, with words to this purpose, "Whom we do thus in thy name set apart to the work and office of the ministry." After him, there were five more,* after the like previous examinations and trials, professions and promises, at the same time, in like manner, set apart to the ministry.

Then Mr. Malden, of Newport, closed with an exhortation, directed to the newly ordained ministers, in which, saith Mr. Henry in his diary, this word went near my heart.—As the nurse puts the meat first into her own mouth, and chews it, and then feeds the child with it, so should ministers do by the word, preach it over beforehand to their own hearts; it loses none of the virtue thereby, but rather, probably, gains. As that which milk nourisheth most which comes warm from the breast, so that sermon which comes warm from a warm heart. Lord, quicken me to do thy will in this thing.

The classis gave him, and the rest, instruments in parchment, certifying this, which it may satisfy the curiosity of some to read the form of.

"Whereas, Mr. Philip Henry of Worthenbury, in the County of Flint, Master of Arts, hath addressed himself unto us, authorized by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, of the 29th of August, 1648, for the ordination of ministers, desiring to be ordained a Presbyter, for that he is chosen and appointed for the work of the ministry at Worthenbury, in the County of Flint, as by a certificate now remaining with us, touching that his election and

* Mr. Jones, of Llanarmon; Mr. Dickins, of Morton Say; Mr. Bradley, of Ness; Mr. Hall, of Newcastle; Mr. Hanmer, of Whitewell Chapel. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS. As to Mr. Hall, see the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 228.

appointment appeareth. And he having likewise exhibited a sufficient testimonial of his diligence and proficiency in his studies and unblameableness of his life and conversation, he hath been examined according to the rules for examination in the said ordinance expressed; and thereupon approved, there being no just exception made, nor put in against his ordination and admission. These may therefore testify to all whom it may concern, that upon the 16th day of September, 1657, we have proceeded solemnly to set him apart for the office of a Presbyter, and work of the ministry of the gospel, by laying on of our hands with fasting and prayer. By virtue whereof we do declare him to be a lawful and sufficiently authorized minister of Jesus Christ. And having good evidence of his lawful and fair calling, not only to the work of the ministry, but to the exercise thereof at the chapel of Worthenbury, in the County of Flint, we do hereby send him thither, and actually admit him to the said charge, to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful pastor there, exhorting the people in the name of Jesus Christ, willingly to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ, and to maintain and encourage him in the execution of his office, that he may be able to give up such an account to Christ of their obedience to his ministry, as may be to his joy, and their everlasting comfort. In witness whereof, we the Presbyters of the Fourth Class, in the County of Salop, commonly called Bradford-North Class, have hereunto set our hands, this 16th day of September, in the year of our Lord God, 1657.

Thomas Porter, *Moderator for the time.*

Andrew Parsons, *Minister of Wem.*

Aylmar Houghton, *Minister of Prees.*

John Malden, *Minister of Newport.*

Richard Steel, *Minister of Hanmer.**

I have heard it said, by those who were present at this solemnity, that Mr. Henry did in his countenance, carriage, and expression, discover such an extraordinary seriousness and gravity, and such deep impressions made upon his spirit, as greatly affected the auditory, and even struck an awe upon them.

Read his reflection upon it in his diary.—Methoughts I saw much of God in carrying on of the work of this day. Oh, how

* Mr. Orton, in his edition of the Life, p. 51, has here introduced the following note.

It is remarkable, that Mr. Steel should be likewise engaged in the ordination of his son, Mr. Matthew Henry, almost thirty years after this; viz. May 9, 1687. It was the honour of his younger days to be appointed by the Classis of Ministers, one of those who should lay hands on Mr. Philip Henry; and it must be the comfort of his advanced years, that he had the opportunity of doing the same office for the son. This circumstance must be very pleasing both to father and son; and it could not be less pleasing to Mr. Steel, that he should be employed, under Christ, in sending out two such ministers into the church; such a father, and such a son. See Tong's Life of Matth. Henry, p. 93, *ut supra*.

good is the Lord; he is good, and doth good; the remembrance of it I shall never lose; to him be glory. I made many promises of diligence, faithfulness, &c. but I lay no stress at all on them, but on God's promise to me, that he will be with his ministers always to the end of the world. Amen, Lord, so be it. Make good thy word unto thy servant, wherein thou hast caused me to put my trust. And in another place,—I did this day receive as much honour and work, as ever I shall be able to know what to do with; Lord Jesus, proportion supplies according. Two Scriptures he desired might be written in his heart, 2 Corinthians, vi. 4, 5, &c. and 2 Chronicles, xxix. 11.

Two years after, upon occasion of his being present at an ordination at Whitchurch, he thus writes:—"This day my ordination covenants were in a special manner renewed, as to diligence in reading, prayer, meditation, faithfulness in preaching, admonition, catechising, sacraments, zeal against error and profaneness, care to preserve and promote the unity and purity of the church, notwithstanding opposition and persecution, though to death. Lord, thou hast filled my hands with work, fill my heart with wisdom and grace, that I may discharge my duty to thy glory, and my own salvation, and the salvation of those that hear me." Amen.

Let us now see how he applied himself to his work at Worthenbury. The sphere was narrow, too narrow for such a burning and shining light. There were but forty-one communicants in that parish, when he first set up the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and they were never doubled. Yet he had such low thoughts of himself, that he not only never sought for a larger sphere, but would never hearken to any overtures of that kind made to him. And withal, he had such high thoughts of his work, and the worth of souls, that he laid out himself with as much diligence and vigour here, as if he had the oversight of the greatest and most considerable parish in the country.

The greatest part of the parish were poor tenants, and labouring husbandmen; but the souls of such, he used to say, are as precious as the souls of the rich, and to be looked after accordingly. His prayer for them was,—Lord, despise not the day of small things in this place, where there is some willingness, but much weakness. And thus he writes upon the Judge's settling a handsome maintenance upon him,—Lord, thou knowest I seek not their's but them.* Give me the souls.†—

[An edifying instance is preserved in the following letter. It has no date.

* See 2 Cor. xii. 14.

The welfare of his people was very dear to him, and lay near his heart; *he sought not their's, but them*; nor was his care so much to gather in tithes as souls. The Life of Dr. Thomas Taylor, who died A.D. 1633, prefixed to his Works, fol. 1653.

† See Gen. xiv. 21.

My dear Friend ;

I am glad to hear by your father, that God hath been, of late, at work with your soul; and, I hope, it will prove the good work, which, where he once begins, he will be sure to perform, until the day of Jesus Christ. Now I send these few lines to you from my affectionate love, and from the true desire which I have of your spiritual and everlasting welfare, to be your remembrancer, that you be sure, by all means, to lay a good foundation, for want of which, multitudes miscarry and come to nothing. Now that foundation must be laid in sound convictions of, and hearty contrition for sin;* you must bethink yourself of the error of your way, in how many things you have offended; and who can tell, in how many? You must lay before you the pure, and holy, and spiritual law of God; and if the commandment came to you by the Spirit of God working with it, as it came to Paul, Romans vii. 9, it will make sin to revive; and the reviving of sin, in that manner, will be the death of all your vain hopes and carnal confidences; you will then change your note, and from the Pharisee's, God, I thank thee, I am not as other men are; you will cry out with the poor Publican, *God, be merciful to me a sinner!* Oh, the numberless numbers of vain thoughts, idle words, unprofitable communications, that have past you in any one day, the best of your days! the multitudes of omissions of duty to God, to man in general, in particular relations! the multitudes of commissions, whereby from time to time you have transgressed and turned aside, in the several ages and stages of your life, through which you have passed; though you are but young, and, therefore, free from much of that guilt which others lie under, yet conclude, I say conclude, you have enough and enough again, if God should enter into judgment with you, to sink you into the bottomless pit of hell; and, therefore, you must enter into judgment with yourself, and condemn yourself, and if you do it aright, you shall not be judged of the Lord, nor condemned with the world. Be free and full in your confessions, and after all you must close with David's, &c. Psalm xix. 12. "Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults." Let the streams lead you to the fountain; see a root, a root of bitterness in your nature, bearing gall and wormwood in your life and actions; and be sure lay the axe to that, and bewail that, and see an absolute necessity of a change, for except you be born again and become a new creature, that is, except a contrary principle of grace be wrought in you to work out that naughty principle of corruption by degrees, you cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And here all the creatures in heaven and earth cannot help you, they must each of them say, it is not in me, it is not in me; they have neither a righteousness for you wherein to stand before God for justification, nor a power to give you for the mortifying of one

* See P. Henry's Eighteen Sermons, *ut supra*, p. 209, where sin is considered as an abomination; and also, *ib.* 277, where the poor in spirit are proved to be blessed.

vicious habit, or for the performing of any one act of acceptable obedience; but, blessed be God, help is laid for us upon one that is mighty, able to save to the uttermost those that come unto God by him, the only Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus;* and, therefore, by him you must go to God. I say must, or you are undone, for there is no other name given under heaven by which we can be saved; you must in the sight and sense of your own lost and undone condition in yourself, by reason of the guilt which lies upon you, resolve to cast yourself upon the free grace of the gospel, making this your only plea at the bar of his offended justice, I have sinned, but Christ Jesus hath died, yea, rather is risen again, and in him mercy is promised to the penitent, and therefore, to me. Do not suffer the tempter, nor your own unbelief, to beat you from this plea. These will tell you, you are a great sinner, it may be a back-slider after convictions, and that often, and, therefore, it is to no purpose; but do not hearken to them; say, faithful is he that hath promised, and hold fast there; say, the worse I am, the more need I have of a Saviour, the more his mercy will be magnified in saving me; remember David's argument, Psalm xxv. 11. And when you have in this manner by faith applied Christ crucified to your soul, you are bound to believe that God doth accept of you, that your sins are pardoned, and that you shall not come into condemnation. And then your next work must be to study what you shall render, to love him that hath loved you first, and out of love to him to forsake all sin, and to buckle to all duty, to read, hear, and meditate, in the word of God, that you may know what the will of God is concerning you, and what you ought to do; and when you know it, resolve to do it. You will say, I cannot. I know you cannot, but in this also help is laid up for you in Jesus Christ; if you come to him daily, as you have occasion, in the sense of your own impotency, he will strengthen you with all might by his Spirit in the inner man; he will plant grace, and water his own planting, and make it to grow and bring forth fruit. I can do all things, saith Paul, through Christ strengthening me, and without him we can do nothing. The terms of that blessed covenant that we are under, are, that we endeavour to do as well as we can, aiming at perfection; and wherein we come short, that we may be humbled for it but not discouraged, as if there were no hope — for *we are not under the law, but under grace.*† I am glad to hear you have those servants of the Lord with you, who are better able than I to be the directors of your way in this main matter, and

* Appendix, No. V.

† Rom. vi. 14. My soul hath oft been refreshed with that sweet word,—"We are not under the law, but under grace;"—and, I may say concerning it,—It is "all my salvation, and all my desire, although he should not make my house to grow." P. Henry. Orig. MS.

A believer, says Mr. Mead, is under the law for conduct, but not for judgment; it is the guide of his path, but not the judge of his state. The good of early obedience. p. 307, duod. 1683.

that God hath given you acquaintance with them, and an interest in their love and prayers, which, I hope, you do prize at a very high rate, and be sure you do upon all occasions make use of them, and be-guided by them. If you have not joined in the fellowship of the holy supper, I would, you should not by any means delay to do it. It is not privilege only, but duty, commanded duty, and if you love the Lord Jesus, how can you answer for your neglect so long of such a gracious appointment of his when you have opportunity for it? Behold, he calls you. It is one thing to be unworthy to come, and another thing to come unworthily. He that is not fit to-day, will be less fit to-morrow. I know those that can witness, though there were treaties before, between their souls and the Lord Jesus, in order to that blessed match, yet the matter was never consummated, nor the knot fully tied* till they came to that ordinance; it is a sealing ordinance; God is there sealing to us, and we sealing to him in a precious Mediator. You cannot imagine the benefits of it, and, therefore, put not off. So, commending you to God, and to the word of his grace which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance amongst them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, I rest,

Your truly affectionate and well-wishing friend,

PHILIP HENRY.†]

He was in labours more abundant to win souls; besides preaching he expounded the Scriptures in order;‡ catechised, and explained the catechism. At first he took into the number of his catechumens some that were adult, who, he found, wanted instruction; and when he had taken what pains he thought needful with them, he dismissed them from further attendance, with commendation of their proficiency, and counsel "to hold fast the form of sound words;" to be watchful against the sins of their age, and to apply themselves to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and make ready for it; afterwards he catechised none above seventeen, or eighteen years of age.

He set up a monthly lecture there of two sermons, one he himself preached, and the other his friend Mr. Ambrose Lewis, of Wrexham, for some years. He also kept up a monthly conference,§ in private, from house to house, in which he met with the more knowing and judicious of the parish; and they discoursed familiarly together of the things of God, to their mutual edification, according to the example of the apostles, who, though they had the liberty of publick places, yet *taught also from house to house*, Acts, v. 42, xx. 20. That which induced him to set and keep up this exercise as long as he durst, which was till August, 1660, was, that by this

* See ante. p. 11.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Appendix, No. VI.

§ For a full account of the conduct of such interviews, and a summary of their advantages, see Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Divines*, ut *supra*. Pref. pp. 4, 5.

means he came better to understand the state of his flock, and so knew the better how to preach to them, and pray for them, and they to pray one for another. If they were in doubt about any thing relating to their souls, that was an opportunity of getting satisfaction. It was likewise a means of increasing knowledge,* and love, and other graces; and thus it abounded to a good account.†

He was very industrious in visiting the sick, instructing them, and praying with them; and in this he would say, he aimed at the good, not only of those that were sick, but also of their friends and relations that were about them.

He preached funeral sermons for all that were buried there, rich and poor, old or young, or little children; for he looked upon it as an opportunity of doing good. He called it,—setting in the plow of the word, when the Providence had softened and prepared the ground. He never took any money for that or any other ministerial performance, besides his stated salary, for which he thought himself obliged to do his whole duty to them as a minister.

When he first set up the ordinance of the Lord's Supper there, he did it with very great solemnity. After he had endeavoured to instruct them in his publick preaching, touching the nature of that ordinance, he discoursed personally with all that gave up their names to the Lord in it, touching their knowledge, experience, and conversation, obliged them to observe the law of Christ, touching brotherly admonition in case of scandal; and gave notice to the congregation who they were that were admitted; adding this:—"Concerning these, and myself, I have two things to say. 1. As to what is past, we have sinned. If we should say,

* On one occasion the question being proposed, What means are we to use that we may get knowledge, particularly that which is divine? Mr. Henry gave the following answer, which furnishes a corroboration of many statements in the volume, and will be a directory to others who are seeking instruction:

Be convinced that knowledge is not a matter of indifference. See John, xvii. 3; 2 Thess. i. 7, 8; Hos. iv. 6; Isa. xxvi. 11. Without knowledge there is no faith; ignorant believing is but presumption, Isa. liii. 11. Labour to see thy want of knowledge, Prov. xxvi. 12; 1 Cor. viii. 2; Isa. xxviii. 9. It is certain you can never know too much.—Be diligent and constant in the use of ordinances. *Publick*;—Hear the word preached. In hearing, be sure observe the doctrine, which, for the most part, is very short; and, for the help of such, whose memories are weak, given usually in the very words of Scripture, which is taken for the text. If you can carry away nothing else, fall not to carry away that. But should I be speaking to you an hour about any worldly business, you would remember a great deal more than one sentence. Turn to proofs afterwards. *Private*;—Read the Scriptures, or get others to read them to you, in your families. Read those that are most for edification. Regard not so much how many chapters you read, as how many truths you can make up to yourselves from what you read. Unless where continuance of story requires, let, ordinarily, one or two chapters at a time suffice; and let them be read once and again. Also, get some good books, catechisms, &c. that contain the principles of religion. If thou canst not buy, borrow;—keep knowing company; and, when you are with such, be inquiring,—What means this?—not out of curiosity, but for edification. You, who have knowledge, be willing to communicate. You will lose nothing by it. Pray much; especially before hearing, reading, &c. See James, i. 5. Prov. ii. 3, &c. Use some short ejaculation. Psalm cxix. is full of such. P. Henry. Orig. M8.

† Appendix, No. VII.

we have not, we should deceive ourselves, and the truth were not in us; and yet this withal we can say, and have said it, some of us with tears.—We are grieved that we have sinned. 2. For time to come we are resolved by God's grace to walk in new obedience; and yet seeing we are not angels, but men and women, compassed about with infirmities and temptations, it is possible we may fall, but if we do, it is our declared resolution to submit to admonition and censure, according to the rule of the gospel." And all along he took care so to manage his admissions to that ordinance, as that the weak might not be discouraged, and yet the ordinance might not be profaned.* He would tell those whom he was necessitated to debar from the ordinance for ignorance, that he would undertake, if they were but truly willing, they might in a week's time, by the blessing of God upon their diligent use of means, reading, prayer, and conference, get such a competent measure of knowledge, as to be able to discern the Lord's body. And those that had been scandalous, if they would but come in and declare their repentance, and resolutions of new obedience, they should no longer be excluded.

To give a specimen of his lively administrations of that ordinance, let me transcribe the notes of his exhortation at the first sacrament that ever he administered, November 27, 1659.† I suppose they are but the hints of what he enlarged more upon, for he had always a great fluency upon such occasions.

"Dearly beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We are met together this day about the most solemn, weighty service under heaven; we are come to a feast, where the feast-maker is God the Father, the provision God the Son, whose flesh is meat indeed, and whose blood is drink indeed; the guests a company of poor sinners, unworthy such an honour; the crumbs under the table were too good for us, and yet we are admitted to taste of the provision upon the table; and that which makes the feast is hearty welcome. God the Father bids you welcome; and ten thousand welcomes this day, to the flesh and blood of his Son. Think you hear him saying it to you, O believing souls, Cant. v. 1.—*Eat, O friends, drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved.* The end of this feast is to keep in remembrance the death of Christ, and our deliverance by it, and thereby to convey spiritual nourishment and refreshment to our souls. But withal, give me leave to ask you one question,—What appetite have you to this feast? Are you come hungering and thirsting? Such as have the promise, they shall be filled. *He filleth the hungry with good things, but the rich are sent empty away;* a honey-comb to a full soul is no honey-comb. Canst thou say as Christ said,—*With desire I have desired to eat this?* In this ordinance here is Christ and all his benefits exhibited

* Some important observations on this subject, in connexion with the Test Act, occur in the Hist. of Dissenters, v. 4, p. 181—186.

† Is it not probable, this was 1657? Mr. Henry's ordination was September 16, in that year.

to thee. Art thou weak? here is bread to strengthen thee. Art thou sad? here is wine to comfort thee. What is it thou standest in need of? a pardon? here it is, sealed in blood, take it by faith, as I offer it to you in the name of the Lord Jesus; *though thy sins have been as scarlet, they shall be as wool, if thou be willing and obedient.* It may be, here are some that have been drunkards, swearers, scoffers at godliness, sabbath-breakers, and what not?—and God hath put it into your hearts to humble yourselves, to mourn for and turn from all your abominations. Oh, come hither, here is forgiveness for thee. What else is it thou wantest? Oh, saith the poor soul, I would have more of the spirit of grace, more power against sin, especially my own iniquity; why, here it is for thee: ‘from the fulness, that is in Jesus Christ, we receive, and grace for grace.’ John, i. 16. We may say as David did, Psalm, cviii. 7, 8. *God hath spoken in his holiness, and then Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine.* So God hath spoken in his word sealed in his sacrament, and then Christ is mine, pardon is mine, grace is mine, comfort mine, glory mine; here I have his bond to show for it. This is to those among you, that have engaged their hearts to approach unto God this day.

“But if there be any come hither with a false, unbelieving, filthy, hard heart, I do warn you seriously, and with authority, in the name of Jesus Christ, presume not to come any nearer to this sacred ordinance.* You that live in the practice of any sin, or the omission of any duty against your knowledge and conscience; you that have any malice or grudge to any of your neighbours, leave your gift and go your ways; be reconciled to God, be reconciled to your brother, and then come.——! Better shame thyself for coming so near, than damn thyself by coming nearer. I testify to those, who say they shall have peace, though they go on still in their trespasses, that there is poison in the bread; take it and eat it at your own peril; there is poison in the cup too, you drink your own damnation. I wash my hands from the guilt of your blood. Look you to it, on the other hand, you poor penitent souls that are lost in yourselves, here is a Christ to save you. Come, O come, *ye that are weary and heavy laden,*” &c.

It may not be amiss to transcribe also some hints of preparation for the administering of the ordinance of baptism,† which I find under his hand, at his first setting out in the ministry, as follows:

* The one great cause of the great flourishing of religion in the primitive times, was, certainly, the strictness used by them in their admission of members into church societies, which is fully described by Origen against Celsus, who tells us, they did inquire into their lives and carriages, to discern their seriousness in the profession of Christianity during their being catechumens; who after tells us, they did require true repentance and reformation of life, then we admit them to the participation of our mysteries. *Irenicum*, by Edward Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, 4to, 1661, pp. 134, 135.

† Mr. Matthew Henry left in manuscript a Treatise on Baptism. It was abridged and published by the Rev. Thomas Robins in 1783. The reader will find many ex-

"It is a real manifestation of the goodness and love of God to believers, that he hath not only taken them into covenant with himself, but their seed also; saying, *I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed*. Though to be born of such, doth not necessarily entitle infants to the spiritual mercies of the covenant, for grace doth not run in the blood. We see the contrary many times, even godly parents have wicked children; Abraham had his Ishmael, and Isaac his Esau; yet, questionless, it doth entitle them to the external privileges of the covenant. *The like figure unto Noah's ark, even baptism doth also now save us*. Noah, and all that were his, entered into the ark, though we have cause to doubt whether they all entered into heaven. While our Lord Jesus was here upon the earth, they brought little children to him, and he laid his hands on them, and blessed them; and said, moreover, *Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not*, (there are many at this day, that forbid little children to come to Christ,) he adds the reason,—for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Whether it be meant of the visible church, often so called in the gospel, or of the state of glory in another world; either way it affords an argument for proof of infant baptism. When either parent is in covenant with God, their children also are in covenant with him; and being in covenant, they have an undoubted right and title to this ordinance of baptism, which is the seal of the covenant. So that in the administration of this ordinance, this day, according to the institution of Jesus Christ, we look upon you who are the father of this child, as a person in covenant with God. How far you have dealt unfaithfully in the covenant, is known to God and your own conscience; but this we know, the vows of God are upon you; and *let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity*. But before we baptize your child, I am to acquaint you, in a few words, what we expect from you.

"Q. (1.) Do you avouch God in Jesus Christ this day to be your God?—See to it that this be done in truth, and with a perfect heart. You may tell us you do so, and you may deceive us, but God is not mocked. Q. (2.) And is it your desire, that your children also may be received into covenant with the Lord, and that the Lord's broad-seal of baptism may be set to it? Q. (3.) And do you promise in the presence of God, and of this congregation, that you will do your endeavour towards the training of it up in the way of godliness, that as it is by you through mercy, that it lives the life of nature, so it may by you also, through the same mercy, live the life of grace? Else I must tell you, if you be wanting herein, there will be a sad appearance one day,

when you shall meet together before the judgment-seat of Christ, and this solemn engagement of your's will be brought in to witness against you."

These were but the first instances of his skilfulness in dispensing the mysteries of the kingdom of God. He declined the private administration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons, as judging it not consonant to the rule and intention of the ordinance. He very rarely, if ever, baptized in private; but would have children brought to the solemn assembly upon the Lord's Day, that the parent's engagement might have the more witnesses to it, and the child the more prayers put up for it, and that the congregation might be edified. And yet he would say, there was some inconvenience in it too, unless people would agree to put off the feasting part of the solemnity to some other time, which he very much persuaded his friends to; and observed, that Abraham made a great feast the same day that *Isaac was weaned*, (Genesis, xxi. 8,) not the same day that he was circumcised.

His carriage towards the people of his parish was very exemplary, condescending to the meanest, and conversing familiarly with them; bearing with the infirmities of the weak, and becoming all things to all men.

[Weak christians, he remarks, have infirmities: but infirmity supposes life, and all who are alive to God have an inward sense of sin, and their own lost condition, by reason of it,—they heartily close with Christ upon gospel terms for pardon and peace,—and have unfeigned desires and endeavours to walk in the way of God's commandments. But such are, oftentimes, very dull of apprehension in spiritual things. Matthew, xv. 16. Hebrews, v. 11, 12. They are often peevish and froward, inexpert, unskilful in duty, and apt to envy, and judge, and censure, being unacquainted with the extent of christian liberty in indifferent things. They are often fainting in adversity, much taken with earthly things, easily disquieted and cast down, and frequently questioning the love of God. We must not, however, despise them, Romans, xiv. 3. Zechariah, iv. 10. — not in heart, word, or carriage. We must rather deny ourselves than offend them. Romans, xiv. 21. Romans, xv. 1, 2. 1 Corinthians, viii. 9, 13. We must *support* them,—bear them as pillars,—bear the house as the shoulders a burden, as the wall the vine, as parents their children, as the oak the ivy. And this, because they are *brethren*. Are they not of the same body? Shall the hand cut off the little finger because it is not as large as the thumb? Do men throw away their corn, because it comes into the barn with chaff? They are weak. Bear with them out of pity. In a family, if one of the little ones be sick, all the larger children are ready to attend it, which they need not do if it were well. It should be done, likewise, because Jesus Christ does so. *Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ*, the law of his command, and the law of his example. He takes special care of his lambs, will not quench the smoking

flax, and is touched with the feeling of our infirmities. Hebrews, iv. 15.*

To return,] he was exceeding tender of giving offence, or occasion of grief to any body, minding himself in his diary upon such occasions, that the wisdom that is from above, is *pure, and peaceable, and gentle, &c.* Yet he plainly and faithfully reprov'd what he saw amiss in any, and would not suffer sin upon them; mourning also for that which he could not mend. There were some untractable people in the parish, who sometimes caused grief to him, and exercised his boldness and zeal in reprov'g. Once hearing of a merry meeting at an ale-house, on a Saturday night, he went himself and broke it up, and scattered them. At another time, he publickly witnessed against a frolick of some vain people, that on a Saturday night came to the church with a fidler before them, and dressed it up with flowers and garlands, making it, as he told them, more like a play-house; and was this their preparation for the Lord's day, and the duties of it? &c. He minded them of Ecclesiastes xi. 9. *Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, but know thou —*

Many out of the neighbouring parishes attended upon his ministry, and some came from far, though sometimes he signified his dislike of their so doing, so far was he from glorying in it. But they who had *spiritual senses exercised to discern things that differ*, would attend upon that ministry which they found to be most edifying.

He was about eight years from first to last, labouring in the word and doctrine at Worthenbury, and his labour was not altogether in vain. He saw in many of the travail of his own soul to the rejoicing of his heart, but with this particular dispensation, which I have heard him sometimes speak of, that most, or all of those in that parish, whom he was, through grace, instrumental of good to, died before he left the parish, or quickly after; so that within a few years after his removal thence, there were very few of the visible fruits of his ministry there; and a new generation sprung up there, who knew not Joseph. Yet the opportunity he found there was of doing the more good, by having those that were his charge near about him, made him all his days bear his testimony to parish order, where it may be had upon good terms, as much more eligible, and more likely to answer the end, than the congregational way of gathering churches from places far distant, which could not ordinarily meet to worship God together.† From this experience

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† This statement is now inapplicable to congregational assemblies. Considering the aspect of the times, educational predilections, and official custom, it cannot be surprising that such a man as Mr. Henry should have felt sensibly on the subject. The sentiment was, indeed, common, and, for similar reasons, to the body of Presbyterian Ministers. The experience, however, which resulted from the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and other subsequent statutes, evidently lessened their objections, and showed that the difficulties were rather imaginary, than real.

here, though he would say we must do what we can, when we cannot do what we would,* he often wished and prayed for the opening of a door, by which to return to that order again.

He had not been long at Worthenbury, but he began to be taken notice of by the neighbouring ministers, as likely to be a considerable man. Though his extraordinary modesty and humility, which even in his youth he was remarkable for, made him to sit down with silence in the lowest room, and to say as Elihu, *Days shall speak*; yet his eminent gift and graces could not long be hid, the ointment of the right hand will betray itself; and a person of his merits could not but meet with those quickly, who said,—*Friend, go up higher*; and so that scripture was fulfilled, Luke, xiv. 10. He was often called upon to preach the week-day lectures, which were set up plentifully, and diligently attended upon in those parts, and his labours were generally very acceptable and successful. The *vox populi* fastened upon him the epithet of Heavenly Henry,† by which title he was commonly known all the country over; and his advice was sought for by many neighbouring ministers and christians, for he was one of those that found favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man. He was noted at his first setting out, (as I have been told by one who was then intimately acquainted with him, and with his character and conversation,) for three things. 1. Great piety and devotion, and a mighty savour of godliness in all his converse. 2. Great industry in the pursuit of useful knowledge; he was particularly observed to be very inquisitive when he was among the aged and intelligent, hearing them, and asking them questions; a good example to young men, especially young ministers. 3. Great self-denial, self-diffidence, and self-abasement; this eminent humility put a lustre upon all his other graces. This character of him reminds me of a passage I have sometimes heard him tell, as a check to the forwardness and confidence of young men, that once at a meeting of ministers, a question of moment was started, to be debated among them; upon the first proposal of it, a confident young man shoots his bolt‡ presently, “Truly,” saith he, “I hold it so;” “You hold, Sir,” saith a grave minister, “it becomes you to hold your peace.”

* Ut quimus, aiant; quando, ut volumus, non licet. Terence. Andria, Act. IV. Sc. VI.

In a valuable little Treatise, “Of the Power of Godliness,” by Thomas White, doct. 1668. The author states, that one great impediment “whereby wee are hindered in the wayes of God,”—“not to do what we can, because wee cannot do what wee would, or should.” *Ib.* p. 139.

So, Mr. Bereman,—“If you cannot do the good you would, then do the good you can.” Farewell Sermons, p. 324, 4to. 1663.

† The authors of the *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*. Tome Vingt-tieme, oct. 1817, tit. Henry Mathieu, say,—that he published a Life “de M. Philippe Henry, (père de l’auteur,) l’un des premiers nonconformistes, en 1666, et appelé par ses admirateurs, *le bon, le celeste M. Henry*.”

‡ An allusion, probably, to the old proverb, *A rash man’s bolt is soon shot*. “The hypocrite will rashly and suddenly shoot the bolt of his censure against any that comes in his way.” *Divine Characters*, by Samuel Crook, B. D. p. 126, fol. 1658. See Clark’s *Lives*, annexed to the *Martyrologie*, p. 214, *ut supra*.

Besides his frequent preaching of the lectures about him, he was a constant and diligent attendant upon those within his reach, as a hearer; and not only wrote the sermons he heard, but afterwards recorded in his diary, what, in each sermon, reached his heart, affected him, and did him good; adding some proper, pious ejaculations, which were the breathings of his heart, when he meditated upon, and prayed over the sermons.

[The following instances will illustrate the foregoing statement, and preserve, at the same time, some pleasing specimens of the pulpit excellencies of various of Mr. Henry's friends, and fellow-labourers.

1657, January 7. I heard two sermons at Bangor; the one from Acts, xvii. 31, *He hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world.* My heart was very dead in hearing; the Lord in mercy forgive it; but the truth made up to myself is this,—I would fain be certified.—Am I ready for that day? It will be terrible to sinners; it will be comfortable to the godly; it is not long to it. Where shall I then appear? O Lord, let me be found in Christ!—At his right, not at his left hand;—among the sheep, not among the goats! I have been a wandering sheep, if yet a sheep. Oh, save me for thy mercies' sake!

The other from Acts xxiv. 25. *Felix trembled.* Much was spoken that reached my heart and present condition, as if the Lord had sent the minister to preach purposely to me. Blessed be God! It is a dreadful thing to sin against conviction; and that I have done many a time. Father, forgive me! A convinced person finds a great deal less pleasure in sin than others do. I can set my seal to that truth, and acknowledge myself, therefore, so much the more a fool to transgress without a cause. Sure, my sin is the greater. Sins against conviction border upon the sin against the Holy Ghost. Oh, how near then have I been to ruin! There hath been but a step between me and death; but God hath had mercy.

Saving convictions melt the heart, set the soul a praying, subdue the will to live according to them. Mine, this day, produced the two former effects, with hearty unfeigned resolutions touching the latter. Lord, undertake for me!

I was told that I must not stay till some remarkable time from which to date my conversion to God, as many do, but I must make this day remarkable by doing it now. After dangerous backsliding, lo, I come to Thee, for thou art the Lord my God!—My God in Christ!

April 1. I heard two sermons at Bangor. The one from Psalm cxix. 37, *Quicken thou me in thy way.* In the prayer before sermon, this confession was put up, which my heart closed with: *Lord, we want wisdom to carry ourselves as we ought in the world, by reason whereof the work of the gospel in our hands is much hindered!* Oh, my God, bestow upon me a wise and an understanding heart. The doctrine was,—that God's people often want quickening in God's way. I am sure I do. Oh, when had I

cause to complain, my heart is dead to the world, creatures, pleasures, sin? But to duty, praying, preaching, when almost is it otherwise? Lord, thou gavest life at first; give more life!

May 6. At Thistleworth. From Matt. vi. 10. *Thy will be done.* In this petition we pray that the secret will of God, which is always wise, may be done upon us, and that the revealed will of God, which is always righteous, may be done by us; the will of his purpose, and the will of his command. *In earth as in heaven.*—A true Christian hath perfection in his eye, though he cannot reach it; (Phil. iii.) that, if possible, he *might attain the resurrection of the dead.* O Lord, when shall I be perfect; when shall that that is in part be done away?

May 10. At Thistleworth. From Matt. xii. 36. The doctrine was,—idle words must be accounted for. Words that are unprofitable bring no glory to God, no real good to ourselves or others, are very sinful,—because they are an abuse of our best member, our tongue, which is our glory. We are guilty of very many, every day, in every company. From hence was inferred what need there is for us to reckon with ourselves every night for the idle words and other failings of the day before. It is no wisdom to defer. If we reflect not quickly, we shall forget. My heart accuses me of much guilt in this respect. I have formerly been very talkative, and in multitude of words there wants not sin. Lord, cleanse my soul in the blood of Christ, and mortify that corruption for me, by thy Spirit, every day, more and more!

From 1 Pet. iv. 18, it was urged that is no easy matter to be saved. It was difficult work to Jesus Christ to work redemption for us. It is difficult work to the Spirit to work grace in us, and to carry it on against corruptions, temptations, distractions. I was exhorted to inquire, 1. Can I choose to undergo the greatest suffering rather than commit the least sin? 2. Can I embrace Christ with his cross? 3. Can I work for God though there were no wages? 4. Can I swim against the stream; be good in bad times, and places? 5. Can I pull out right eyes for Christ, and cut off right hands, &c.? I can do all this, and much more, through Christ's strengthening me.

June 3. At Bangor, from Phil. i. 27. The doctrine was,—It is the great duty of Christians to have their conversation as becomes the gospel; that is, clothed with the graces of the gospel, faith, love, humility, meekness, self-denial, patience; and in these to abound, and grow. It is an uncomely sight to see an old professor a young saint. We discredit our keeping. Lord, water me every moment; keep me night and day, that I may thrive to thy praise, having my conversation, not only as becomes the gospel, but, which is more, as becomes a minister of the gospel.

June 10. At Ellesmere. From Matt. v. 6. The doctrine was,—Hungry thirsty souls shall be filled, partly here, perfectly hereafter, with grace, comfort, glory. Such put a great value upon Christ. Men will part with any thing for food; they will go far for it; take

pains to get it. Lord, evermore fill my soul with thyself! Creatures will not satisfy.

July 1. At Bangor. From Matt. xiii. 44. The observation was,—Those who have found Christ ought to hide him;—not from others, but within themselves in the safest, inmost room of their hearts. This is done by faith, love, humility, obedience, entertainment. There is all the reason in the world for it; he is a treasure worth hiding; there are great endeavours to rob us of him; if once lost, he is not easily found again; till he can be found again, there can be no true peace. Some lodge Christ, as they do beggars, in their out-houses, by making a visible profession, but sin dwells in the heart. The Lord grant that I be not one of those!

From Eccles. i. 2, it was stated,—That there is nothing under the sun but what is full of the vainest vanity,—unsatisfying, unprofitable, unsuitable, uncertain, not worthy our affections when we have them, nor our afflicting ourselves when we want them. The saints have always thought so; dying men will not fail to tell us so. Oh, what cause have we to bless God who hath revealed this unto us, to take us from things here below, which otherwise we might have ventured our souls for, and so have perished for ever! I bless God, it is as if a friend had stopt me from giving all I have for a counterfeit pearl, — Oh, do not venture; it is but counterfeit!

From James, v. 9, the solemn truth was enforced, *Behold, the Judge standeth before the door*; that is, very near. There is but a hair's breadth of time between us and our account. This we ought to behold with an eye of faith, thereby to bring it near to us, and make it as present. We must not think, in the mean time, that forbearance is payment. Patience doth not take away sin; only the pardoning grace of God doth that. The time to come will be as swift as that which hath been, and concerning which we usually say, It was but the other day, &c., though it may be it was thirty or forty years ago. This should quicken us to ply time.* The Lord write this truth in my heart, and help me to see the Judge,—not sitting, but *standing* before the door, in a moving posture, that I may study, and preach, and pray, and live accordingly. Amen, for Christ's sake!

Oct. 5. At Welsh-Hampton,† from Col. iii. 8. The doctrine was,—It is the great duty of all Christians to put off anger. It unfits for duty. A little jogging puts a clock or watch out of frame, so a little passion the heart. A man cannot wrestle with God and wrangle with his neighbour at the same time. Short sins often cost us long and sad sorrows. An angry man is like one in a crowd who hath a sore boil, every one thrusts him, and troubles him. *With*

* Mr. Pemfret "would exhort people from the pulpit, that, next to the blood of Christ, they would prize *time* and thoughts." Life, by Thomas Reynolds, p. 72. oct. 1722.

† A parish in Salop, about three miles from Ellesmere.

the froward thou wilt shew thyself froward;—a dreadful scripture to a peevish, froward man. Those who are too merry when pleased, are commonly too angry when crossed. Blessed Lord, subdue this lust in my heart! I am very weak there. Turn the stream of my anger against self, and sin!*

What a wonderful degree of piety and humility doth it evidence, for one of so great acquaintance with the things of God to write,—This I learnt out of such a sermon, and This was the truth I made up to myself out of such a sermon! And, indeed, something out of every sermon. His diligent improvement of the word preached contributed, more than any one thing, as a means to his great attainments in knowledge and grace. He would say sometimes, that one great use of week-day lectures was, that it gave ministers an opportunity of hearing one another preach, by which they are likely to profit, when they hear not as masters, but as scholars; not as censors, but as learners.

His great friend and companion, and fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord, was the worthy Mr. Richard Steel,† Minister of Hanmer,‡ one of the next parishes to Worthenbury, whose praise is in the churches of Christ, for his excellent and useful treatises, “The Husbandman’s Calling,§” “An Antidote against Distractions,||” and several others. He was Mr. Henry’s *alter idem*, the man of his counsel; with him he joined frequently at Hanmer and elsewhere in christian conference, and in days of humiliation and prayer: besides their meetings with other ministers at publick lectures; after which it was usual for them to spend some time among themselves in set disputations in Latin. This was the work that in those days was carried on among ministers, who made it their business, as iron sharpens iron, to provoke one another to love and good works. What was done of this kind in Worcestershire, Mr. Baxter tells us in his Life.¶

In the beginning of his days he often laboured under bodily distempers; it was feared that he was in a consumption; and some blamed him for taking so much pains in his ministerial work, suggesting to him, Master, spare thyself. One of his friends told him, he lighted up all his pound of candles together;** and that he could not hold out long at that rate; and wished him to be a better husband of his strength. But he often reflected upon it with comfort

* P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† Nat. 10th May, 1629: ob. 16 Nov. 1692. See Wilson’s Hist. of Dissenting Churches, v. 2, p. 448.

‡ See Leland, *ut supra*, v. 5, pp. 30, 31.

§ 8vo. 1668.

|| 8vo. 1673.

¶ Reliq. Baxter. Lib. I. Part I. p. 90, *ut supra*.

** In Siderfin’s Reports, the phrase is thus used; “Et si terme soit devise al un pur vie remainder al auter pur vie remainder al tierre pur vie, &c. Et issint al 20 l’un apres l’auter que ces est bone devise al ceux touts nient obstant les objections de possibilites sur possibilites si touts les psons fuer in esse al temps del devise quia touts les candels are lighted at once.” p. 451, fol. 1683.

afterwards, that he was not influenced by such suggestions.—The more we do, the more we may do, so he would sometimes say, in the service of God. When his work was sometimes more than ordinary, and bore hard upon him, he thus appealed to God ;—Thou knowest, Lord, how well contented I am to spend and to be spent in thy service ; and if the outward man decay, O let the inward man be renewed ! Upon the returns of his indisposition he expresseth a great concern how to get spiritual good by it,—to come out of the furnace, and leave some dross behind ; for it is a great loss to lose an affliction. He mentions it as that which he hoped did him good, that he was ready to look upon every return of distemper, as a summons to the grave ; thus he learned to die daily.—I find, saith he, my earthly tabernacle tottering, and when it is taken down I shall have a building in heaven, that shall never fail. Blessed be God the Father, and my Lord Jesus Christ, and the good Spirit of grace. Even so, *Amen*. This was both his strength and his song, under his bodily infirmities.

While he was at Worthenbury he constantly laid by the tenth of his income for the poor, which he carefully and faithfully disposed of, in the liberal things which he devised, especially the teaching of poor children. And he would recommend it as a good rule to lay by for charity in some proportion, according as the circumstances are, and then it will be the easier to lay out in charity. We shall be the more apt to seek for opportunities of doing good, when we have money lying by us, of which we have said,—This is not our own, but the poor's. To encourage himself and others to works of charity, he would say,—He is no fool who parts with that which he cannot keep, when he is sure to be recompensed with that which he cannot lose. And yet to prove alms to be righteousness, and to exclude all boasting of them, he often expressed himself in those words of David,—*Of thine own, Lord, have we given thee*.*

In the year 1658, the ministers of that neighbourhood began to enlarge their correspondence with the ministers of North Wales ; and several meetings they had at Ruthin and other places that year, for the settling of a correspondence, and the promoting of unity and love, and good understanding among themselves, by entering into an Association, like those some years before of Worcestershire† and Cumberland,‡ to which, as their pattern, those two having been published, they did refer themselves. They appointed particular Associations ; and, notwithstanding the dif-

* 1 Chron. xxix. 14. Mr. Fairclough would often say,—that we read not of any good man in all the history of scripture, or of the primitive times, that was covetous. *Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons*, p. 182, *ut supra*.

† See *Christian Concord* ; or, the Agreement of the Associated Pastors and Churches of Worcestershire, with its Explication and Defence, by R. Baxter, 4to. 1653.

‡ See the Agreement of the Associated Ministers and Churches of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, with something for Explication and Exhortation annexed, 4to. 1656.

ferences of apprehension that were among them, (some being in their judgments episcopal, others congregational, and others classical,) they agreed to lay aside the thoughts of matters in variance, and to give to each other the right hand of fellowship; that with one shoulder, and with one consent, they might study, each in their places, to promote the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and common salvation of precious souls. He observed that this year, after the death of Oliver Cromwell,* there was generally, throughout the nation, a great change† in the temper of God's people, and a mighty tendency towards peace and unity, as if they were, by consent, weary of their long clashings; which, in his diary, he expresseth his great rejoicing in, and his hopes that the time was at hand, when *Judah should no longer vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy Judah, neither should they learn war any more.*‡ And though these hopes were soon disappointed by a change of the scene, yet he would often speak of the experience of that and the following year in those parts, as a specimen of what may yet be expected, and, therefore, in faith prayed for, when the Spirit shall be poured out upon us from on high. But, alas! *Who shall live when God doth this?* From this experience he likewise gathered this observation,—that it is not so much our difference of opinion that doth us the mischief; (for we may as soon expect all the clocks in the town to strike together, as to see all good people of a mind in every thing on this side heaven;) but the mismanagement of that difference.

In the Association of the Ministers it was referred to Mr. Henry to draw up that part of their agreement which concerned the worship of God, which task he performed to their satisfaction. His Preface to what he drew up begins thus:—"Though the main of our desires and endeavours be after unity in the greater things of God; yet we judge uniformity in the circumstances of worship, a thing not to be altogether neglected by us, not only in regard of that influence, which external visible order hath upon the beauty and comeliness of the churches of Christ; but also as it hath a direct tendency to the strengthening of our hands in ministerial services, and withal to the removing of those prejudices which many people have conceived, even against religion and worship itself. We bless God, from our very souls, for that whereunto we have already attained; and yet we hope some further thing may be done, in reference to our closer walking by the same rule, and minding the same things. The word of God is the rule which we desire and resolve to walk by in the administration of ordinances; and for those things wherein the word is silent, we think we may, and ought to, have recourse to christian prudence, and the practice of the reformed churches, agreeing with the general rules of the

* Sept. 3. 1658.

† Reliq. Baxter. Lib. 1. Part I. p. 100, &c. *ut supra*.

‡ Isa. xi. 13, transposed; and Isa. ii. 4.

word: and, therefore, we have had, as we think we ought, in our present agreement, a special eye to the Directory," &c.

These agreements of their's were the more likely to be for good, for that here, as in Worcestershire, when they were in agitation, the ministers set apart a day of fasting and prayer among themselves to bewail ministerial neglects, and to seek to God for direction and success in their ministerial work. They met sometimes for this purpose at Mr. Henry's house at Worthenbury.

One passage may not improperly be inserted here, that once at a meeting of the ministers, being desired to subscribe a certificate concerning one whom he had not sufficient acquaintance with; he refused, giving this reason,—that he preferred the peace of his conscience before the friendship of all the men in the world.*

Sept. 29, 1658, the Lady Puleston died.—She was, saith he, the best friend I had on earth, but my Friend in Heaven is still where he was, and he will never leave me nor forsake me. He preached her funeral sermon from Isaiah, iii. last verse; *Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils*. He hath noted this expression of her's not long before she died: "My soul leans to Jesus Christ; lean to me, sweet Saviour." About this time he writes,—A dark cloud is over my concerns in this family, but my desire is, that, whatever becomes of me and my interest, the interest of Christ may still be kept on foot in this place. Amen, so be it. But he adds soon after, that saying of Athanasius, which he was used often to quote and take comfort from; *Nubecula est et cito pertransibit*. It is a little cloud, and will soon blow over.

About a year after, Sept. 5, 1659, Judge Puleston died, and all Mr. Henry's interest in Emral family was buried in his grave. He preached the Judge's funeral sermon, from Nehemiah, xiii. 14; *Wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof*. The design of which sermon was not to applaud his deceased friend. I find not a word in the sermon to that purpose. But he took occasion from the instance of so great a benefactor to the ministry as the Judge was, to shew that deeds done for the house of God, and the offices thereof, are good deeds: and to press people, according as their ability and opportunity was, to do such deeds.

[Thus he enlarged,—They are acts of piety. Such acts as have immediate relation to God. That which is given to the poor members of Jesus Christ to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, is charity.—That which is given to, or done for the house of our God, is piety.

They are acts of justice. Alms in Hebrew are called justice.

* One of the Doctors, who visited Huss, said to him,—“If the Council (of Constance, A. D. 1414,) should tell you, that you have but one eye, though you have really two, you would be obliged to agree with the Council.” “While God keeps me in my senses,” replied Huss, “I would not say such a thing against my conscience, on the intreaty or command of the whole world.” Milner's Church Hist. v. 4. p. 244.

When bestowed upon the house of God, they are as a rent-penny for what we enjoy.

They have a tendency to the good of souls. The minister's success will further the patron's account. To be an instrument to bring and keep the means of grace among a people is indeed a good deed.

They tend very much to the credit of religion. It is often cast in our teeth by the Papists, What good deeds are done among you for the house of the Lord since the Reformation? *Pater noster* built churches, and our Father pulls them down; whereas, probably, most of their good deeds were mulcts improved for penance.

Wipe them not out. This implies that God notes them as in a table-book: as every sin, so every good deed. Allusion to Esther, vi. 1. And it is in order to a requital. Malachi, i. 10.

Indeed the work itself is its own wages. Church-work is honourable work: it is an honour to be permitted to do any good deed for the house of God.

Let us be ashamed of our barrenness in good deeds for the house of our God. Especially those that have wherewithal; estates, opportunities. How much of our rent are we behind with God! We can be liberal and bountiful upon other occasions, in house-keeping, but what is done for the Lord's house? Are we not as an almanack, on one side full of red and black letters and figures, on the other side blank? God takes it very unkindly. Haggai, i. 4.

Let the subject stir us up to do what good we can for the house of our God: where much is given, much will be required. It is not building of churches that I am persuading you to, but to do something to promote religion. Sit down and consider,—Can I do nothing for the house of my God?

And what you do, do quickly. Eccles. ix. 10. Do self-denyingly. 1 Chron. xxix. 14. Do believingly. Heb. xi. 6. Sprinkle it with faith.*

Another] passage I find in that sermon which ought to be recorded; that it had been for several years the practice of a worthy gentleman in the neighbouring county, in renewing his leases, instead of making it a condition that his tenants should keep a hawk or a dog for him, to oblige them that they should keep a Bible in their houses for themselves, and should bring up their children to learn to read, and to be catechized. This, saith he, would be no charge to you, and it might oblige them to that which otherwise they would neglect.—Some wished, saith he, in his diary, that I had chosen some other subject for that sermon, but I approved myself to God, and if I please men, I am not the servant of Christ.†

What personal affronts he received from some of the branches of that family at that time, need not be mentioned, but with what exemplary patience he bore them, ought not to be forgotten.

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See 2 Tim. ii. 15. Gal. i. 10.

In March, 1658-9, he was very much solicited to leave Worthenbury, and to accept of the Vicarage of Wrexham,* which was a place that he had both a great interest in, and a great kindness for, but he could not see his call clear from Worthenbury, so he declined it. The same year he had an offer made him of a considerable living near London; but he was not of them that are given to change, nor did he consult with flesh and blood, nor seek great things to himself.†

That year he had some disturbance from the Quakers,‡ who were set on by some others, who wished ill to his ministry; they challenged him to dispute with them; and that which he was to prove against them, was, that the God he worshipped was not an idol; that John Baddely (a blacksmith in Malpas, and the ring-leader of the Quakers in that country) was not infallible, nor without sin; that baptism with water and the Lord's Supper are gospel-ordinances; that the Scriptures are the word of God, and that Jesus Christ will come to judge the world at the last day. But he never had any publick disputes with them, nor so much disturbance from them in publick worship, as some other ministers had elsewhere about that time. He had some apprehensions at that time, that God would make the Quakers a scourge to this nation; but had comfort in this assurance, that God would in due time vindicate his own honour, and the honour of his ordinances, and those of them who will not repent to give him glory, will be cast into the fire.

One passage I cannot omit, because it discovers what kind of spirit the Quakers were of. A debauched gentleman being in his revels at Malpas, drinking and swearing, was, after a sort, reproved for it by Baddely the Quaker, who was in his company. "Why," saith the gentleman, "I'll ask thee one question, Whether is it better for me to follow dirinking and swearing, or to go and hear Henry?" He answered, "Of the two, rather follow thy drinking and swearing."

The Cheshire Rising this year, in opposition to the irregular powers that then were uppermost, under Sir George Booth, afterwards Lord Delamere, and that of North Wales under Sir Thomas Middleton,§ could not but affect Worthenbury, and the country thereabouts. Mr. Henry's prayer for them in his Diary, the day of their first appearing is,—Lord, own them, if they truly own thee! He notes, that Lambert's|| forces which came down to suppress

* In the gift of the Bishop of St. Asaph. Ecton's Thesaur. by Dr. Willis, p. 491. That See was then vacant. Le Neve, p. 22.

† See Prov. xxiv. 21. Gal. i. 16. Jer. xlv. 5.

‡ See Reliq. Baxter. Lib. 1, Part I. p. 77, *ut supra*, and Mather's Hist. of New England, Book VII. p. 21, &c. fol. 1702. It would be manifestly unjust to class with their forefathers the societies now so designated.

§ See the Declaration of Sir Thomas Middleton, Serjeant-Major-General and Vice-Admiral for the Six Counties of North Wales, 1645, 4to.

|| John Lambert, one of the Parliamentary Generals. See Aikin's General Biography, v. 6, p. 100. There are several curious letters concerning him in Lord Clarendon's State Papers, v. 3, pp. 329, &c.

them, did in that neighbourhood espouse the Quakers' cause, and offer injury to some ministers; and, therefore, saith he, unless God intend the ruin of the nation by them, they cannot prosper. Nor did they long, though in that expedition they had success. In their return, some of Lambert's soldiers were at Worthenbury Church, hearing Mr. Henry upon a Lord's day; and one of them sat with his hat on, while they were singing psalms, for which he publicly admonished him: and there being many Anabaptists among them, he hath recorded it as a good providence, that those questions in the catechism, which are concerning baptism, came in course to be expounded that day. The first rising of the Cheshire forces was August 1, 1659, and the 19th following they were worsted and scattered by Lambert's forces, near Northwich, a strange spirit of fear being upon them, which quite took off their chariot-wheels.* The country called it not the Cheshire Rising, but the Cheshire Race. Some blamed him that he did not give God thanks publicly for the defeat of Sir George Booth; to whom he answered with his usual mildness, that his apprehensions concerning that affair were not the same with their's. We are now, saith he, much in the dark, never more. He preached the lecture at Chester soon after, just at the time when Mr. Cook, an eminent minister in Chester, and several others, were carried prisoners to London, for their agency in the late attempt; and the city was threatened to have their charter taken away, &c. The text in course that day, (for they preached over the latter part of that epistle, if not the whole, at that lecture,) happened to be Hebrews, xiii. 14; *We have here no continuing city*, which he thought a word upon the wheels at that time. He notes in his Diary, that when, after that, the army ruled, disturbed the Parliament, and carried all before them with a high hand, there were great grounds to fear sad times approaching; and his prayer is,—Lord, fit thy people for the fiery trial.

He was a hearty well-wisher† to the return of the King, the Spring following, April, 1660, and was much affected with the mercy of it.—While others rejoice carnally, saith he, Lord, help thy people to rejoice spiritually, in our publick national mercies. It was upon that occasion that Mr. Baxter preached his sermon of right rejoicing‡ on Luke, x. 20. But he and others soon saw cause to rejoice with trembling, and to sing both of mercy and judgment; for about that time he hath this melancholy remark,—*Religion loses ground exceedingly, and profaneness gets it. Help, Lord!* However, he was very industrious to quiet the minds of some who were uneasy at that great revolution; and that scripture

* See Exod. xiv. 25.

† "The King himself told the Ministers of London, on the day of his happy return, when the Rev. Mr. A. Jackson presented him with a Bible in their behalf, as he passed through St. Paul's Church-yard, to this effect;—*That he must attribute his restoration, under God, to their prayers and endeavours.*" The Conformist's Fourth Plea for the Nonconformists. 4to, 1693, p. 69.

‡ Quarto, 1660.

yielded him much satisfaction, John, iii. 35, *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands*. If Christ be not only the Head of the church, but *Head over all things* to the church, we may be assured, that all things shall be made to work together for good to it.* The text also which the Lord put into his heart to preach upon on the day of publick thanksgiving for the King's restoration, was very comfortable to him, Proverbs, xxi. 1, *The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord*.† His sense of that great mercy of God to the nation, in the unbloody, peaceable, and legal settlement of King Charles II. upon the throne, was the same with that of multitudes besides, both ministers and others, that were of the *quiet in the land*, who yet, not long after, suffered very hard things under him. Soon after the return of the King, he notes how industrious some were to remove him from Worthenbury, on which he writes this as the breathing of his soul towards God;—Lord, if it please thee, fasten me here *as a nail in a sure place*; if otherwise, I will take nothing ill which thou dost with me. And when pressed by his friends more earnestly than before, to accept of some other place,—Lord, saith he, mine eye is up unto thee; I am wholly at thy disposal; make my way plain before my face, because of mine enemies; my resolution is, to deny myself if thou callest me. Here, or any where, it is no great matter where, I am. Many years after the King's return, he dated a letter, May 29. Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτῇ τῇ γλύκυστικῇ.

There are two things further which I think it may be of use to give some account of in the close of this chapter. 1. Of the course of his ministry at Worthenbury; and, 2. of the state of his soul, and the communion he had with God in those years.

As to the subjects he preached upon, he did not use to dwell long upon a text.—Better one sermon upon many texts, viz. many scriptures opened and applied, than many sermons upon one text. To that purpose he would sometimes speak.‡

He used to preach in a fixed method, and linked his subjects in a sort of chain. § He adapted his method and style to the capacity of his hearers, fetching his similitudes for illustration from those things which were familiar to them. He did not shoot the arrow of the word over their heads in high notions, or the flourishes of affected rhetoric, nor under their feet, by blunt and homely expressions, as many do|| under pretence of plainness, but to their

* See Eph. v. 23. Col. i. 18. Ephes. i. 22. Rom. viii. 28.

† See the Plan of the Sermon in the Evan. Mag. v. xxvii. p. 399.

‡ The Synod of St. Foy, in France, A. D. 1578, witnesseth against Ministers dwelling long upon a text, and would have them expound and treat of as many in their ministry as they can, fleeing all ostentation and long digressions. Quick's Synodic. v. 1, p. 117. Life of P. Henry by Matthew Henry. Orig. MS.

§ Appendix, No. VIII.

|| A like testimony is borne of another contemporary.—“He did not soar aloft in high expressions, shooting over his hearers, but did condescend to the capacities of the meanest, which is an excellence in any.” Works of Mr. John Murcot, 4to, 1667. Ep. Ded. by Dr. Samuel Winter, p. 3. See also Clark's Lives annexed to the Martyrologie, p. 176, *ut supra*.

hearts, in close and lively applications. His delivery was very graceful and agreeable, far from being either noisy and precipitate on the one hand, or dull and slow on the other. His doctrine did drop as the dew, and distil as the soaking rain, and came with a charming pleasing power, such as many will bear witness to, that have wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.*

He wrote the notes of his sermons pretty large for the most part, and always very legible. But even when he had put his last hand to them, he commonly left many imperfect hints, which gave room for enlargement in preaching, wherein he had a great felicity. And he would often advise ministers not to tie themselves too strictly to their notes, but, having well digested the matter before, to allow themselves a liberty of expression, such as a man's affections, if they be well raised, will be apt to furnish him with. But for this no certain rule can be given, there are diversities of gifts, and each to profit withal.

He kept his sermon-notes in very neat and exact order; sermons in course, according to the order of the subject; and occasional sermons according to the scripture-order of the texts; so that he could readily turn to any of them. And yet, though afterwards he was removed to a place far enough distant from any of that auditory, yet, though some have desired it, he seldom preached any of those hundreds of sermons which he had preached at Worthenbury, no not when he preached never so privately, but to the last he studied new sermons, and wrote them as elaborately as ever; for he thought a sermon best preached when it was newly meditated. Nay, if sometimes he had occasion to preach upon the same text, yet he would make and write the sermon anew; and he never offered that to God which cost him nothing.†

When he went to Oxford, and preached there before the University in Christ Church, as he did several times, his labours were not only very acceptable, but successful too; particularly one sermon which he preached there, on Proverbs, xiv. 9; *Fools make a mock at sin*; for which sermon a young Master of Arts came to his chamber afterwards to return him thanks, and to acknowledge the good impressions which divine grace, by that sermon, had made upon his soul, which he hoped he should never forget.

In his Diary he frequently records the frame of his spirit in studying and preaching. Sometimes blessing God for signal help vouchsafed, and owning him the Lord God of all his enlargements; at other times, complaining of great deadness and straitness.—It is a wonder, saith he, that I can speak of eternal things, with so little sense of the reality of them. Lord, strengthen that which remains, which is ready to die! And he once writes thus, upon a studying

* See Deut. xxxii. 2. Luke iv. 22.

† See the Lives of Dr. Staunton, p. 36, *ut supra*; and Dr. Rob. Harris, p. 88, *ut supra*. Also the Life of Demosthenes, Plutarch, v. 5. p. 273, *ut supra*.

day. "I forgot explicitly and expressly when I began, to crave help from God,* and the chariot-wheels drove† accordingly. Lord, forgive my omissions, and keep me in the way of duty.

[In June, 1657, he writes,—This month I had the remembrance of much guilt set home upon my conscience in reference to the sabbath day. I used to lie longer in bed than I ought, which hath been occasioned by sitting up over late the night before, and that by neglecting to make preparations for preaching sooner in the week.‡ I am often put to it to hurry over truths. So that two sermons were provided, I have not cared how poorly. Lord, I confess it to thee with shame, and beg thy grace that it may be so no more.§]

As to the state of his soul in these years, it should seem by his Diary, that he was exercised with some doubts and fears respecting it.—I think, saith he, never did any poor creature pass through such a mixture of hope and fear, joy and sadness, assurance and doubting, down and up, as I have done these years past ———. The notice of this may be of use to poor drooping Christians, that they may know their case is not singular; and that, if God for a small moment hide his face from them, he deals with them no otherwise than as he useth sometimes to deal with the dearest of his servants. It would affect one, to hear one that lived a life of communion with God, complaining of great straitness in prayer.—No life at all in the duty, many wanderings; if my prayers were written down, and my vain thoughts interlined, what incoherent nonsense would there be! I am ashamed, Lord, I am ashamed! Oh, pity, and pardon!

[I find in nothing more of the deceitfulness of my heart than in secret worship. Oh, how hardly am I brought to it, and how little sweetness and delight do I for the most part find in it! I blush, and am ashamed. Lord, pity, and pardon, and help; for, *with my mind, I serve the law of God, though, with my flesh, the law of sin.*

I have a froward peevish spirit unto this day, impatient of contradiction. Oh, that it were mortified, that the grace of meekness might abound in me more and more.||]

To hear him suspecting the workings of pride of heart, when he gave an account to a friend, who inquired of him, touching the

* He that prays most will preach best. Spiritual beggars are special preachers. Mr. Porter; from a MS. in P. Henry's hand-writing.

† See Exod. xiv. 25.

‡ Mr. Shephard, of New England, usually had his sermons finished upon Friday night. "He hath sometimes exprest himself thus in publicke:—God will curse that man's labours that lumbers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday, in the afternoon, goes to his study, when, as God knows, that time were little enough to pray and weep in, and to get his heart in frame." Address to the Reader, signed William Greenhill and Samuel Mather, and prefixed to Mr. Shephard's Subjection to Christ in all his Ordinances and Appointments, duod. 1652.

§ P. Henry, Diary, Orig. MS.

|| P. Henry, Diary, Orig. MS.

success of his ministry, and that he should record this concerning himself, with this ejaculation annexed,—The Lord pardon and subdue! It was a sign that he kept a very watchful eye upon the motions of his own heart.

[At another time he writes :—These following sins were set home with power upon my conscience:

1. Omissions innumerable. I fall short of duty in every relation.
2. Much frowardness upon every occasion, which fills my way with thorns and snares.
3. Pride; a vein of it runs through all my conversation.
4. Self-seeking. Corrupt ends in all I do. Applause of men oftentimes regarded more than the glory of God.
5. My own iniquity. Many babbings up of heart-corruption, and breakings forth too. O Lord, shame hath covered my face. Pardon and purge for Jesu's sake!*

To hear him charging it upon himself, that he was present at such a duty in the midst of many distractions, not tasting sweetness in it, &c. When a fire is first kindled, saith he, there is a deal of smoke and smother, that afterwards wears away; so, in young converts, much peevishness, frowardness, darkness; so it hath been with my soul, and so it is yet in a great measure. Lord, pity, and do not quench the smoking flax; though as yet it doth but smoke, let these sparks be blown up into a flame!

Great mercies, but poor returns; signal opportunities, but small improvements; such are his complaints frequently concerning himself. And though few or none excelled him in profitable discourse, yet in that he often bewails his barrenness and unprofitableness.—Little good done or gotten such a day, for want of a heart; it is my sin and shame. *O that I had wings like a dove!* [Lord, cleanse me from my omissions. The world thinks better of me than I do of myself, God knows. At another time he writes,—Nothing troubles me so much as that I am so unprofitable in my generation. Lord, give me wisdom, that I may preach in all my discourses!†]

Yet when he wanted a faith of assurance, he lived by a faith of adherence.—Such a day, saith he, a full resignation was made of all my concernments into the hands of my Heavenly Father; let him deal with me as seemeth good in his eyes. I am learning and labouring to live by faith. Lord, help my unbelief!‡ Another time he notes that many perplexing fears being upon his spirit, they were all silenced with that sweet word, which was seasonably brought to his remembrance,—*Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer.*

[There is no living by a dead faith, he observes; no, nor by a living faith, unless lively. Help, Lord, thy poor servant, that my

* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 489, stated to be from Mr. Henry's Diary.

† P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

‡ Appendix, No. IX.

faith fail not! I do not know that I ever saw my way clearer. Then, *Why art thou cast down, O my soul?**

At the commencement of a new year he thus writes, and it is only a specimen of his usual devotion at such seasons:—

1671. January 1. Covenants of new obedience solemnly renewed with God, and sealed, this New Year's Day, in the blood of Jesus Christ. *Amen!* Lord, be Surety for thy servant for good! I yield myself, and all my concerns, to be at thy disposal; and I am heartily glad that my times are in thy hand, and not my own. Do with me, and mine, this year, as seemeth good in thine eyes! So be it!†

Again, he says,—I met with a friendly, seasonable, admonition. Blessed be God! My heart was then somewhat in a better frame than ordinary for the receiving of it, and I hope it hath done me good. The Lord is very gracious, in that he follows me thus from time to time.

The eyes of many are upon me; some for one end, some for another; some for good, some for evil. I had need to be watchful. Lord, *hold up my goings in thy path, that my footsteps slip not!* Thou tellest all my wanderings. For Jesu's sake, let them be forgotten!‡]

He very frequently kept days of fasting and humiliation in secret, which he calls his days of atonement. Sometimes he observed these monthly, and sometimes only upon special occasions; but the memorandums in his Diary, not only while he was at Worthenbury, but often after, shew what sweet communion he had with God in those solemn duties, which no eye was witness to, but his who *seeth in secret*, and will *reward openly*. Remember, O my soul, such a day, as a day of more than ordinary engagements entered into, and strong resolutions taken up of closer walking, and more watchfulness! O my God, undertake for me! And upon another of those days of secret prayer and humiliation, he notes,—If sowing in tears be so sweet, what then will the harvest be, when I shall reap in joy? Bless the Lord, O my soul, who forgiveth all thine iniquities, and will, in due time, heal all thy diseases.

[It is good for me to draw near to God. The oftener and the nearer the better. How sweet is heaven indeed, if heaven upon earth hath so much sweetness in it!§]

* P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV.

His Marriage, Family, Family Religion, and the Education of his Children.

HE removed from Emeral, to the house in Worthenbury, which the Judge had built for him, in February, 1658-9; and then had one of his sisters with him to keep his house. No sooner had he a tent, but God had an altar in it, and that a smoking altar. There he set up repetition on sabbath evenings, and welcomed his neighbours to it.

His christian friends often, and sometimes his brethren in the ministry, kept days of fasting and prayer at his house. He used to tell people when they had built new houses, they must dedicate them, (referring to Deuteronomy, xx. 5, and Psalm, xxx. ult.) that is, they must invite God to their houses, and devote them to his service.

Providence having thus brought him into a house of his own, soon after provided him a help-meet for him. After long agitation, and some discouragement and opposition from the father, he married Katherine, the only daughter and heir of Mr. Daniel Matthews, of Broad-Oak, in the Township of Iscoyd,* in Flintshire, but in the parish of Malpas, which is in Cheshire, and about two miles distant from Whitchurch, a considerable market-town in Shropshire. Mr. Matthews† was a gentleman of a very competent estate; such an one as King James the First used to say was the happiest lot of all others, which set a man below the office of a Justice of Peace, and above that of a petty Constable. This was his only child: very fair and honourable overtures had been made for her disposal; but it pleased God so to order events, and to over-rule the spirits of those concerned, that she was reserved to be a blessing to this good man, in things pertaining both to life and godliness.

[The following anecdote is traditionary. After Mr. Philip Henry, who came to Worthenbury a stranger, had been in the country for some time, his attachment to Miss Matthews, afterwards his wife, became manifest; and it was mutual. Among the other objections

* See Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire, v. 2, p. 347.

† Descended, as is the tradition of the family, from Matthew Gough, (from whom came the name of Matthews,) a noted Commander in the wars of France, under Henry V., and killed upon London Bridge, in Henry the Sixth's time, in the suppressing of Wat Tyler's rebellion. Life of P. Henry by Matthew Henry. Orig. MS.

urged by her friends against the connexion was this,—that, although Mr. Henry was a gentleman, and a scholar, and an excellent preacher, he was quite a stranger, and they did not even know where he came from. “True,” replied Miss Matthews, “but I know where he is going, and I should like to go with him.”

The opposition of Mr. Matthews to the marriage, and the imposition of inequitable terms, with a view to breaking off the acquaintance, was, for a considerable time, a severe trial to the faith and patience of Mr. Henry. In this affair the influence of the holy religion he professed was exceedingly conspicuous. Nor will the reader disapprove of a momentary interruption of the narrative by the introduction of the following letters.

To Mr. Matthews.

Sir,

I have received, by my friend, your answer to what I proposed in my last, concerning your lands at Brunnington, with which I am satisfied. I understand from him, also, that for your other lands, which are at Broad-Oke, your demand is £800., which sum being, as I am informed, according to the present rate of lands, near their full value, makes it, in effect, no portion, but a purchase. I do, therefore, hope, Sir, it is but your demand, and that room is left for some abatement, so far, at least, that there may be equality, and, withal, that provision may be made for my just security in case your daughter should die without issue. Concerning both which I shall desire the interposure of no other arbitrator than your own self, to whom I would refer it. I have had many occasions for laying out of monies this last year in furnishing my house and other ways; nevertheless I have £200, or thereabouts, which I am willing to disburse to you for the present, and shall give you sufficient bond for more to be paid within reasonable time, on the considerations before mentioned. Or, if you please to give your consent that I may match with your daughter, I shall be as willing to dispose of those monies elsewhere to her use, and you may do with your own as you think good. I assure you, Sir, though you will not believe me, the Lord knows, I eye it not, having learned, in that estate wherein I am, to be content. Sir, I beseech you, have some respect in this matter to honest, innocent affections, though not to mine, who am but a stranger; yet, however, to her's who is your own flesh; and be pleased to consider, the same God, who bids your child obey you, bids you also, in the same breath, not to provoke her, lest she be discouraged. I should much rejoice if I might hear that you are inclined, yet, at last, to entertain more

charitable, favourable thoughts concerning me, who do really desire to approve myself,

Sir,

Your servant in the Lord,

Worthenbury, 16, 1659.

PHILIP HENRY.*

To Mr. Matthews.

Sir,

It hath been all along my desire and care, as far as I have known myself, to walk in the highway in this affair concerning your daughter. I can truly say your dislike of it, hitherto, hath been one of the greatest afflictions that hath befallen me; as, on the other hand, your approbation would be one of my greatest outward mercies. And I do bless the Lord, who hath been pleased thus far to incline your heart towards me, hoping he will finish what he hath begun. It falls out, Sir, that I am engaged upon the service of my calling to-morrow in the work of the Lord; but, upon Wednesday morning, at nine o'clock, God willing, I shall not fail to be at your tenant's house, if your occasions will permit your presence there, at that time, or when else you shall appoint. This, with my service to yourself, and love unfeigned to your daughter, is all at present from him who is, and desires to be thought to be,

Sir,

Worthenbury,
Feb. 27, 1659.

Your's, to serve you,

PHILIP HENRY.†

The Articles‡ preliminary to the marriage bear date March 20, 1659, and stipulate for the solemnization "at or before the first day of May next ensuing." Circumstances, however, arose which seemed to render procrastination expedient,§ and a fresh difficulty having presented itself to the mind of Mr. Matthews, it is, in a letter dated Worthenbury, June 13, 1659, thus amiably referred to. "Far be it from me to blame your due paternal care; but, truly, Sir, my condition being such, as blessed be God it is, and my desires and expectations being proportioned accordingly, and no way exceeding, I am apt to think it might be an easy matter to remove that obstruction. For my own part I am willing to refer it to yourself. You may deal in it as you see cause, and I shall acquiesce in your pleasure,—only favour me in her towards whom my affections are, which is the great request and sole ambition, in

* Orig. MS.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Original, in Mr. Henry's hand-writing. Penes me.

§ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

this present address, of, Sir, your friend and servant in the Lord, Philip Henry."*]

His purpose of marriage was published† in the church three Lord's days before, a laudable practice, which he greatly approved, and persuaded others to.

The day before his marriage, [which took place April 26, 1660,] he kept as a day of secret prayer and fasting.‡

He used to say, those who would have comfort in that change of their condition, must see to it, that they bring none of the guilt of the sins of their single state with them into the married state. And, —the presence of Christ at a wedding will turn the water into wine; and he will come if he be invited by prayer.

[The first letter I find addressed to Mrs. Henry after their marriage, is dated London. It well exhibits the affection, the happiness, and the piety of the writer.

London, Oct. 9, 1660.

Dear Heart;

I bless God, I am safe and well at London. I came from Oxford yesterday morning alone, but the Lord was with me; it was a long journey, but I was stirring betimes. I was nine miles on my way before eight o'clock, and came an hour or two before sun-set to Thistleworth. Towards the end of my journey, for three or four miles, where was most danger, it pleased God I had company, which was a great mercy. I met many soldiers upon the way, going homewards upon their disbanding, towards their several countries, and I was sometimes afraid of them. They were by two and three in a company, but the Lord preserved me. This morning I came to Chelsea, where I saw my sisters, in health, blessed be God, and overjoyed to see me; from thence, this afternoon, to London. I have been with cousin Thomas Hotchkis, from whom I received a letter to Sir Orlando Bridgman§ from Mr. Eddow; and, to-morrow, I purpose, God willing, to wait upon his Lordship, expecting a charge from him, in the first place, about conformity, wherein yet I shall do as I see cause, in case I should be continued at Worthenbury. The ministers here are generally unanimous, and resolved. Dr. Sheldon was installed Bishop of London to-day. The King is gone into the country for a fortnight during the trial of his father's Judges to prevent petitions. I sleep to-night at Mrs. Kingston's, who desires to be remembered to you, and to Mr. Puleston, and his wife. I wrote to you, by the last post, from Oxford. Commend me to sister Mary, and all that ask of me. Dear heart, make

* Orig. MS.

† See Gibson's Codex. v. 1, p. 424, fol. 1761.

‡ Appendix, No. X.

§ Sir O. Bridgman made Lord Keeper in 1667. See Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, v. 8, p. 361, ed. 1779; and Mr. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 6, p. 509. Mr. Henry styles him, "His Lordship," he being then Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

much of thyself, and love me; and the Lord everlasting be thy Sun and Shield! So prayeth,

Thine, in all affection,
PHILIP HENRY. *]

He took all occasions while he lived, to express his thankfulness to God, for the great comfort he had in this relation.—A day of mercy, so he writes on his marriage day, never to be forgotten. God had given him one, as he writes afterwards, every way his helper, in whom he had much comfort, and for whom he thanked God with all his heart. He writes in his Diary, April 26, 1680, —This day we have been married twenty years, in which time we have received of the Lord more than twenty thousand mercies; to God be glory. Sometimes he writes,—We have been so long married, and never reconciled; that is, there never was any occasion for it.† His usual prayer for his friends in the married state, was according to his own practice in that state;—that they might be mutually serviceable to each other's faith and holiness, and jointly serviceable to God's honour and glory.

Her father, though he put some hardships upon him in the terms, and had been somewhat averse to the match, yet, by Mr. Henry's great prudence, and God's good providence, was influenced to give a free consent to it; and he himself, with his own hand, gave her in marriage. From this, as from other experiences, Mr. Henry had learned to say with assurance,—It is not in vain to wait upon God, and to keep his way. Mr. Matthews settled part of his estate before marriage upon them and their's; he lived about seven years after; and when he died, the remainder of it came to them. This competent estate, which the Divine Providence brought into his hand, was not only a comfortable support to him when he was turned out of his living, and when many faithful ministers of Christ were reduced to great poverty and straits; but it enabled him likewise, as he had opportunity, to preach the gospel freely, which he did to his dying day; and not only so, but to give for the relief of others that were in want, in which he sowed plentifully to a very large proportion of his income; and often blessed God that he had wherewithal, remembering the words of the Lord, how he said,—*It is more blessed to give than to receive.*

Such was his house, and such the vine which God graciously planted by the side of his house. By her God gave him six children, all born within less than eight years; the two eldest,—sons, John and Matthew; the other four,—daughters, Sarah, Katharine,

* Orig. MS.

† Pomponius Atticus, making the funeral oration at the death of his mother, did protest, that, living with her threescore and seven years, he was never reconciled unto her, *Se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediisse*; because there never happened between them the least jar which needed reconciliation. Cited in Fuller's Holy State, p. 15, fol. 1663.

Eleanor, and Ann. His eldest son John died of the measles in the sixth year of his age; and the rest were in mercy continued to him.

The Lord having built him up into a family, he was careful and faithful in making good his solemn vow at his ordination, that *he and his house would serve the Lord*. He would often say,—That we are really which we are relatively.* It is not so much what we are at church, as what we are in our families. Religion in the power of it will be family religion. In this his practice was very exemplary; he was one that walked before his house in a perfect way, with a perfect heart, and therein behaved himself wisely. His constant care and prudent endeavour was not only to put away iniquity far from his tabernacle, but that where he dwelt, the word of Christ might dwell richly. If he might have no other church, yet he had a *church in his house*.†

He made conscience of closet-worship, and did abound in it, not making his family-worship to excuse for that. He hath this affecting note in his Diary, upon the removing of his closet but from one room in the house to another;—This day, saith he, my new closet was consecrated, if I may so say, with this prayer,—That all the prayers that ever should be made in it according to the will of God, morning, evening, and at noon-day, ordinary or extraordinary, might be accepted of God, and obtain a gracious answer. *Amen and Amen*. It was the caution and advice which he frequently gave to his children and friends,—Be sure you look to your secret duty; keep that up whatever you do. The soul cannot prosper in the neglect of it. He observed that apostacy generally begins at the closet-door. Secret prayer is first neglected, and carelessly performed, then frequently omitted, and after a while wholly cast off; and then farewell God, and Christ, and all religion.‡

[In reference to this duty the following important observations occur.

Besides the deadness, and coldness, the distractions, and wanderings, which the people of God often find cause to complain of, there is, also, a kind of weariness which many times seizes their spirits. Something from within calls upon them to have done—‘enough for this time,—you may conclude now,’—before a quarter, or, perhaps, half a quarter of an hour be fully spent. Against this we have great need to watch. If the devil cannot keep us *from* God, he will try to work a loathness to *tarry* with him. We are to look upon it as a cursed member of that body of death which we carry about with us :

* Exalt godliness in thy family. That thou art really, which thou art relatively. Swinnoek's Heaven and Hell Epitomized, &c. 4to, 1663. Ep. to the Reader.

† 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

‡ Be much in secret fellowship with God in duty. It is secret trading that enriches a Christian. P. Henry. Orig. MS. See the Life of Mr. Tapper. Noncon. Mem. v. 1, p. 359, *ut supra*.

Judge yourselves by secret acts; follow yourselves into your closets and retiring places, and observe your diligence, endeavour, and spirit, in your hidden wayes, and secret duties; for, what you are in them, that you are indeed. The Case and Cure of a Deserted Soule, by Jos. Symonds, p. 55, dnod. 1641.

one of the Canaanites left behind to be a thorn in our eyes, and a goad in our sides. We are to be really and deeply sensible of it, and affected with it, and to mourn under it as our burden. A few formal, customary complaints to one another, that so it is with us, will not serve. We should be humbled in secret before the Lord, and take shame to ourselves. It is a sign we are very unfit for heaven. We should consider that prayer is not only our duty but our privilege. We should get our hearts filled with love to God, and look up to the Spirit, and put that sweet promise in suit, Isaiah, xl. 29, &c. *He giveth power to the faint, &c.* We should go on against the temptation. When we think we shall be heard the sooner for long praying, we are like the heathen, Matthew vi. 7. When we use long praying for a pretence, we are like the Pharisees, Matthew, xxiii. 14. Yet neither instance condemns a long prayer as in itself a sin: see Luke, vi. 12. One being oppressed with this corruption, and drooping under it, a godly friend, who was acquainted with his condition, meeting him suddenly, said, 'I will tell you good news, the best that ever you heard. As soon as you are in heaven, you shall serve the Lord Jesus without being weary,' which much revived him.*

In continuation of the same subject, Mr. Henry thus writes:—The Spirit deals not with us as stocks and stones, but as rational creatures. Hosea, xi. 4. He expects, and requires, that we should put forth ourselves to the utmost towards the working our hearts into a fervent frame, and where we are weak, and wanting, he comes with help. Thus much seems to be implied in that expression,—*the Spirit helpeth our infirmities,—particula ad, ad nos laborantes refertur. Beza.* It is an allusion to a man who has a great burden, suppose a heavy log of wood, to carry, and he cannot manage it unless some one will come, and lay a shoulder under one end.† But if that help be offered, he is not altogether excused. He must lay his shoulder under the other end. If we find our hearts dead, and dull, and indisposed to prayer, we are ready, presently, to cast the blame upon the Spirit,—All our life is from him. That is true; but he conveys life in the use of the means. And, commonly, the fault, that we do not receive more life, and quickening from him, is in ourselves. We are wanting in stirring up our affections, in labouring with our hearts, by meditation, which is a special means. The Spirit *meeteth* him that rejoiceth, and worketh righteousness. Sometimes, however, a cause of deadness may be overmuch confidence in ourselves; when we set about duties in our own strength, and have no eye to the Spirit, but rely altogether upon self. Philippians, iii. 3. This is as bad as the other. The true mean between both is this;—so to labour with our hearts as if we were to expect no assistance from the Spirit, and yet so to rely upon his aid, as if with our own hearts we had laboured nothing.‡

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See Bishop Wilkins's Disc. concerning the Gift of Prayer, p. 8, duod. 1690.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

Again : in reply to the inquiry, When we are called to duty, may we be sure it is always from the Spirit? Is it not possible that Satan may have a hand in the stirring of us up to prayer? * Mr. Henry writes as follows:—

It is possible he may. The devil transforms himself into an *angel of light*. This is one of his extraordinary devices. Where he moves us once to prayer, he moves ten thousand times to sin : where he moves once to perform duty, he moves ten thousand times to neglect it. When he doth so, it is always with a *design*. You may be sure it is neither out of love to us, nor out of love to prayer, for there is no duty he is so much an enemy to. His object is ever some advantage *against* us ; and usually this ;—he observes a time when the soul is most dead, and heavy, and unfit for prayer, and then he spurs on to it with as much eagerness as if it were the very spirit of grace. Now when deadness and distraction mark our performance, he takes occasion to trouble and disquiet us. Thus he often tires out young converts. This is one of the *depths of Satan*, which believers ought to know and study, that they may be armed against it. Besides, in general, when the *Spirit* calls, he helps and enlarges ; so doth not Satan. †

Further, he remarks ;—If we find ourselves at any time indisposed and unfit for prayer, is it not best to let it quite alone? ‡ We are not to choose rather to omit a duty than not to perform it in a right manner. It is incumbent on Christians, ordinarily, to set apart that time for prayer, both by themselves and in their families, wherein they are most likely to be at liberty from diversions and distractions. And, when duty is required of us, and we find ourselves unfit for it, we are to take pains beforehand, with our own hearts, to see if it may not be possible, in the use of means, to shake it off. So that if, after all our pains taken with ourselves, we yet continue unfit, we are, notwithstanding, to perform the duty, though with grief of heart, at our unpreparedness for it. §

To return.] He advised,—that secret duty be performed secretly, which was the admonition he gave sometimes to those who caused their voice to be heard on high in that duty.

[There are two doors, he would say, to be shut when we go to prayer ; the door of our closet, that we may be secret ; the door of our hearts, that we may be serious. ||]

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Ibid.

‡ When thou feelest thyself most indisposed to prayer, yield not to it, but strive and endeavour to pray, even when thou thinkest thou canst not pray. Hildersam's Lect. on Ps. li. p. 64, fol. 1642.

§ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

|| P. Henry. Orig. MS. "Pray alone. Let prayer be the key of the morning, and the bolt of the night." P. Henry. See *Memoirs of Mrs. Savage*, 3d ed. p. 8. Bishop Taylor says, that, "with them that are not stark irreligious, prayer is the key to open the day, and the bolt to shut in the night." Works, v. 1, p. 145, oct. ed. *ut supra*. And of Bishop Ridley it is affirmed, that "he used to make his religious addresses unto God, both as a key to open the door in the morning to his daily employments, and as a bolt, to shut and close them up all at evening again." Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 195, 4to, 1652.

Besides this, he and his wife constantly prayed together morning and evening: and never, if they were together, at home or abroad, was it intermitted; and from his own experience of the benefit of this practice, he would take all opportunities to recommend it to those in that relation, as conducing very much to the comfort of it, and to their furtherance in that, which he would often say is the great duty of yoke-fellows; and that is, to do all they can to help one another to heaven. He would say, that this duty of husbands and wives praying together, is intimated in that of the Apostle, 1 Peter, iii. 7, where they are exhorted to *live as heirs together of the grace of life, that their prayers*, especially their prayers together, *be not hindered*; that nothing may be done to hinder them from praying together, nor to hinder them in it, nor to spoil the success of those prayers. This sanctifies the relation, and fetcheth in a blessing upon it, makes the comforts of it the more sweet, and the cares and crosses of it the more easy, and is an excellent means of preserving and increasing love in the relation. Many to whom he hath recommended the practice of this duty, have blessed God for him, and for his advice concerning it. When he was abroad and lay with any of his friends, he would mind them of his rule,—That they who lie together, must pray together. In the performance of this part of his daily worship he was usually short, but often much affected.

[He recommended it to others, that the wife should be sometimes called upon to pray with the husband, that she might learn to perform duty in the family in the husband's absence, or in case he be removed by death, which he hath sometimes pressed upon his friends, who have had much comfort in taking his counsel. It is comfortable if the moon rises when the sun sets.*]

Besides these, he made conscience, and made a business of family-worship, in all the parts of it; and in it he was uniform, steady, and constant, from the time that he was first called to the charge of a family, to his dying day; and, according to his own practice, he took all occasions to press it upon others. His doctrine once, from Joshua xxiv. 15, was,—That family-worship is family-duty. He would say, sometimes, if the worship of God be not in the house, write,—Lord, have mercy upon us, on the door; for there is a plague, a curse, in it. It is the judgment of Archbishop Tillotson,† in that excellent Book,‡ which he published a little before his death, upon this subject,—That constant family-worship is so necessary to keep alive a sense of God and religion in the minds of men, that he sees not how any family that neglects it, can in reason be esteemed

* Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

† Nat. A. D. 1630, ob. Nov. 23, 1694. Life by Dr. Birch, oct. 1753. An interesting occurrence between the Archbishop, when Dean of St. Paul's, and his father, is recorded by Dr. Fawcett, in the Life of Oliver Heywood, p. 139. A similar anecdote is also related of Sir Thomas More, when Lord Chancellor. See his Life by Cayley. v. 1, p. 112.

‡ Archbishop Tillotson's Works, v. 3, p. 423, oct. 1742.

a family of Christians, or indeed to have any religion at all. How earnestly would Mr. Henry reason with people sometimes about this matter, and tell them what a blessing it would bring upon them and their houses, and all that they had! He that makes his house a little church, shall find that God will make it a little sanctuary. It may be of use to give a particular account of his practice in this matter, because it was very exemplary. As to the time of it, his rule was, commonly, the earlier the better, both morning and evening; in the morning, before worldly business crowded in,—*Early will I seek thee*. He that is the first, should have the first. Nor is it fit that the worship of God should stand by and wait while the world's turn is served. And early in the evening, before the children and servants began to be sleepy; and therefore, if it might be, he would have prayer at night before supper, that the body might be the more fit to serve the soul in that service of God. And indeed he did industriously contrive all the circumstances of his family-worship, so as to make it most solemn, and most likely to answer the end. He always made it the business of every day, and not, as too many make it, a bye-business. This being his fixed principle, all other affairs must be sure to give way to this.* And he would tell those who objected against family-worship, that they could not get time for it; that, if they would but put on christian resolution at first, they would not find the difficulty so great as they imagined; but, after a while, their other affairs would fall in easily and naturally with this, especially where there is that *wisdom* which is *profitable to direct*. Nay, they would find it to be a great preserver of order and decency in a family, and it would be like a hem to all their other business, to keep it from ravelling. He was ever careful to have all his family present at family-worship; though sometimes, living in the country, he had a great household; yet he would have not only his children and sojourners, if he had any, and domestick servants, but his workmen and day-labourers, and all that were employed for him, if they were within call, to be present, to join with him in this service; and, as it was an act of his charity many times to set them to work for him, so to that he added this act of piety, to set them to work for God. And usually, when he paid his workmen their wages, he gave them some good counsel about their souls. Yet, if any that should come to family worship, were at a distance, and must be stayed for long, he would rather want them, than put the duty much out of time; and would sometimes say, at night,—Better one away, than all sleepy.

The performances of his family-worship † were the same morning

* It was the observation of an excellent man, that, when he did hasten over holy duties, out of an over-eager desire to follow his worldly business, he did many times meet with a cross in his business; but, when he did take his ordinary time, God did make his other business to succeed the better, or else his mind was brought to submit to the will of God. The Life of Mr. John Rowe, duod. 1673, p. 45.

† See Tong's Life of Matt. Henry, *ut supra*, p. 124, &c. Mr. Wesley, recommending P. Henry's Life, pointed out his mode of performing family worship as a pattern. Minutes of Conference, vol. 1, p. 76.

and evening. He observed that, under the law, the morning and the evening lamb had the same meat-offering and drink-offering, Exodus, xxix. 38—41. He always began with a short, but very solemn prayer, imploring the divine presence and grace, assistance and acceptance; particularly begging a blessing upon the word to be read, in reference to which he often put up this petition,—That the same Spirit that indited the Scripture, would enable us to understand the Scripture, and to make up something to ourselves out of it that may do us good. And, esteeming the word of God as his necessary food, he would sometimes pray in a morning, that our souls might have a good meal out of it. He commonly concluded even this short prayer, as he did also his blessings before and after meat,* with a doxology, as Paul, upon all occasions,—To him be glory, &c. which is properly adoration, and is an essential part of prayer.

He next sung a psalm, and commonly he sung David's Psalms in order, throughout; sometimes using the old translation, but generally Mr. Barton's:† and his usual way was to sing a whole psalm throughout, though perhaps a long one, and to sing quick, yet with a good variety of proper and pleasant tunes; and, that he might do so, usually the psalm was sung without reading the line betwixt, every one in the family having a book, which he preferred much before the common way of singing, where it might conveniently be done, as more agreeable to the practice of the primitive church, and the reformed churches abroad; and by this means he thought the duty more likely to be performed *in the spirit, and with the understanding*; the sense being not so broken, nor the affections interrupted, as in reading the line betwixt. He would say, that a scripture ground for singing psalms in families, might be taken from Psalm cxviii. 15;—*The voice of rejoicing and of salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous*; and that it is a way to hold forth godliness, like Rahab's scarlet thread, Joshua, ii. 17, to such as pass by our windows.

He next read a portion of Scripture, taking the Bible in order; he would sometimes blame those who only pray in their families, and do not read the Scripture. In prayer, we speak to God; by the word, he speaks to us;—and is there any reason, saith he, that we should speak all? In the tabernacle the priests were every day to *burn incense*, and to *light the lamps*; the former figuring the duty of prayer; the latter the duty of reading the word. Sometimes he would say,—Those do well that pray morning and evening in

* Bishop Butler, after pressing the habitual exercise of secret prayer, observes, that, "A duty of the like kind, and serving to the same purpose, is the particular acknowledgment of God when we are partaking of his bounty at our meals. The neglect of this is said to have been scandalous to a proverb in the heathen world; but it is without shame laid aside at the tables of the highest and the lowest rank among us." Charge to the Clergy of Durham, 1751. Works, v. 2, p. 48. See the Spectator, No. 458.

† See Wood's Ath. Oxon. *ut supra*, vol. 3, p. 303. The Psalms and Hymns were first printed by Act of Parliament, Oct. 1646. Ibid.

their families; those do better that pray and read the Scriptures; but those do best of all that pray, and read, and sing psalms; and Christians should *covet earnestly the best gifts*.

He advised the reading of the Scripture in order; for, though one star in the firmament of the Scripture differ from another star in glory, yet, wherever God hath a mouth to speak, we should have an ear to hear; and the diligent searcher* may find much excellent matter in those parts of Scripture, which we are sometimes tempted to think might have been spared. How affectionately would he sometimes bless God for every book, and chapter, and verse, and line, in the Bible!

[*Every word of God*, he would say, is *good*, but especially *God*, the *Word*. How sweet is it to a lost, undone sinner, to be acquainted with a Saviour!†]

What he read in his family, he always expounded; and exhorted all ministers to do so, as an excellent means of increasing their acquaintance with the Scripture. His expositions were not so much critical as plain, and practical, and useful; and such as tended to edification, and to answer the end for which the Scriptures were written, which is to make us wise to salvation. And herein he had a peculiar excellence, performing that daily exercise with so much judgment, and at the same time with such facility and clearness, as if every exposition had been premeditated; and very instructive they were, as well as affecting to the auditors. His observations were many times very pretty and surprising, and such as one shall not ordinarily meet with. Commonly, in his expositions, he reduced the matter of the chapter or psalm read, to some heads; not by a logical analysis, which often minceth it too small, and confounds the sense with the terms; but by such a distribution as the matter did most easily and unforcedly fall into. He often mentioned that saying of Tertullian's, "I adore the fulness of the Scriptures;" and sometimes that,—*Scriptura semper habet aliquid relegendibus*. When sometimes he had hit upon some useful observation that was new to him, he would say afterwards to those about him,—How often have I read this chapter, and never before now took notice of such a thing in it!‡ He put his children, while they were with him, to write these expositions; and when they were gone from him, the strangers that sojourned with him did the same. What collections his children had, though but broken and very imperfect hints, yet, when afterwards they were disposed of in the world, were of good use to them and their families. Some expositions of this nature, that

* Beloved, if you doe but take any piece of this word, and stay upon it, as the bee doth upon the flower, and will not off till you have got somewhat out of it; if you be still digging in this mine, this would make you rich in knowledge; and, if you be rich in knowledge, it will make you rich in grace likewise. The New Covenant, by Dr. Preston, pp. 454, 455, 4to, 1630.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ See a like testimony of the Rev. Geo. Philips. Mather's Hist. of New-England, Book III. p. 83.

is, plain and practical, and helping to raise the affections and guide the conversation by the word, he often wished were published by some good hand for the benefit of families: but such was his great modesty and self-diffidence, though few more able for it, that he would never be persuaded to attempt any thing of that kind himself. As an evidence how much his heart was upon it, to have the word of God read and understood in families, take this passage out of his last will and testament;—I give and bequeath to each of my four daughters, Mr. Poole's * English Annotations upon the Bible, in two volumes, of the last and best edition that shall be to be had at the time of my decease, together with Mr. Barton's last and best translation of the Singing Psalms, one to each of them; requiring and requesting them to make daily use of the same, for the instruction, edification, and comfort of themselves and their families.

But it is time we proceed to the method of his family-worship.

The chapter or psalm being read and expounded, he required from his children some account of what they could remember of it; and sometimes would discourse with them plainly and familiarly about it, that he might lead them into an acquaintance with it; and, if it might be, impress something of it upon their hearts.

He then prayed, and always kneeling, which he looked upon as the fittest and most proper gesture for prayer; and he took care that his family should address themselves to the duty, with the outward expressions of reverence and composedness. He usually fetched his matter and expressions in prayer, from the chapter that was read, and the psalm that was sung, which was often very affecting, and helped much to stir up and excite praying graces.† He sometimes observed in those Psalms, where reference is had to the Scripture stories, as Psalm lxxxiii. and many others, that those who are well acquainted with the Scriptures, would not need to make use of the help of prescribed forms, which are very necessary for those that cannot do the duty without them, but unbecoming those that can; as a go-cart is needful to a child, or crutches to one that is lame,‡

* The author of the Synopsis Criticorum. Nat. 1624, ob. 1679. Of that elaborate work the following notices appear in Mr. Henry's Diary:—

1669, Dec. 18. I sent 20s. to Mr. Talants, with Mr. Down's acquittance for the 30s. formerly paid upon Mr. Poole's propositions, and am now to receive the first volume, and the second hereafter, when finished. Orig. MS.

1676, Oct. 31. I have received the five volumes of Mr. Poole's Synopsis, and do acknowledge myself therewith superabundantly satisfied, returning hearty thanks to him for his worthy pains, and hearty praise to God for his gracious assistance, without which it could not have been brought to pass. P. H. Orig. MS. See Mr. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 25, p. 154, &c. There the particulars relative to the publication of the Synopsis are preserved.

† See a like statement as to Mr. Wheatley. Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 594. *ut supra*.

‡ A Christian, in the want of gifts, may lawfully use a set forme of prayer, as a man that hath a weake backe, or a lame legge, may lean upon a *crutch*. Perkins's Works, v. 2, p. 67, fol. 1617.

A prescribed forme, eyther conned by heart, or read out of a booke, is very helpfull; as a *crutch*, for one that is lame in his limbes. Yet let me give this caution,—that wee doe not alwaies tye ourselves to a forme of words. An Expos. on the Parable of the Prodigal Son, by Nehemiah Rogers, pp. 168, 166, 4to, 1682.

but neither of them agreeable to one that needs them not. It was the comparison he commonly used in this matter.

[In recommending the use of free prayer, he would sometimes say,—Consider, whether it be possible to draw up a form that shall reach to all a man's particular occasions; that shall serve in adversity, as well as prosperity; when sick, as when in health. We are to pray always, in every thing. The Lord's Prayer is the most complete, and perfect, and comprehensive, that can be, yet we never find either Christ himself, or his Apostles, making use of it, but still varying, according to their present occasion. True, all petitions may be reduced to it; see, John, xvii. and Acts, iv. But, what folly were it, if a man should get a petition drawn up, and then resolve, whatever be his straits, to deliver only that petition.—Consider, whether you do not find forms deadening things. If a preacher should preach the same sermon over, in the same congregation, twenty times, or oftener, in a year, would it not quite weary and tire out his hearers? Were it not the ready way to preach them all asleep? It is one considerable prejudice that is in the hearts of some against praying by the Spirit,* that many times the same thing is repeated. Supposing it to be so, yet, whether is worse,—always to repeat the same prayer, or, now and then, to repeat one and the same expression in prayer?—Consider, whether forms do not pervert the very nature of prayer. In prayer there should be, first, desires, and then words to express those desires. But in forms, first, words are prescribed, and then desires are to be stirred up to answer to those words.

It may be objected;—‘I am not learned, as others are; neither have I such parts as others have; therefore, it is best for me to pray out of a book.’ This is grounded upon a mistake; it is not learning and parts, but grace that doth it;—it is the Spirit of *grace* and supplication, not of *learning* and supplication. I deny not, but where grace and natural abilities are together in the same person, there, ordinarily, a man is the more powerful in prayer; I mean, in affecting others who join; and yet, another, who wants those abilities, and is truly godly, may pray as acceptably, and speed as well in prayer as he.

But it is said,—‘I distrust myself, I dare not go to God with a prayer of my own inditing; it is, therefore, best for me to borrow one that may have some method and elegance in it.’ This also is grounded upon a mistake. God regards not elegance in prayer.† He cares not how little there is of the head in the duty, so there be a great deal of the *heart*. We must be well acquainted with that

* They, says Bishop Hopkins, who use prescribed and set forms of prayer, *pray by the Spirit*, when their petitions are accompanied with fervent affections, stirred in them by the Holy Ghost. Works, vol. 1, p. 267, oct. ed.

† Though it be the duty of every person to labour for fit words of prayer, yet God doth not hear prayer for the elegance of phrase, but for the heavenliness, and spiritualness, and brokenness of heart of him that prays. The Christian compleatly Armed, by Mr. Ralph Robinson, p. 172, duod. 1656.

boldness of access which we have to God, upon all occasions, by Jesus Christ, else we shall never do any thing this way. Hebrews, iv. 14—16. We must approach God in prayer as children to a father. Ignorance of this causes formality and ceremony. Is not a tender-hearted father far more delighted with the lisps and stammerings of his little child, when it first begins to speak, than with the neatest, finest, speech that he can hear from another? And what is the reason? Why, it is his *child*. Take a nobleman's child, and what doth he do when he wants clothes, or other necessities? Go to a scrivener and get a petition drawn, to present it to his father! No; he comes with boldness,—‘Father, I want clothes; will you please to give me them?’ Whereas, another must observe ceremonies, and circumstances, or else have no hopes of success.*]

In family prayer he was usually most full in giving thanks for family mercies, confessing family sins, and begging family blessings. Very particular he would sometimes be in prayer for his family; if any were absent, they were sure to have an express petition put up for them. He used to observe, concerning Job, i. 5, that he offered burnt-offerings for his children, *according to the number of them all*, an offering for each child; and so would he sometimes in praying for his children, put up a petition for each child. He always observed, at the annual return of the birth-day of each of his children, to bless God for his mercy to him and his wife in that child; the giving of it, the continuance of it, the comfort they had in it, &c. with some special request to God for that child. Every servant and sojourner, at their coming into his family, and their going out, besides the daily remembrances of them, had a particular petition put up for them, according as their circumstances were. The strangers, that were at any time within his gates, he was wont particularly to recommend to God in prayer, with much affection, and christian concern for them and their concerns. He was daily mindful of those that desired his prayers† for them, and would say, sometimes,—It is a great comfort that God knows who we mean in prayer, though we do not name them. Particularly providences concerning the country, as to health or sickness, good or bad weather, or the like, he commonly took notice of in prayer, as there was occasion; and would often beg of God to fit us for the next providence, whatever it might be. Nor did he ever forget to pray for the *peace of Jerusalem*.

[He maintained, that supplication must be made for all saints; for those you do not know, as well as for those you do; for those that differ from you, as well as for those with whom you agree; for those who are in prosperity, as well as in adversity. For *all saints*, because all are alike related to Jesus Christ; because all are alike

* P. Henry Orig. MS. See Dr. Owen's Works, vol. 4, p. 1, &c. oct. 1923. *Treatise on the Work of the Holy Spirit in Prayer.*

† Not to care for the prayers of others is pride: not to put up prayers for others is uncharitableness. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

related to you, as fellow-members; and it will be an evidence you love them, as brethren, when you love them all, and pray for them all. When you have nearest communion with God, then remember me, said Bernard * to a friend; then speak, say I, for the church.†]

He always concluded family-prayer, both morning and evening, with a solemn benediction, after the doxology;—The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be with us, &c. Thus did he daily *bless his household*.

Immediately after the prayer was ended, his children together, with bended knee, asked blessing of him and their mother; that is, desired of them to pray to God to bless them: which blessing‡ was given with great solemnity and affection; and if any of them were absent, they were remembered,—The Lord bless you and your brother; or,—you and your sister that is absent.

This was his daily worship, which he never altered, unless, as is after mentioned, nor ever omitted any part of, though he went from home never so early, or returned never so late, or had never so much business for his servants to do. He would say, that sometimes he saw cause to shorten them; but he would never omit any of them; for, if an excuse be once admitted for an omission, it will be often returning. He was not willing, unless the necessity were urgent, that any should go from his house in a morning before family worship; but, upon such an occasion, would mind his friends, that, —prayer and provender never hinder a journey.§

He managed his daily family-worship, so as to make it a pleasure, and not a task to his children and servants; for he was seldom long, and never tedious in the service; the variety of the duties made it the more pleasant; so that none who joined with him had ever any reason to say, *Behold, what a weariness is it!* Such an excellent faculty he had of rendering religion the most sweet and amiable employment in the world; and so careful was he, like Jacob, *to drive as the children could go, not putting new wine into old bottles*. If some good people, that mean well, would do likewise, it might prevent many of those prejudices which young persons are apt to conceive against religion, when the services of it are made a toil and a terror to them.

On Thursday evenings, instead of reading, he catechized his children and servants in the Assembly's Catechism, with the Proofs; or, sometimes, in a little Catechism, concerning the matter of prayer, published in the year 1674, and said to be written by Dr. Collins,|| which they learned for their help in the gift of prayer,

* See Flavel's Seaman's Farewell. Works, vol. 6, p. 395, oct. 1770; and Milner's Church Hist. v. 3, p. 330, &c. *ut supra*. Bernard died, A.D. 1153, æt. about 63.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ See the Eccl. Biog. v. 5, p. 165, n. Also the Supplement to the Morning Exercise, p. 179, 4to. 1674.

§ It is a true proverb,—Prayer and provender hinder no man. The Suppl. to the Morn. Exerc. *ut supra*. p. 287.

|| Mr. Alexander Chalmers suggests that Collins may be a mis-spelling for Collinges.

and he explained it to them. Or else they read, and he examined them in some other useful book, as Mr. Poole's Dialogues against the Papists,* the Assembly's Confession of Faith with the Scriptures, or the like.

On Saturday evenings, his children and servants gave him an account what they could remember of the chapters that had been expounded all the week before, in order, each a several part, helping one another's memories for the recollecting of it. This he called, —*gathering up the fragments which remained, that nothing might be lost*. He would say to them sometimes, as Christ to his disciples, —*Have ye understood all these things?* If not, he took that occasion to explain them more fully. This exercise, which he constantly kept up all along, was both delightful and profitable, and, being managed by him with so much prudence and sweetness, helped to instil into those about him betimes the knowledge and love of the Holy Scriptures.

When he had sojourners in his family, who were able to bear a part in such a service, he had commonly in the winter time, set weekly conferences, on questions proposed, for their mutual edification and comfort in the fear of God; the substance of what was said, he himself took, and kept an account of, in writing.†

But the Lord's Day‡ he called and counted the queen of days, the pearl of the week,§ and observed it accordingly. The Fourth Commandment intimates a special regard to be had to the sabbath in families; *Thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, &c it is the sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings*. In this, therefore, he was very exact, and abounded in the work of the Lord in his family on

Dr. Collinges was a voluminous writer; see the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 9. No Catechism, however, appears in the list of his Works; and every effort to obtain further information on the subject has been ineffectual. It may be observed, that it is "*said to be written by Dr. Collins.*"

The supposition, as to Dr. Collinges being the author, is the more likely, inasmuch as he was usually styled Collins, or rather Collings. Thus, on his Portrait, by White, 4to. 1678, we read,—*Vera Effigies Johannis Collings, S. T. P. Anno Dom. 1678, ætatis 55.*

* 8vo. 1667.

† Appendix, No. XI.

‡ 1669. Sab. Apr. 30th. I have long since been taught the sabbath is a sign;* the institution a sign of God's love to us; the sanctification, a sign of our love to him. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

The opinion of Sir Edward Turner, Speaker of the House of Commons, at the Prorogation, July 27, 1663, is worth preserving:—"He that remembers not to keep the Christian Sabbath, at the beginning of the week, will be in danger to forget, before the end of the week, that he is a Christian." P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

A statement, like the one last mentioned, is the more observable, because early associations were then generally of another cast, and repugnant alike to good taste, and devotional feeling. See Alleine's *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, p. 129, duod. 1663.

§ The Jews were wont to call it the *queen of days*. One of our's, now translated into his glorious rest, honours it thus, calling it,—The map of heaven, the *golden spot of the week*, the market-day of the soul, the *queen of days*, &c. Mr. Geo. Swinnoek, in his Good Wish to the Lord's Day. Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, p. 141, *ut supra*. Sermon. 6.

* See Exod. xxxi. 13, 17. Ezek. xx. 12, 20.

that day. Whatever were the circumstances of his publick opportunities, which varied, as we shall find afterwards, his family-religion on that day was the same. Extraordinary sacrifices must never supersede the *continual burnt-offering and his meat-offering*. Numbers, xxviii. 15. His common salutation of his family or friends, on the Lord's day in the morning, was that of the primitive Christians;—*The Lord is risen; he is risen indeed*; making it his chief business on that day to celebrate the memory of Christ's resurrection; and he would say, sometimes,—Every Lord's Day is a true Christian's Easter Day. He took care to have his family ready early on that day, and was larger in exposition and prayer on sabbath mornings than on other days. He would often remember, that, under the law, the daily sacrifice was doubled on sabbath days; two lambs in the morning, and two in the evening. He had always a particular subject for his expositions on sabbath mornings; the harmony of the evangelists several times over, the scripture prayers, Old Testament prophecies of Christ;—Christ, the true Treasure, so he entitled that subject, sought and found in the field of the Old Testament. He constantly sung a psalm after dinner, and another after supper, on the Lord's Days. And in the evening of the day his children and servants were catechized and examined in the sense and meaning of the answers in the Catechism; that they might not say it, as he used to tell them, like a parrot,—by rote. Then the day's sermons were repeated, commonly by one of his children, when they were grown up, and while they were with him; and the family gave an account what they could remember of the word of the day, which he endeavoured to fasten upon them, *as a nail in a sure place*. In his prayers on the evening of the sabbath, he was often more than ordinarily enlarged; as one that found not only God's service *perfect freedom*, but his work its own wages, and a *great reward*, not only after keeping, but, as he used to observe, from Psalm xix. 11, *in keeping God's commandments*. A present reward of obedience *in obedience*. In that prayer he was usually very particular, in praying for his family, and all that belonged to it. It was a prayer he often put up,—That we might have grace to carry it as a minister, and a minister's wife, and a minister's children, and a minister's servants, should carry it, *that the ministry might in nothing be blamed*. He would sometimes be a particular intercessor for the towns and parishes adjacent. How have I heard him, when he hath been in the mount with God, in a sabbath evening prayer, wrestle with the Lord for Chester, and Shrewsbury, and Nantwich, and Wrexham, and Whitchurch, &c. those nests of souls, wherein there are so many, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left in spiritual things, &c. He closed his sabbath work in his family with singing Psalm cxxxiv., and, after it, a solemn blessing of his family.

[He frequently observed days of humiliation in his family. Some of those occasions are noted in his Diary. The following are instances.

1661. July 10. A day of family humiliation. The Lord was sweetly seen in the midst of us, and I trust it was a day of atonement. Sin pardoned, requests made, covenants renewed, in Jesus Christ.

October 10. We kept a day of private prayer, and humiliation, in the family, and the Lord was with us. This confession much affected me, that things are not so among us as they should be among those who are the relations of a minister of Jesus Christ. Lord, pardon, and grant for time to come it may be better! *]

Thus was he prophet and priest in his own house; and he was king there too, ruling in the fear of God, and not suffering sin upon any under his roof.

He had many years ago a man-servant, that was once overtaken in drink abroad; for which, the next morning, at family worship, he solemnly reprov'd him, admonished him, and prayed for him, with a spirit of meekness, and soon after parted with him. But there were many that were his servants, who, by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, got those good impressions upon their souls which they retained ever after; and blessed God, with all their hearts, that ever they came under his roof. Few went from his service till they were married, and went to families of their own; and some, after they had been married, and had burried their yoke-fellows, returned to his service again, saying,—*Master, it is good to be here.*

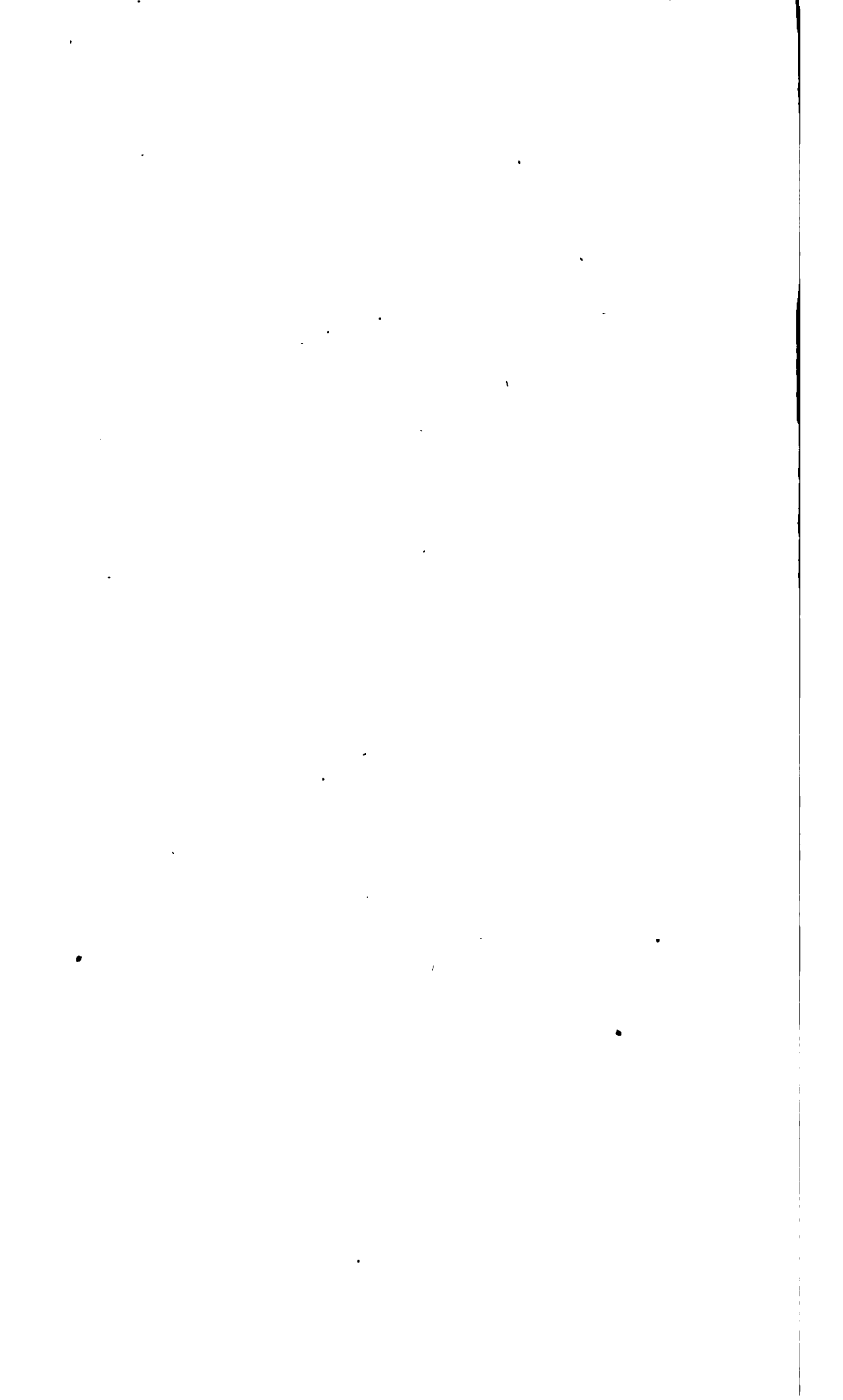
He brought up his children in the fear of God, with a great deal of care and tenderness, and did, by his practice, as well as upon all occasions in discourses, condemn the indiscretion of those parents who are partial in their affections to their children, making a difference between them, which he observed did often prove of ill consequence in families; and lay a foundation of envy, contempt, and discord, which turns to their shame and ruin. His carriage towards his children was with great mildness and gentleness, as one who desired rather to be loved than feared by them. He was as careful not to *provoke them to wrath*, nor to *discourage them*, as he was to *bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord*. He ruled indeed, and kept up his authority, but it was with wisdom and love, and not with a high hand. He allowed his children a great degree of freedom with him, which gave him the opportunity of reasoning them, not frightening them, into that which is good. He did much towards the instruction of his children in the way of familiar discourse, according to that excellent directory for religious education, Deuteronomy, vi. 7,—*Thou shalt whet these things* (so the word is, which, he said, noted *frequent repetition* of the same things) *upon thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, &c.* which made them love home, and delight in his company, and greatly endeared religion to them.

The Baptistal Covenant; severally written
and subscribed Oct. 20. 1686.

Eleanor Henry.

I take God the Father to be my chiefest good, and highest End. I take God the Son to be my Prince
and Saviour. I take God the Holy-Ghost to be my sanctified, teacher, Guide, and Comforter,
I take the word of God to be my Rule in all my Actions. And the People of God to be my people
in all Conditions. And this I do deliberately, sincerely, freely and for ever.

Ann Henry.



[He would observe, sometimes, that there are five good lessons, which they are blessed, who learn in the days of their youth.

1. To *remember their Creator*. Not only remember that you have a Creator, but remember him to love him, and fear him, and serve him.

2. To come to Jesus Christ. *Every man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me*. Behold, he calls you; he encourages you to come to him. *He will in no wise cast you out*.

3. To bear the yoke in youth. The yoke is that which young ones cannot endure. But it is good for them to bear it.* The yoke of the Cross. If God lay affliction on you when young, do not murmur, but bear that cross. It is good to be trained up in the school of affliction. The yoke of Christ. *Take MY yoke*. It is an easy yoke; *his commandments are not grievous*.

4. To *flee youthful lusts*. Those who are taught of God have learned this. See that you do not love your pleasures more than the sanctifying of the Sabbath. *This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the sabbath-day*.

5. To *cleanseth their way*. How? *By taking heed thereto according to thy word*. Love your Bibles. Meditate in them day and night. And, if you do thus, you are taught of God.†]

He did not burden his children's memories by imposing upon them the getting of chapters and psalms without book; but endeavoured to make the whole word of God familiar to them, especially the scripture stories, and to bring them to understand it and love it, and then they would easily remember it. He used to observe, from Psalm cxix. 93,—*I will never forget thy precepts, for with them thou hast quickened me*;—that we are then likely to remember the word of God when it doth us good.‡

He taught all his children to write himself, and set them betimes to write sermons, and other things that might be of use to them. He taught his eldest daughter the Hebrew tongue when she was about six or seven years old, by an English Hebrew Grammar, which he made on purpose for her; and she went so far in it, as to be able readily to read and construe a Hebrew Psalm.

He drew up a short form of the baptismal covenant for the use of his children. It was this;—

I take God the Father to be my chiefest good, and highest end.

I take God the Son to be my Prince and Saviour. §

* Those that have not been inured to the yoke of obedience will never endure the yoke of suffering. P. Henry. Com. Place Book. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. From a MS. in the hand-writing of Mrs. Savage.

‡ "Those that have received comfort, life, and quickening, by the word of God, find themselves obliged to remember it for ever." Dr. Manton. Works, vol. i. p. 697. Fol. 1681.

§ To choose Christ, is, freely and deliberately, upon advice and consultation with ourselves, being thoroughly convinced of his excellency, and our own need of him, to accept him as our only Portion, our Lord and Saviour, renouncing every thing else, be what it will, that may stand in competition with him. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

I take God the Holy Ghost to be my Sanctifier, Teacher, Guide, and Comforter.

I take the word of God to be my rule in all my actions.*

And the people of God to be my people in all conditions.

I do likewise devote and dedicate unto the Lord, my whole self, all I am, all I have, and all I can do.

And this I do deliberately, sincerely, freely, and for ever.

This he taught his children; and they each of them solemnly repeated it every Lord's Day in the evening, after they were catechised, he putting his *Amen* to it, and sometimes adding,—So say, and so do, and you are made for ever.

He also took pains with them to lead them into the understanding of it, and to persuade them to a free and cheerful consent to it. And, when they grew up, he made them all write it over severally with their own hands, and very solemnly set their names to it, which he told them he would keep by him, and it should be produced as a testimony against them, in case they should afterwards depart from God, and turn from following after him.

He was careful to bring his children betimes (when they were about sixteen years of age) to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, to take the covenant of God upon themselves, and to make their dedication to God their own act and deed; and a great deal of pains he took with them, to prepare them for that great ordinance, and so to transmit them into the state of adult church-membership. And he would often blame parents, who would think themselves undone if they had not their children baptized, and yet took no care when they grew up and made a profession of the christian religion, to persuade them to the Lord's Supper.—It is true, he would say, buds and blossoms are not fruit, but they give hopes of fruit; and parents may, and should take hold of the good beginnings of grace which they see in their children, by those to bind them so much the closer to, and lead them so much the faster in the *way* that is *called holy*. By this solemn engagement, the door, which stood half open before, and invited the thief, is shut and bolted against temptation. And, to those who pleaded that they were not fit, he would say,—That the further they went into the world, the less fit they would be. *Qui non est hodie cras minus aptus erit*. Not that children should be compelled to it, nor those that are wilfully ignorant, untoward, and perverse, admitted to it, but those children that are hopeful and well inclined to the things of God, and appear to be concerned in other duties of religion, when they begin to put away childish things, should be incited, and encouraged, and persuaded to this, that the matter may be brought to an issue,—*Nay, but we will serve the Lord*; fast bind, fast find. Abundant thanksgivings have been

* It is our principle, that we must make the word the rule of all our actions. Burroughs's *Moses's Choice*, p. 212. 4to. 1660.

rendered to God by many of his friends for his advice and assistance herein.

In dealing with his children about their spiritual state, he took hold of them very much by the handle of their infant baptism, and frequently inculcated that upon them, that they were born in God's house, and were betimes dedicated and given up to him, and, therefore, were obliged to be his servants. Psalm cxvi. 16. *I am thy servant, because the son of thine handmaid.* This he was wont to illustrate to them by the comparison of taking a lease of a fair estate for a child in the cradle, and putting his life into it. The child then knows nothing of the matter, nor is he capable of consenting; however, then he is maintained out of it, and hath an interest in it; and when he grows up, and becomes able to choose, and refuse, for himself, if he go to his landlord, and claim the benefit of the lease, and promise to pay the rent, and do the services, well and good, he hath the benefit of it, if otherwise, it is at his peril. Now, children, he would say, our great Landlord was willing that your lives should be put into the lease of heaven and happiness, and it was done accordingly, by your baptism, which is *the seal of the righteousness that is by faith*; and by that it was assured to you, that if you would pay the rent and do the service, that is, live a life of faith and repentance, and sincere obedience, you shall never be turned off the tenement; but if now you dislike the terms, and refuse to pay this rent, (this chief rent, so he would call it, for it is no rack,) you forfeit the lease. However, you cannot but say, that you had a kindness done you, to have your lives put into it. Thus did he frequently deal with his children, and even travail in birth again to see Christ formed in them, and from this topick he generally argued; and he would often say,—If infant baptism were more improved, it would be less disputed.

He not only taught his children betimes to pray, (which he did especially by his own pattern, his method and expressions in prayer being very easy and plain,) but when they were young he put them upon it, to pray together, and appointed them on Saturdays in the afternoon* to spend some time together,—none but they, and such of their age as might occasionally be with them,—in reading good books, especially those for children, and in singing and praying; and would sometimes tell them for their encouragement, that the God with whom we have to do, understands broken language. And, if we do as well as we can in the sincerity of our hearts, we shall not only be accepted, but taught to do better. *To him that hath, shall be given.*

He sometimes set his children, in their own reading of the Scriptures, to gather out such passages as they took most notice of, and thought most considerable, and write them down. Though this performance was very small, yet the endeavour was of good use. He also directed them to insert in a paper book, which each of them

* See Tong's Life of Matt. Henry, p. 18, *ut supra*.

had for the purpose, remarkable sayings and stories, which they met with in reading such other good books as he put into their hands.

He took a pleasure in relating to them the remarkable providences of God, both in *his own time*, and in *the days of old*, which he said, parents were taught to do by that appointment, Exodus, xii. 26, 27,—*Your children shall ask you in time to come, What mean you by this service? and you shall tell them so and so.*

What his pious care was concerning his children, and with what a godly jealousy he was jealous over them, take in one instance. When they had been for a week or a fortnight kindly entertained at B——,* as they were often, he thus writes in his Diary upon their return home;—My care and fear is, lest converse with such so far above them, though of the best, should have influence upon them to lift them up, when I had rather they should be kept low. For, as he did not himself, so he was very solicitous to teach his children, not to mind *high things*; not to desire them, not to expect them in this world.†

We shall conclude this chapter with another passage out of his Diary:—

April 12, 1681. This day fourteen years the Lord took my first-born son from me, the beginning of my strength, with a stroke. In the remembrance whereof my heart melted this evening. I begged pardon for the Jonah that raised the storm. I blessed the Lord, that hath spared the rest. I begged mercy,—mercy for every one of them; and absolutely and unreservedly devoted and dedicated them, myself, my whole self, estate, interest, life, to the will and service of that God from whom I received all. *Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, &c.*

* Boreatton, near Baschurch, in Shropshire. See *Letters to a Young Clergyman*, v. i. pp. 145, 146.

† Appendix, No. XII.

CHAPTER V.

His Ejection from Worthenbury; his Nonconformity; his Removes to Broad Oak; and the Providences that were concerning him to the Year 1672.

HAVING thus laid together the instances of his family religion, we must now return to the history of events that were concerning him, and are obliged to look back to the first year after his marriage, which was the year that King Charles the Second came in; a year of great changes and struggles in the land, which Mr. Baxter, in his *Life*,* gives a full, and clear, and impartial idea of; by which it may easily be guessed how it went with Mr. Henry in his low and narrow sphere, whose sentiments in those things were very much the same with Mr. Baxter's.

Many of his best friends in Worthenbury parish were lately removed by death; Emeral family, contrary to what it had been; and the same spirit, which that year revived all the nation over, was working violently in that country, viz. a spirit of great enmity to such men as Mr. Henry was. Worthenbury, upon the King's coming in, returned into its former relation to Bangor, and was looked upon as a chapelry dependent upon that. Mr. Robert Fogg had, for many years, held the sequestered Rectory of Bangor, which now Dr. Henry Bridgman,† (son to John, Bishop of Chester,‡ and brother to the Lord Keeper Bridgman,§) returned to the possession of. By which Mr. Henry was soon apprehensive that his interest at Worthenbury was shaken; but thus he writes:—The will of the Lord be done. Lord, if my work be done here, provide some other for this people, that may be more skilful, and more successful, and cut out work for me elsewhere; however, I will take nothing ill which God doth with me.

* See Reliq. Baxter. Lib. I. Part II. p. 229, &c. *ut supra*.

† Ob. 15th May, 1682. Wood's Ath. Oxon. *ut supra*. v. 4, p. 863.

‡ He died at Morton, near Oswestry, in Shropshire, and was buried at Kinnerley. He was the author of the "Leger," now deposited in the Episcopal Registry. Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire, v. i. p. 76. See also Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 133, 4to. ed. 1810.

§ See p. 67, *ante*.

He laboured what he could to make Dr. Bridgman his friend,* who gave him good words, and was very civil to him, and assured him that he would never remove him till the law did. But he must look upon himself as the Doctor's Curate, and depending upon his will, which kept him in continual expectations of a removal; however, he continued in his liberty there above a year, though in very fickle and precarious circumstances.

The grand question now on foot was, whether to conform, or no. He used all means possible to satisfy himself concerning it, by reading and discourse, particularly at Oxford, with Dr. Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, but in vain; his dissatisfaction remained;—however, saith he, I dare not judge those that do conform; for, who am I, that I should judge my brother?

[Addressing Dr. Bridgman about this period, his views are thus expressed:—

I think I am none of those who are in the extremes; nevertheless, my resolution is, if those things be indispensably imposed which I cannot practise without sinning against my conscience, I shall choose rather to lose all, yet not violating, by my good will, the publick peace of the church. And herein, I presume, you will not blame me. But, if moderation be used, wherein it will be your honour to be instrumental, if my poor talent may contribute any thing to the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, I trust I shall never be found guilty of wilfully burying it, lest I fall under the *woe, if I preach not the gospel*. God, of his infinite mercy, direct you, and all who are called to consult in the affairs of religion, that you may do nothing *against* the truth and peace, but *for* it, which is the hearty prayer of,

Sir,
Your servant in the gospel,
P. HENRY.†]

He hath noted, that being at Chester, in discourse with the Dean and Chancellor and others, about this time, the great argument they used with him to persuade him to conform was, that else he would lose his preferment; and what, said they, you are a young man, and are you wiser than the King and Bishops?‡ But this is his reflection upon it afterwards;—God grant that I may never be left to consult with flesh and blood in such matters!

In September, 1660, Mr. Fogg, and Mr. Steel, and Mr. Henry, were presented at Flint Assizes, for not reading the Common Prayer, though as yet it was not enjoined, but there were some busy people that would out-run the law. They entered their appearance,

* Appendix, No. XIII.

† Orig. MS.

‡ See Dr. Amcs's Fresh Suit. 1to. 1633. Preface, p. 10.

and it fell; for, soon after the King's Declaration,* touching Ecclesiastical Affairs, came out, which promised liberty, and gave hopes of settlement, but the spring assizes afterwards, Mr. Steel and Mr. Henry were presented again. On this he writes,—Be merciful to me, O God, for man would swallow me up! The Lord show me what he would have me to do, for I am afraid of nothing but sin.†

It appears by the hints of his Diary, that he had melancholy apprehensions at this time about publick affairs, seeing and hearing of so many faithful ministers disturbed, silenced, and ensnared; the ways of Sion mourning, and the quiet in the land treated as the troublers of it; his soul wept in secret for it. [What to think, I know not, concerning the affairs of the nation; a cloud rises; but, Lord, mine eyes are unto thee!‡] And yet he joined in the annual commemoration of the King's Restoration, and preached, on Mark, xii. 17, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*; considering, saith he, that this was his right; also, the sad posture of the civil government, through usurpers, and the manner of his coming in without bloodshed. This he would all his days speak of as a national mercy, but what he rejoiced in, with a great deal of trembling, for *the ark of God*; and, he would sometimes say,—That, during those years between forty and sixty, though on civil accounts there were great disorders, and *the foundations were out of course*, yet, in the matters of God's worship, things went well; there was freedom, § and reformation, and a face of godliness was upon the nation, though there were those that made but a mask of it. Ordinances were administered in power and purity; and, though there was much amiss, yet religion, at least in the profession of it, did prevail. This, saith he, we know very well, let men say what they will of those times.

In November, 1660, he took the oath of allegiance at Orton, || before Sir Thomas Hanmer, ¶ and two other Justices, of which he hath left a memorandum in his Diary, with this added;—God so help me, as I purpose in my heart to do accordingly. Nor could any more conscientiously observe that oath of God than he did, nor more sincerely promote the ends of it.

That year, according to an agreement with some of his brethren in the ministry, who hoped thereby to oblige some people, he

* See it in Tracts selected from Lord Somers's Collections. 4to. 1796. p. 349, &c.

† When Chrysostom had offended the Empress Eudoxia, and she thereupon sent him a threatening message, he answered,—Go, tell her, *Nil nisi peccatum timeo*; I fear nothing but sin. The Marrow of Eccl. Hist. by Samuel Clark, p. 145, *ut supra*.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ Let it not be imagined that this superior religious freedom was a privilege at all peculiar to the Commonwealth, or to the Protectorship; for, the most perfect religious emancipation may be equally guaranteed and enjoyed under a King, Lords, and Commons, as under any other form of government in the world. Brook's Hist. of Rel. Lib. v. i. p. 536.

|| Overton. Orton is a corruption. See Camden's Brit. Gough's ed. v. 2, p. 156.

¶ See Pennant's Tours in Wales, v. 1, p. 292.

preached upon Christmas Day. The Sabbath before, it happened, that the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, which treats entirely of the Jewish feasts, called there the *feasts of the Lord*, came in course to be expounded, which gave him occasion to distinguish of feasts into divine and ecclesiastical; the divine feasts that the Jews had were those there appointed; their ecclesiastical feasts were those of Purim* and of Dedication.† And, in the application of it, he said,—He knew no divine feast we have under the gospel but the Lord's Day, intended for the commemoration of the whole mercy of our redemption. And the most that could be said for Christmas was, that it is an ecclesiastical feast; and it is questionable with some, whether church or state, though they might make a good day, Esther, ix. 19, could make a holy day. Nevertheless, forasmuch as we find our Lord Jesus, John, x. 22, so far complying with the church feast of dedication, as to take occasion from the people's coming together, to preach to them, he purposed to preach upon Christmas Day, knowing it to be his duty, in season and out of season. He preached on 1 John, iii. 8,—*For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil*. And he minded his people, that it is double dishonour to Jesus Christ, to practise the works of the devil then, when we keep a feast in memory of his manifestation.

His annuity from Emeral was now withheld because he did not read the Common Prayer, though, as yet, there was no law for reading of it: hereby he was disabled to do what he had been wont for the help and relief of others; and this he has recorded as that which troubled him most under that disappointment. But he blessed God,—that he had a heart to do good, even when his hand was empty.

When Emeral family was unkind to him, he reckoned it a great mercy, which he gave God thanks for, (who makes every creature to be that to us that it is,) that Mr. Broughton and his family, which is of considerable figure in the parish, ‡ continued their kindness and respects to him, and their countenance of his ministry, which he makes a grateful mention of more than once in his Diary.

Many attempts were made in the year 1661, to disturb and ensnare him, and it was still expected that he would have been hindered.—Methinks, saith he, Sabbaths were never so sweet as they are, now we are kept at such uncertainties; now, *a day in thy courts is better than a thousand*; such a day as this, saith he of a sacrament-day that year, better than ten thousand. Oh, that we might yet see many such days!

* The Feast of Lots, in commemoration of the providential deliverance of the Jews from the cruel machinations of Haman. See Horne's *Introd. to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, v. 3, p. 314, 4th ed.

† A grateful memorial of the cleansing of the second temple and altar, after they had been profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes. Horne's *Introd.* v. 3, p. 315, *ut supra*.

‡ John Broughton dwelleth yn Worthembre Paroche, at Broughton. Leland, *ut supra*, p. 31.

[Some extracts from his Diary, at this period, clearly evince the elevated piety and holy meekness of the writer, and should excite gratitude for present privileges, civil and religious.

1661. January, 24, 25. A time of trouble in the nation. Many good men imprisoned and restrained: some with, some without cause. I am yet in peace, blessed be God, but expect suffering. Lord, prepare me for it, and grant, that I may never suffer as an evil-doer, but as a Christian!

31. Things are low with me in the world; but three-pence* left. My hope is yet in the Lord, that in due time he will supply me. *Amen.*

April 3. Hanmer exercise.† Mr. Porter and Mr. Steel taught. I was designed to it, but it was much better as it was. Sir Thomas Hanmer signified his dislike of it, which made it doubtful whether we should have any more, but at parting I never saw such a face of sadness as was upon those who were present. Sure, God hears the sighs, and sees the tears, of his poor people.

June 16. Common-Prayer Book tendered again; why, I know not. Lord, they devise devices against me, but in thee do I put my trust. *Father, forgive them!* My hands are yet clean from the pollutions of the times. Lord, keep them, and *let no iniquity prevail against me!*

23. Strong reports I should not be suffered to preach to-day; but I did; and no disturbance. Blessed be God, who hath my enemies in a chain.

July 4. News from London of speedy severity intended against nonconformists. The Lord can yet, if he will, break the snare. If not, welcome the will of God.

7. In despite of enemies, the Lord hath granted the liberty of one Sabbath more. To him be praise.

8. I received a letter from Dr. Bridgman, wherein he informed me, if I did not speedily conform, his power would no longer protect

* See the Life of Thomas Perkins. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 183.

† In the year 1576 Archbishop Grindal "encouraged a practice which was taken up in divers places of the nation: the manner whereof was, that the ministers of such a division, at a set time, met together in some church; and there, each in their order, explained, according to their ability, some particular portion of scripture allotted them before, &c. At these assemblies there were great confluxes of people to hear and learn." These were commonly called *Exercises*, or *Prophesyings*. However, the Queen (Elizabeth) "liked not of them," nor would she have them continued. "The Archbishop being at court, she required him to abridge the number of preachers, and to put down the religious exercises." "This did not a little afflict the grave man." "He thought the Queen made some infringement upon his office, nor could he in conscience comply with her commands." He, therefore, wrote to Her Majesty, and the whole of his "excellent and memorable letter" is preserved in the Appendix to his Life and Acts, by Strype, Book II. No. IX. Her Majesty, however, was immovable, and sent her own commandment, May, 1577, to the "Bishops throughout England for suppressing" these Exercises, they being an "offence" to her quiet subjects, who desired "to live and to serve God according to the uniform orders established in the church." Nor was this all: the venerable Archbishop was both confined and sequestered. Life, *ut supra*, B. II. ch. viii. ix. See, also, Dr. Mc'Crie's Life of Knox, v. 2, p. 285. 4th ed.

me; to which I wrote a dilatory answer, hoping, yet, my God may find out some way to break the snare. However, I had rather lose all, and save my conscience, than *contra*.

9. I advised with friends; R. B. told me, though he desired my stay above any outward thing in the world, yet he could wish rather I would be gone, than conform. I was with Mr. Steel, with whom I spent two or three hours in discourse about it, and returned home strengthened.

24. Great expectation of a severe act about imposing the Common-Prayer and ceremonies. It passed both Houses of Parliament, but is not signed by the King. Lord, his heart is in thy hand; if it be thy will, turn it; if otherwise, fit thy people to suffer, and cut short the work in righteousness!

August 11. One Sabbath's liberty more. Oh, how good is the Lord! Many hearers from Wrexham are forced to wander for bread. Lord, pity them, and provide for them!

22. Mr. Steel came to see us. We are in doubt what to do in point of conformity. Lord, say unto us, This, or that, is the way, and we will walk in it!

25. Common-Prayer tendered. God knows how loath I am to go off my station; but I must not sin against my conscience.

27. I went to Wrexham, and thence to Ash,* where I stayed all night, and was much made of. Offence taken at Mr. Hanmer saying more than needed about conformity. He shall be Lot's wife† to me.

September 1. The Lord hath been good this day, in giving liberty for publick ordinances; on which score we are indebted to him for ever; we of this place, above many other places.

8. This morning I verily thought I should have been hindered from preaching, but was not. The Lord heard prayers. Dr. Bridgman sent me a Prohibition from the Chancellor to peruse, upon complaint from Sir Thomas Hanmer. It was not published. Mr. Taylor‡ hindered at Holt. Mr. Adams at Penley. Lord, think of thy vineyard! They took the cushion from me, but the pulpit was left. Blessed be God.

29. Liberty yet continued; an order was brought to me to be published, prohibiting strangers from coming hither to church, but I published it not. Lord, provide for poor congregations, that are as sheep without a shepherd!

October 17. I was cited to appear at the Bishop's Court, as upon this day, but went not. My fault was,—hindering the publishing of the Dean's Order as to strangers. If I had hindered it, it *had* been a *small* fault; but I did not; I only refused to publish it *myself*.

* Near Prees.

† A saying of Bishop Latimer's. See his Sermons, p. 83, *ut supra*.

‡ See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 478.

19. Day of preparation for the sacrament. I preached from 2 Chronicles, xxx. 18, &c. The good Lord pardon! Full of fears lest we be hindered, and lest something fall between the cup and the lip, for our adversaries bite the lip at us.

20. Through the good hand of our God upon us, we have this day enjoyed one sweet sacrament more. They did us all the hinderance they could, but, notwithstanding, afterwards, we proceeded.*]

He was advised by Mr. Ratcliff† of Chester, and others of his friends, to enter an action against Mr. P. for his annuity, and did so;—but, concerning the success of it, saith he, I am not over solicitous; for, though it be my due, (Luke, x. 7,) yet it was not that which I preached for; and, God knows, I would much rather preach for nothing, than not at all; and besides, I know assuredly, if I should be cast, God would make it up to me some other way. After some proceedings he not only moved, but solicited Mr. P. to refer it;—having learned, saith he, that it is no disparagement, but an honour, for the party wronged to be first in seeking reconciliation. The Lord, if it be his will, incline his heart to peace. I have now, saith he, two great concerns upon the wheel, one in reference to my maintenance for time past; the other, as to my continuance for the future; the Lord be my friend in both; but, of the two, rather in the latter. But, saith he, many of greater gifts and graces than I are laid aside already, and when my turn comes, I know not; the will of God be done. He can do his work without us.

[The process by which he arrived at the conclusion stated, is apparent from the following document. As an instance of cautious deliberation and foresight, it is worth preserving. It exhibits a fine specimen of a well-disciplined mind, and is a practical illustration of self-cultivation and christian prudence:—

Reasons,

*Why I should not yield
to a Composition with
Mr. P.*

Why I should.

*Why Mr. P. should yield to
a Composition with me.*

1. Because I have so much probability to recover, by law, that which is my due for the time past: and not only so. but also for time to come, whilst I continue unpreferred; which, as the case stands, may

1. Law is chargeable and troublesome, and the issue tedious, and uncertain.

2. Besides, the times favour me not; judges and juries may be partial.

3. I have a potent adversary in respect

1. In point of equity: the labourer being worthy of his hire; especially, considering the labourer's wages detained cries loud in heaven, and brings a curse.

2. In point of advantage. If I should

* P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† Probably of the same family as the husband of Mrs. Ratcliff, whose life is recorded in the *Memoirs of Eminently Pious Women* v. 1, p. 280, ed. 1815.

Reasons,

*Why I should not yield
to a Composition with
Mr. P.*

Why I should.

*Why Mr. P. should yield to
a Composition with me.*

be long enough. I have Mr. Ratcliff's and Sir Orl. Bridgman's opinion upon my deed.

2. Now is a bad time to treat with Mr. P. for composition, because those about him, come what will, care not for parting with any thing.

3. Lest it should hinder my return hither again, if the door should yet be open; and who knows but it may? *]

of purse and greatness.

4. If I should have a trial this next Assize, which yet is doubtful, and should have a verdict, which yet is more doubtful, he, being plaintiff, may, for ought I know, remove it: and so, from time to time, to the Court of Exchequer, which, of all other, is most chargeable and tedious.

5. My present occasions for money to discharge my debt to my father. Considering, withal, besides the misery of debt, how hard it is to procure it; as, upon trial, I have found.

6. He being taken off, I may be in the less danger of confinements, and other troubles, upon public accounts. *]

recover, as there is hope I may, it will be bad for him, especially having parted with the tithes which he might have kept.

3. In point of honour. I came hither upon the invitation of his family; left my place in the University, where, he knows, I had encouragement to have stayed. Also the relation wherein I stood to him as Tutor. Also, his promise. If there was any occasion of his anger given, it was when he was a child, and under my tuition, and it was my duty to complain; though, he knows, how sparing I was that way. And for persuading his father to disinherit him, he hath acknowledged he did believe it was not so; and I know it was not. *]

The issue of this affair was, that, there having been some disputes between Mr. P. and Dr. Bridgman, about the tithe of Worthenbury, wherein Mr. P. had clearly the better claim to make, yet, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Hanmer, they came to this agreement, September 11, 1661, that Dr. Bridgman and his successors, Parsons of Bangor, should have and receive all the tithe corn and hay of Worthenbury, without the disturbance of the said

Mr. P. or his heirs, except the tithe hay of Emeral demesne, upon condition that Dr. Bridgman should, before the first of November following, avoid and discharge the present minister or curate, Philip Henry, from the chapel of Worthenbury, and not hereafter, at any time, re-admit the said minister, Philip Henry, to officiate in the said cure. This is the substance of the Articles agreed upon between them, pursuant to which Dr. Bridgman soon after dismissed Mr. Henry;* and, by a writing under his hand, which was published in the church of Worthenbury, by one of Mr. Puleston's servants, October the 27th following, notice was given to the parish of that dismission. That day, he preached his farewell † sermon on Philippians, i. 27,—*Only let your conversation be as becomes the gospel of Christ.* In which, as he saith in his Diary, his desire and design was rather to *profit* than to *affect*.—It matters not what becomes of me,—*whether I come unto you, or else be absent,*—but *let your conversation be as becomes the gospel.* His parting prayer for them was,—*The Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation.* Thus he ceased to preach to his people there, but he ceased not to love them, and pray for them; and could not but think there remained some dormant relation betwixt him and them. ‡

As to the arrears of his annuity with Mr. P. when he was displaced; after some time Mr. P. was willing to give him £100, which was a good deal less than what was due, upon condition that he would surrender his deed of annuity, and his lease of the house, which he, for peace sake, was willing to do, and so he lost all the benefit of Judge Puleston's great kindness to him. This was not completed till September, 1662, until which time he continued in the house at Worthenbury, but never preached so much as once in the church, though there were vacancies several times.

Mr. Richard Hilton was immediately put into the curacy of Worthenbury, by Dr. Bridgman. Mr. Henry went to hear him while he was at Worthenbury, and joined in all the parts of the publick worship, particularly attending upon the sacrament of baptism;—not daring, saith he, to turn my back upon God's ordinance, while the essentials of it are retained, though corrupted, circumstantially, in the administration of it, which, God amend! Once, being allowed the liberty of his gesture, he joined in the Lord's Supper. He kept up his correspondence with Mr. Hilton, and, as he saith in his Diary,

* 1661, October 24. Dr. Bridgman came to Worthenbury, and before a rabble there again repeated, and read over my discharge. The circumstances whereof, place, manner, witnesses, somewhat grieved me. He called it peevishness. I justify not myself! Lord, lay not my sin to my charge, nor his sin to his! P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† See a Complete Collection of Farewell Sermons by many Eminent Divines who were ejected by the Act of Uniformity. 4to, 1663.

‡ 1663, January 6. In the afternoon I went to Captain Heneage, where was Mr. Tallents, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Steel; we discoursed all night, especially upon this query,—Whether our relation do yet remain to our people? In the close, we were divided in our opinions about it. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

endeavoured to possess him with right thoughts of his work, and advised him the best he could in the soul affairs of that people;—which, saith he, he seemed to take well. I am sure I meant it so; and the Lord make him faithful!

Immediately after he was removed and silenced at Worthenbury, he was solicited to preach at Bangor, and Dr. Bridgman was willing to permit it, occasionally; and intimated to his curate there, that he should never hinder it; but Mr. Henry declined it. Though his silence was his great grief, yet, such was his tenderness, that he was not willing so far to discourage Mr. Hilton at Worthenbury, nor to draw so many of the people from him, as would certainly have followed him to Bangor.—But, saith he, I cannot get my heart into such a spiritual frame on Sabbath Days now, as formerly; which is both my sin and my affliction. Lord, quicken me with quickening grace!

When the King came in first, and showed so good a temper, as many thought, some of his friends were very earnest with him to revive his acquaintance and interest at court, which it was thought he might easily do. It was reported in the country, that the Duke of York* had inquired after him; but he heeded not the report, nor would he be persuaded to make any addresses that way.—For, saith he, my friends do not know, so well as I, the strength of temptation, and my own inability to deal with it. *Qui bene latuit, bene vixit.* Lord, lead me not into temptation!

He was greatly affected with the temptations and afflictions of many faithful ministers of Christ at this time, by the pressing of conformity; and kept many private days of fasting and prayer in his own house at Worthenbury, seeking to turn away the wrath of God from the land. He greatly pitied some, who, by the urgency of friends, and the fear of want, were over-persuaded to put a force upon themselves in their conformity.—The Lord keep me, saith he, in the critical time!

He preached sometimes occasionally in divers neighbouring places, till Bartholomew Day,† 1662;—the day, saith he, which our sins have made one of the saddest days to England, since the death of Edward the Sixth;‡ but, even this for good, though we know not how, nor which way. He was invited to preach at Bangor on the black§ Bartholomew Day, and prepared a sermon on John,

* Afterwards King James the Second. See Dr. D'Oyley's *Life of Archbishop Sancroft*, v. 1, p. 162, &c.

† August 24. It was a day famous for two remarkable events happening upon it, and both fatal. The one, that day three-score years before, fatal to the Church of France in the massacre of many thousands of Protestants at Paris. The other, fatal to the Dissenting Ministers of England, near upon two thousand, (whereof myself an unworthy one,) who were put to silence on that day, and forbidden to preach the gospel under severe penalties, because they would not, they durst not, sin against God. P. Hen. Orig. MS.

‡ July 6, 1553.

§ My dear father used to call it "the Black Bartholomew." Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS. See the Farewell Sermons, p. 409, *ut supra*.

vii. 37.—*In the last day, that great day of the feast, &c.* but was prevented from preaching it; and was loath to strive against so strong a stream.

As to his nonconformity, which some of his worst enemies have said was his only fault, it may not be amiss here to give some account of it.

1. His reasons for his nonconformity were very considerable. It was no rash act, but deliberate, and well weighed in the balances of the sanctuary. He could by no means submit to be re-ordained; so well satisfied was he in his call to the ministry, and his solemn ordination to it, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, which God had graciously owned him in, that he durst not do that which looked like a renunciation of it, as null and sinful, and would be at least a tacit invalidating and condemning of all his administrations. Nor could he truly say, that he thought himself *moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office of a deacon*. He was the more confirmed in this objection, because the then Bishop of Chester, Dr. Hall,* in whose diocese he was, besides all that was required by law, exacted from those that came to him to be re-ordained, a subscription to this form:—*Ego A. B. præteritas meas ordinationis literas, a quibusdam presbyteris olim obtentas jam penitus renuncio, et dimitto pro vanis;† humiliter supplicans quatenus Rev. in Christo Pater et Dominus Dominus Georgius permissione divina Cestr. Episc. me ad sacrum Diaconatus ordinem juxta morem et ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ dignaretur admittere*. This, of re-ordination, was the first and great bar to his conformity, and which he mostly insisted on. He would sometimes say,—that, for a presbyter to be ordained a deacon, is at best *suscipere gradum Simeonis*.

Besides this, he was not at all satisfied to give his unfeigned “assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer,” &c. for he thought that thereby he should receive the book itself, and every part thereof, rubricks and all, both as *true* and *good*; whereas there were several things which he could not think to be so. The exceptions which the ministers made against the Liturgy, at the Savoy Conference, he thought very considerable; and could by no means *submit* to, much less *approve* of the *impositions* of the *ceremonies*.‡ He often said, that, when Christ came to free us from the yoke of one ceremonial law, he did not leave it in the power of any man, or company of men in the world, to lay another upon our necks.

* Dr. George Hall, son of the venerable Bishop of Norwich, was born in 1612; ob. 1668. Mr. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 17, p. 57.

† Mr. Cook, of Chester, told the Bishop, that though his ordination by presbyters was not legal, yet it was evangelical. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

‡ We see the primitive christians did not make so much of any uniformity in rites and ceremonies; nay, I scarce think any churches in the primitive times can be produced that did exactly, in all things, observe the same customs; which might, and especially, be an argument of moderation in all as to these things. Bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicum, *ut supra*, pp. 66, 67.

Kneeling at the Lord's Supper he was much dissatisfied about; and it was for many years his great grief, and which, in his Diary, he doth often most pathetically lament; that, by it, he was debarred from partaking of that ordinance in the solemn assembly. For, to submit to that *imposition*, he thought, whatever it was to others, whom he was far from judging, would be sin to him.

[Take his own statement of the case, as follows:—

The reasons why I do not communicate in the publick administration of the Lord's Supper, are;—

1. I am not satisfied to kneel in the act of receiving.

(1.) Because it hath no warrant (not in the least) from Scripture, neither by precept nor precedent; whereas, sitting hath: at least by precedent; clearly, in the practice of Christ himself, and the Apostles; and, probably, in the practice of the first churches; for, it seems the Agapæ, or love feasts, were used together with the Eucharist. See 1 Corinthians, xi.

(2.) Because it doth no way suit with the nature of the ordinance, which is a supper; an ordinance wherein the blessed Jesus calls us to the nearest familiarity and fellowship with himself,—to eat with him; and, therefore, to sit, not to kneel with him, at his table.

(3.) Because it hath been grossly abused, even to idolatry, by the papists, in worshipping the consecrated host, which, in all probability, brought it first into the church; and, moreover, gives them advantage to argue, as Bellarmin* expressly states, "We do no more in kneeling before an image than the Protestants do in kneeling at the sacrament;—*ergo*, if we are idolaters, so are they."

(4.) Because, having made trial myself of both gestures,—kneeling heretofore, and sitting of late,—I dare not sin against my conscience, which tells me, I ought not to quit the liberty wherewith Christ hath made me free.

I know that which is said, for it is the command of my superiors; to which I oppose the command of my Supreme, saying,—*Be not ye servants of men*; and, *Call no man master*;—which I then do, when I give a blind obedience to their injunctions, for the authority-sake of the enjoiners, rendering me no reason why, or wherefore, but only,—*Sic volo, sic jubeo*.† And, to do this in the things of God's worship, I conceive to be sinful.

2. If I were satisfied to kneel, yet I should not at the rails,‡

* Robert Bellarmin, an Italian Jesuit, and a celebrated controversial writer, was born in 1542. Ob. 1621. Mr. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 4, p. 383, &c.

† See these words singularly associated in the Life of Lord Chief Justice Dyer, prefixed to Mr. Vaillant's edition of his Reports. oct. 1794.

‡ In the British Museum, fol. 4275, Plut. 111. E. Bibl. Birch. is preserved a MS. containing "Some animadversions on a Letter of the Rev. Dr. M. Fowler, [of Whitchurch, to Mr. Yates, of Danford Hall, near Whitchurch,] concerning kneeling at the rails in receiving the Lord's Supper." Mr. Yates was the Doctor's parishioner, and had applied for a dispensation to receive the Lord's

which are used in our parish church of Malpas, because it is an innovation warranted by no law, neither divine nor human, civil nor canonical. And, also, it smells rank of popish superstition, yea, of Judaism itself. By Jesus Christ the veil is rent, and all such like walls of partition are broken down.

3. Though, before God, I am the chiefest of sinners, and dare not say to any, *Stand off, for I am holier than thou*; yet, since the scripture enjoins me with such and such not to eat, and saith withal, that *a little leaven leavens the whole lump*,—while so many are admitted grossly profane, yea, none indeed excluded that will receive, I am afraid, as, on the one hand, of defiling myself; so, on the other hand, of hardening them, by eating and drinking into the same body with them.*]

He never took the covenant, nor ever expressed any fondness for it; and yet he could not *think*, and, therefore, durst not *declare*, that, however unlawfully imposed, it was in itself an unlawful oath, and that no person that took it was under the obligation of it: for, sometimes, *quod fieri non debuit factum valet*. In short, it cannot be wondered at, that he was a nonconformist, when the terms of conformity were so industriously contrived to keep out of the church such men as he; which is manifested by the full account which Mr. Baxter hath left to posterity, of that affair; † and, it is a passage worth noticing here, which Dr. Bates, in his funeral sermon on Mr. Baxter, relates; ‡ that when the Lord Chamberlain Manchester told the King, while the Act of Uniformity was under debate, that he was afraid that the terms were so hard, that many of the ministers would not comply with them. Bishop Sheldon § being present, replied, “I am afraid they will.” And it is well known how many of the most sober, pious, and laborious ministers, in all parts of the nation, conformists as well as nonconformists, did dislike those impositions.

He thought it a mercy, since it must be so, that the case of nonconformity was made so clear as it was, abundantly to satisfy him in his silence and sufferings. I have heard that Mr. Anthony Burges, || who hesitated before, when he read the Act, blessed God that the matter was put out of doubt. And yet, to make sure work, the printing and publishing of the new Book of Common Prayer was so deferred, that few of the ministers, except those in London, could possibly get a sight of it, much less duly consider of it, ¶ before

Supper without kneeling at the altar. Dr. Fowler's Letter is copied in the margin; and the animadversions are ably written. It is registered as a MS. of Mr. Henry's,—but it seems doubtful whether it be his hand-writing. Indeed, the editor does not think its internal evidence would justify its introduction as his composition.

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See Reliq. Baxter. Lib. 1. Part II.

‡ Dr. Bates's Works, v. 4, p. 330.

§ Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Nat. A. D. 1598, ob. Nov. 9, 1677. Mr. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 27, p. 442.

|| See Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 350.

¶ A curious anecdote illustrative of this statement is recorded by Dr. Calamy in his Defence of Moderate Nonconformity, v. 2, Part II. p. 357.

Whitewell-chapel,* which is hard by, if there were any supply there, as sometimes there was from Malpas; and if none, then to Tylstock, where Mr. Zachary Thomas continued for about half a year, and the place was a little sanctuary; and, when that string failed, usually to Whitchurch; and did not preach for a great while, unless occasionally, when he visited his friends, or to his own family, on Lord's Days, when the weather hindered them from going abroad. He comforted himself, that sometimes in going to publick worship, he had an opportunity of instructing and exhorting those that were in company with him, by the way, according as he saw they had need; and in this his *lips fed many*, and his *tongue was as choice silver*; and he acted according to that rule which he often laid down to himself and others,—That, when we cannot do what we would, we must do what we can,† and the Lord will accept us in it. He made the best of the sermons he heard in publick.‡—It is a mercy, saith he, we have bread, though it be not as it hath been, of the finest of the wheat. Those are froward children who throw away the meat they have, if it be wholesome, because they have not what they would have. When he met with preaching that was weak, his note is,—That is a poor sermon indeed, out of which no good lesson may be learned. He had often occasion to remember that verse of Mr. Herbert's:—

The worst speaks something good; if all want sense,
God takes the text, and preacheth patience.§

Nay, and once he saith, he could not avoid thinking of Eli's sons, who *made the sacrifices of the Lord to be abhorred*. Yet he went, to bear his testimony to publick ordinances.—For, still saith he, *the Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob*; and so do I. Such, then, were his sentiments of things, expecting that God would yet open a door of return to former publick liberty, which he much desired and prayed for; and in hopes of that, was backward to fall into the stated exercise of his ministry otherwise, as were all the sober nonconformists generally in those parts, but it was his grief and burden that he had not an opportunity of doing more for God. He had scarce one talent of opportunity, but that one he was very diligent and faithful in the im-

* A very small and antique building; it is yet standing. See Ormerod's History of Cheshire, v. 2, p. 847.

† See *ante*, p. 48.

‡ Mr. Rowe sometimes said,—“When I meet with a sermon that doth not like me, I first look into myself to see if there were nothing amiss there, and, if there were no fault there, I would then scan it over again. We many times blame the minister when the fault is our own; we have not prayed for him as we should have done.” Life, pp. 56, 57, *ut supra*.

§ The Temple, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations, by Mr. George Herbert, late Oratour of the University of Cambridge, p. 15, ed. 1656. Mr. Herbert was born April 3, 1598, and died in 1633. Lives, by Izaak Walton. Dr. Zouch's ed. v. 2 p. 1, oct.

provement of. When he visited his friends, how did he lay out himself to do them good! Being asked once, where he made a visit, to expound and pray, which his friends returned him thanks for, he thus writes upon it;—They cannot thank me so much for my pains, but I thank them more, and my Lord God especially, for the opportunity. Read his conflict with himself at this time;—I own myself a minister of Christ, yet do nothing as a minister. What will excuse me? Is it enough for me to say, *Behold, I stand in the market-place, and no man hath hired me?* And he comforts himself with this appeal;—Lord, thou knowest what will I have to thy work, publick or private, if I had a call and opportunity. And shall this willing mind be accepted? Surely this is a melancholy consideration, and lays a great deal of *blame* somewhere, that such a man as Mr. Henry, so well qualified with gifts and graces for ministerial work, and in the prime of his time for usefulness; so sound and orthodox, so humble and modest, so quiet and peaceable,* so pious and blameless, should be so industriously thrust out of the vineyard, as a useless and unprofitable servant, and laid aside as a *despised broken vessel, and a vessel in which there was no pleasure.* This is a *lamentation*, and shall be *for a lamentation*; especially, since it was not his case alone, but the lot of so many hundreds of the same character.

In these circumstances of silence and restraint, he took comfort himself, and administered comfort to others from that scripture, Isaiah, xvi. 4, *Let my out-casts dwell with thee, Moab.* God's people may be an out-cast people, cast out of men's love, their synagogues, their country; but God will own his people when men cast them out; they are *out-casts*, but they are *his*, and somewhere or other he will provide a *dwelling* for them.

[On the return of his birth-day, his Diary contains the following affecting record.—1663, August 24. This day thirty-two years I was born; this day twelve-month I died,—that fatal day to the godly, painful, faithful ministers of England, among whom I am not worthy to be numbered. We mourned and prayed before the Lord at W. B.'s house, *if so be there may be hope.* Zechariah, vii. 3, compare Jeremiah, i. 3. The Jews, in their captivity, fasted in the fifth month, because in the fifth month Jerusalem was carried away captive: and, in the seventh month, Zechariah, vii. 5, because in the seventh month Gedaliah was slain. Jeremiah, xli. 1.†]

There were many worthy able ministers thereabout turned out, both from work and subsistence, that had not such comfortable support for *the life that now is*, as Mr. Henry had, for whom he

* Mr. Wesley, after noticing the disputatious temper of some as to opinions and externals, proceeds;—"But I do not include that venerable man, Mr. Philip Henry, nor any that were of his spirit, in this number. I know they abhorred contending about externals. Neither did they separate themselves from the church. They continued therein till they were driven out, whether they would or not." Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion. Works. vol. xii. pp. 274, 275.

† P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

was most affectionately concerned, and to whom he shewed kindness. There were computed, within a few miles round him, so many ministers turned out to the wide world, stripped of all their maintenance, and exposed to continual hardships, as with their wives and children, having most of them numerous families, made up above a hundred, that lived upon Providence; and, though oft reduced to wants and straits, yet were not *forsaken*, but were enabled to *rejoice in the Lord, and to joy in the God of their salvation*, notwithstanding: to whom the promise was fulfilled, Psalm, xxxvii. 3,—*So shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed*. The world was told long since, by the “Conformist’s Plea,”* that the worthy Mr. Lawrence,† Mr. Henry’s intimate friend, when he was turned out of Baschurch,‡ and, if he would have consulted with flesh and blood, having, as was said of one of the martyrs, eleven good arguments against suffering, *viz.* a wife and ten children, was asked how he meant to maintain them all, and cheerfully replied,—They must all live on the sixth of Matthew, *Take no thought for your life, &c.* and he often sung, with his family, Psalm, xxxvii. 16. And Mr. Henry hath noted concerning him in his Diary, some time after he was turned out,—That he bore witness to the love and care of our Heavenly Father, providing for him, and his present condition, beyond expectation.

One observation Mr. Henry made not long before he died, when he *had been young, and now was old*, that, though many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them; yet, in all his acquaintance, he never knew, nor could remember to have heard of, any nonconformist minister in prison for debt.

[It is obvious, he writes, to observe at four several times, and upon four several occasions, ministers have been silenced and turned out of their places; and yet still, after a time, more or less restored again.

1. In Queen Mary’s days,—because they would not close with popery at the return of it. But that interdict lasted under five years, being taken off upon Queen Elizabeth’s coming to the throne.

2. In Queen Elizabeth’s, King James’s, and King Charles’s days,—because they could not conform to the hierarchy and ceremonies; and this interdict lasted long, even till the long Parliament, A. D. 1640; but it was then taken off.

3. Under the long Parliament many ministers were sequestered and silenced for malignancy, and not covenanting.

4. Many others, after the King’s death, for not engaging to be true to the Commonwealth, as then established; both which

* 4to. 1682. See Granger’s Hist. v. 3, p. 336, *ut supra*.

† See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 129.

‡ A parish in the Hundred of Pimhill, Salop, eight miles from Shrewsbury.

restraints, though much remitted before, yet quite ceased at the coming in of the King, A. D. 1660.

And now more ministers are silenced, and with more severity than ever, by the Act of August 24. And who among us can tell for how long? This only I know,—*He who hath delivered, doth deliver.* Script. March 31, 1663.

The Lord is my protection, I shall not fall. What need I fear?

The Lord is my portion, I shall not want. What need I care?*

In October, 1663, Mr. Steel, and Mr. Henry, and some other of their friends,† were taken up and brought prisoners to Hanmer,‡ under pretence of some plot said to be on foot against the government: and there they were kept under confinement some days, on which he writes;—It is sweet being in any condition with a clear conscience. *The sting of death is sin*, and so of imprisonment also. It is the first time, saith he, I was ever a prisoner, but perhaps may not be the last. We felt no hardship, but we know not what we may. They were, after some days, examined by the Deputy Lieutenants, charged with they knew not what, and so dismissed, finding verbal security to be forth-coming upon twenty-four hours notice, whenever they should be called for. Mr. Henry returned to his tabernacle with thanksgivings to God, and a hearty prayer for his enemies, that God would forgive them. The very next day after they were released, a great man in the country, at whose instigation they were brought into that trouble, died, as was said, of a drunken surfeit.§ *So that a man shall say,—Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.*

In the beginning of the year 1665, when the Act for a Royal Aid, to His Majesty, of two millions and a half, came out, the Commissioners for Flintshire were pleased to nominate Mr. Henry sub-collector of the said tax for the township of Iscoyd, and Mr. Steel for the township of Hanmer. They intended thereby to put an affront and disparagement upon their ministry, and to show that they looked upon them but as laymen.¶ His note upon it is,—It is not a sin which they put us upon, but it is a cross, and a cross in our way, and, therefore, to be taken up and borne with patience. When I had better work to do, I was wanting in my duty about it, and now this is put upon me; the Lord is righteous. He procured the gathering of it by others, only took account of it, and saw it duly done; and deserved, as he said he hoped he should,

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Luke Lloyd, Esq. was one of the number. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

‡ Mr. Steel being removed from Hanmer by the Bartholomew Act, Mr. Hilton was put in there, and left Worthenbury, which continued long after without any stated supply. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

§ Sir Evan Lloyd, Governor of Chester, is the person referred to. His death occurred, Oct. 15, 1663. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

¶ His excellent son notes, on one occasion,—Fell in company with Mr. D——; he told me he looked upon me as a deceived layman. God give me grace to make this good use of the censure,—to be so much the more diligent to approve myself a good minister of Jesus Christ. Matthew Henry. Diary. Orig. MS. March 10, 1708-9.

that inscription mentioned in Suetonius, *Καλῶς τιμωρήσαντι*,—To the memory of an honest publican.*

In September, the same year, he was again, by warrant from the Deputy Lieutenant, fetched prisoner to Hanmer, as was also Mr. Steel and others. He was examined about *private meetings*. Some such, but private indeed, he owned he had been present at of late, in Shropshire, but the occasion was extraordinary; the plague was at that time raging in London, and he, and several of his friends, having near relations there, thought it time to seek the Lord for them, and this was imputed to him as his *crime*. He was likewise charged with administering the Lord's Supper, which he denied, having never administered it since he was disabled by the Act of Uniformity. After some days' confinement, seeing they could prove nothing upon him, he was discharged upon recognizance of £20, with two sureties, to be forth-coming upon notice, and to live *peaceably*.—But, saith he, our restraint was not strict, for we had liberty of prayer and conference together, to our mutual edification. Thus, *out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong sweetness*; and we found *honey in the carcase of the lion*.

[In reference to his own improvement, his Diary, about this period, contains the following interesting record.—Covenants renewed in these particulars. By the Lord's help, I purpose to be more substantial in secret worship; more sparing of precious time; more constant in reading the Scriptures alone, and meditating in them; more careful to improve all opportunities of doing good to souls; not only taking, but seeking them; less fearful about events when in a way of duty. In all which I have lately missed it, but the Lord hath pardoned me in Christ Jesus.†]

It was but a little before this, that Mr. Steel, setting out for London, was, by a warrant from the justices, under colour of the report of a plot, stopped and searched, and, finding nothing to accuse him of, they seized his almanack,‡ in which he kept his Diary for that year; and, it not being written very legibly, they made what malicious readings and comments they pleased upon it, to his great wrong and reproach; though, to all sober and sensible people, it discovered him to be a man that kept a strict watch over his own heart, and was a great husband of his time, and many said they got good by it, and should love him the better for it. Psalm xxxvii. 5, 6. This event made Mr. Henry somewhat more cautious and sparing in the records of his Diary, when he saw how *evil men dig up mischief*.

At Lady Day, 1666, the Five Mile Act commenced, by which all nonconformist ministers were forbidden, upon pain of six months

* Sabinus. See Matt. Henry's Expos. Mar. ii. 13—18.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ Goldsmith's was used by Mr. Henry. He had it interleaved for the purpose of a Diary. In black leaves, at the beginning and the end, he often made extracts from books, or recorded remarks which occurred in conversation, &c.

imprisonment, to come or be within five miles of any corporation, or of any place where they had been ministers, unless they would take an oath; of which Mr. Baxter saith, it was credibly reported, that the Earl of Southampton, then Lord High Treasurer of England, said, No honest man could take it. Mr. Baxter, in his *Life*, hath set down at large his reasons against taking this Oxford oath, as it was called, part ii. p. 396, &c. part iii. p. 4, &c. Mr. Henry set his down in short. It was an oath, not at any time to endeavour any alteration of the government, in the church or state. He had already taken an oath of allegiance to the King, and he looked upon this to amount to an oath of allegiance to the bishops, which he was not free to take. Thus he writes, March 22, 1665-6.

“This day methoughts it was made more clear to me than ever, by the hand of God upon me, and I note it down, that I may remember it. (1.) That the government of the church of Christ, ought to be managed by the ministers of Christ. It appears, Hebrews, xiii. 7, that they are to rule us, that speak to us the word of God. (2.) That under prelacy,* ministers have not the management of church-government, not in the least, being only the publishers of the prelates’ decrees, as in excommunication, and absolution, which decrees sometimes are given forth by lay-chancellors. (3.) That, therefore, prelacy is an usurpation in the church of God, upon the crown and dignity of Jesus Christ, and upon the gospel-rights of his servants the ministers. And therefore, (4,) I ought not to subscribe to it, nor to swear not to endeavour, in all lawful ways, the alteration of it, viz. by praying and persuading, where there is opportunity. But, (5,) That I may safely venture to suffer in the refusal of such an oath, committing my soul, life, estate, liberty, all to him who judgeth righteously.”

And on March 25, the day when that act took place, he thus writes. “A sad day among poor ministers up and down this nation; who, by this act of restraint, are forced to remove from among their friends, acquaintance, and relations, and to sojourn among strangers, as it were, in *Mesech and in the tents of Kedar*. But there is a God who tells their wanderings, and will put their tears, and the tears of their wives and children into his bottle. Are they not in his book? The Lord be a little sanctuary to them, and a place of refuge from the storm, and from the tempest, and pity those

* Dr. Wordsworth has the following annotation connected with the above sentence:—This reasoning seems hardly worth the noting down and remembering. Do not prelates speak to us the word of God; (Are not they, too, ministers of Christ?) and are they not entitled, therefore, (if the citation from the apostle be valid,) to rule over us? Eccl. Biog. v. 6, p. 238.

Mr. Henry’s language is, however, evidently to be construed in connection with the existing state of things, and in contrast with those early days of episcopacy, to which reference is thus made in the Homilies:—“They were then preaching bishops, and more often seen in pulpits than princes’ palaces; more often occupied in His legacy, who said,—*Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all men, than in embassages and affairs of princes in this world.*” The Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth. p. 214, 4to. 1766.

places, from which they are ejected, and come and dwell where they may not.

He wished their removes might not be figurative of evil to these nations, as Ezekiel's were, Ezekiel xii, 1, 2, 3. This severe dispensation forced Mr. Steel and his family from Hanmer, and so he lost the comfort of his neighbourhood; but withal it drove Mr. Lawrence from Baschurch to Whitchurch parish, where he continued till he was driven thence too.

Mr. Henry's house at Broad Oak was but four reputed miles from the utmost limits of Worthenbury parish, but he got it measured, and accounting 1760 yards to a mile, according to the Statute, 35 Eliz. cap. 6, it was found to be just five miles and three-score yards, which one would think might have been his security. But there were those near him who were ready to stretch such laws to the utmost rigour, under pretence of construing them in favour of the King, and, therefore, would have it to be understood of reputed miles. This obliged him for some time to leave his family, and to sojourn among his friends, to whom he endeavoured, wherever he came, to impart some spiritual gift. At last he ventured home, presuming, among other things, that the warrant by which he was made collector of the Royal Aid, while that continued, would secure him, according to a proviso in the last clause of the act, which, when the gentlemen perceived, they discharged him from that office, before he had served out the time.

[In a document consisting of reasons on the subject, he thus concludes in favour of measured, rather than reputed, miles.

1. Because measured miles are certain; reputed miles uncertain; one reputed more, another less.

2. Because otherwise some would be punished beyond others, viz. those who live where reputed miles are of extraordinary length.

3. Because in penal laws the interpretation should be such as most favours the offender.

4. Upon other statutes the decision of controversies hath been by measuring; *ergo* in this.

5. He who swears against the delinquent must swear, not that it is reputed, but that it is five miles. It is not always from one great town to another that the question is like to be, but from a particular house,—as suppose Broad Oak, to an obscure boundary,—suppose the Sarn.

6. The Scripture speaks of measured miles in a law-case. Deuteronomy, xxi. 2.*]

He was much affected with it, that the burning of London happened so soon after the nonconformists were banished out of it. He thought it was in mercy to them, that they were removed before that desolating judgment came, but that it spoke aloud to our governors,—*Let my people go that they may serve me; and if ye*

will not, behold thus and thus will I do unto you. This was the Lord's voice crying in the city.

In the beginning of the year 1667, he removed with his family to Whitchurch,* and dwelt there above a year, except that for one quarter of a year, about harvest, he returned again to Broad Oak. His remove to Whitchurch was partly to quiet his adversaries, who were ready to quarrel with him upon the five-mile act, and partly for the benefit of the school there for his children.

There, in April following, he buried his eldest son,† not quite six years old, a child of extraordinary pregnancy and forwardness in learning, and of a very towardsly disposition. His character of this child is,

Præterque ætatem nil puerile fuit.

[He was remarkable for four things.

1. Forwardness in learning, having all the three requisites,—apprehension, judgment, memory,—even beyond his age, and also a great love to it; never seeking, at any time, to stay from school.

2. Tenderness of disposition. He was apt to melt into tears at the least show of displeasure, though but in a frown.

3. Patience under correction; which he had not often, because he did not deserve it; and, when he did, his penitence prevented it, if not altogether, yet in the severity of it.

4. Love to his brother and sisters. When Matthew sickened first, with the measles, (of which John died,) he went to bed with him of his own accord, sooner than ordinary, and wept over him.

He was of a strong, healthy constitution, not smaying‡ for cold in school like other children. He was full of action, stirring, always doing something, and what he did, he did with all his might.§]

* In some *memoranda* respecting his eldest son, Mr. Henry writes;—In January, 1667, we removed to Whitchurch, partly to satisfy the law, partly to have convenient schooling for him and his brother, in regard Mr. Catheral was appointed by Sir Orlando Bridgman to teach in Wigland in a house newly built by him for that purpose, which was too far off us. I entered him at the Free School, being yet in coats, which had never been known there before. Orig. MS.

† He was born at Worthenbury, May 3, 1661. His complexion was observed to be sweet and ruddy, his countenance compleat, his eyes lively. He was baptized, May 12, by Mr. George Mainwaring, late of Malpas. He preached in the morning, from Zech. xii. 1. I preached in the afternoon from Ps. li. 5. On the 14th of May, neighbours dined with us, and rejoiced in God's goodness. The same night my dear wife began to be ill of an ague. There are no comforts but what are mixed, and chequered till we come to heaven. 'Tis the evening commends the day; therefore, we should serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. In the beginning of 1665, he went to school to Mr. Samuel Catheral, at Whitewell Chapel, and by the end of that year, had learned to read English. In the beginning of 1666, he began his accidence, which he dispatched in that year, with some of his grammar also. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ Probably a contraction of *dismaying*.

§ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

This child, before he was seized with the sickness whereof he died, was much affected with some verses, which he met with in Mr. White's *Power of Godliness*,* said to be found in the pocket of a hopeful young man, who died before he was twenty-four years old. Of his own accord he got them without book, and would be often rehearsing them; they were these;—

Not twice twelve years (he might say
Not half twelve years) full told, a wearied breath
I have exchanged for a happy death.
Short was my life; the longer is my rest,
God takes them soonest whom he loveth best.
He that is born to day and dies to-morrow,
Loses some hours of joy, but months of sorrow;
Other diseases often come to grieve us,
Death strikes but once, and that stroke doth relieve us.

This was a great affliction to the tender parents. Mr. Henry writes upon it in the reflection,

Quicquid amas cupias non placuisse nimis.

Many years after, he said, he thought he did apply to himself at that time, but too sensibly that scripture, *Lamentations*, iii. 1.—*I am the man that hath seen affliction*. And he would say to his friends upon such occasions,—“Losers think they may have leave to speak,† but they must have a care what they say, lest speaking amiss to God's dishonour, they make work for repentance, and shed tears that must be wept over again.”‡ He observed concerning this child, that he had always been very patient under rebukes, The remembrance of which, saith he, teacheth me now how to carry it under the rebukes of my heavenly Father. His prayer under this providence was,—Show me, Lord, show me wherefore thou contendest with me; have I over-boasted, over-loved, over-prized? A Lord's day intervening between the death and burial of the child,—I attended, saith he, on public ordinances, though sad in spirit, as Job, who, after all the evil tidings that were brought him, whereof death of children was the last and heaviest, yet fell down and worshipped. And he would often say upon such occasions, that weeping must not hinder sowing. Upon the interment§ of the child,

* See *ante*, p. 48. The copy which belonged to Mr. Henry, containing his handwriting, and a few words ill-written, supposed to be his son John's, is in the Editor's possession. See an account of Mr. White, in the *Noncon. Mem.* v. i. p. 106. *ut supra*.

†

————— You must give losers
Their leave to speak.

Ben Johnson, v.6, p. 106, oct. 1816.

‡ See Bishop Beveridge's *Private Thoughts*, Article IV.

§ He died April 12. Monday, April 15, he was buried towards the upper end of the middle aisle in Whitechurch Church. Mr. Samuel Edwards, his schoolmaster, preached his funeral sermon. Text. Mark, xiii. 36. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

he writes,—My dear child, now mine no longer, was laid in the cold earth, not lost, but soon to be raised again a glorious body, and I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me. A few days after his dear friend, Mr. Lawrence, then living in Whitchurch parish, buried a daughter, that was grown up and very hopeful, and gave good evidence of a work of grace wrought upon her soul, how willing, saith he, may parents be to part with such when the Lord calls; they are not *amissi* but *præmissi*. And he hath this further remark,—The Lord hath made his poor servants, that have been often companions in his work, now companions in tribulation, the very same tribulation; me for my sin, him for his trial.*

While he lived at Whitchurch, he attended constantly upon the publick ministry, and there, as ever, he was careful to come to the beginning of the service, which he attended upon with reverence and devotion; standing all the time, even while the chapters were read.

[He said,—He that gives to God his soul, and serves him with the inner man, will think no outward expression of reverence too much. He will give his body too.† Mr. Henry had high thoughts of the body as well as the soul. He would say, it is the workmanship of God, therefore, not to be misused,—it is the house of the soul,—it is the servant to the soul, made use of in honouring God,—it is the purchase of Christ, united to him, 1 Corinthians, vi. 15.—it is the temple of the Holy Ghost, 1 Corinthians, vi. 19.—it is intended for glorious things in the resurrection, Philippians, iii. 21. Job, xix. 26. 1 Corinthians, xv. ‡]

In the evening of the Lord's day, he spent some time in instructing his family, to which a few of his friends and neighbours in the town would sometimes come in; and it was a little gleam of opportunity, but very short, for, as he notes;—He was offended at it, who should rather have rejoiced, if, by any means, the work might be carried on in his people's souls.

He observes in his Diary this year, how zealous people had generally been for the observation of Lent, a while ago, and how cold they are towards it now. The same he notes of processions in Ascension-week; for, saith he, what hath no good foundation, will not hold up long; but in that which is duty, and of God, it is good to be zealously affected always.

In this year, I think, was the first time that he administered the Lord's Supper, very privately to be sure, after he was silenced by the Act of Uniformity; and he did not do it without mature deliberation. A fear of separation kept him from it so long; what induced him to it at last, I find thus under his own hand. I am a minister of Christ, and as such I am obliged, *virtute officii*, by all means to endeavour the good of souls. Now here is a company of

* When others are afflicted, we are to conclude it is for trial,—when ourselves, for sin. Calamy. P. Henry's Com. Place Book. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. See Mem. of Mrs. Savage, p. 217. *ut supra*.

‡ Ib. Orig. MS.

serious Christians, whose lot is cast to live in a parish, where there is one set over them, who preacheth the truth; and they come to hear him, and join with him in other parts of worship; only, as to the Lord's Supper, they scruple the lawfulness of the gesture of kneeling; and he tells them, his hands are tied, and he cannot administer it unto them any other way; wherefore they come to me, and tell me, they earnestly long for that ordinance; and there is a competent number of them, and opportunity to partake; and how dare I deny this request of theirs, without betraying my ministerial trust, and incurring the guilt of a grievous omission?

In February, 1667-8,* Mr. Lawrence and he were invited by some of their friends, to Betley, in Staffordshire, and (there being some little publick connivance at that time) with the consent of all concerned, they adventured to preach in the church, one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon of the Lord's day, very peaceably and profitably. This action of their's was presently after reported in the House of Commons, by a Member of Parliament,† with these additions,—That they tore the Common Prayer Book, trampled the surplice under their feet, pulled the minister of the place out of the pulpit, &c. Reports which there was not the least colour for. But that, with some other such like false stories, produced an address of the House of Commons to the King, to issue out a proclamation for the putting of the laws in execution against papists and nonconformists, which was issued out accordingly; though the King, at the opening of that Session a little before, had declared his desire, that some course might be taken, to compose the minds of his Protestant subjects, in matters of religion; which had raised the expectations of some, that there would be speedy enlargement; but Mr. Henry had noted upon it,—We cannot expect too little from man,‡ nor too much from God.

And here it may be very pertinent to observe, how industrious Mr. Henry was at this time, when he and his friends suffered such hard things from the government, to preserve and promote a good affection to the government notwithstanding. It was commonly charged at that time upon the nonconformists in general, especially from the pulpits,§ that they were all a factious and turbulent people,

* Appendix, No. XIV.

† Major General Egerton. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ I remember one saying of General Lambert's, "That the best of men are but men at the best." Letters written by Eminent Persons, and Lives of Eminent Men, by John Aubrey, Esq. vol. ii. part I, p. 199.

§ The clergyman at Whitewell Chapel sometimes was one of the accusers above alluded to. On one of those occasions, Mr. Henry thus writes;—"Mr. Green at chapel to-day seemed to say something with reflection: "*Mark them that cause divisions, serving their own belly.*" Lord, I can only appeal to thee, and say, if I seek myself in what I do, or my own things, and not the good of souls, and the advancement of thy glory; if I do it in any respect to divide, then fill my face with shame, and let my enemies have power over me. But if otherwise,—Lord, take my part, and plead my cause, and clear my integrity, for thy mercy sake. Diary, Orig. MS.

See an appeal somewhat similar by the venerable martyr Bishop Hooper. Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. vii. p. 404. fol. 1655.

as was said of old,—Ezra, iv. 15,—hurtful to kings and provinces; that their meetings were for the sowing of sedition and discontents, and the like; and there is some reason to think, that one thing intended by the hardships put upon them, was to drive them to this; there is a way of making a wise man mad. But how peaceably they carried themselves, is manifest to God, and in the consciences of many. For an instance of it, it will not be amiss to give some account of a sermon, which Mr. Henry preached in some very private meetings, such as were called seditious conventicles, in the year 1669, when it was a day of treading down, and of perplexity; it was on that text, Psalm, xxxv. 20. *Against them that are quiet in the land.* Whence (not to curry favour with rulers, for whatever the sermon was, the very preaching of it had been known, must have been severely punished, but purely out of conscience towards God) he taught his friends this doctrine,—That it is the character of the people of God, that they are a quiet people in the land. “This quietness he described to be an orderly, peaceable subjection to governors and government in the Lord. We must maintain a reverent esteem of them, and of their authority, in opposition to despising dominion, 2 Peter, ii. 10: we must be meek, under severe commands, and burdensome impositions, not murmuring and complaining, as the Israelites against Moses and Aaron; but take them up as our cross in our way, and bear them as we do foul weather. We must not *speak evil of dignities*, Jude, viii. nor *revile the gods*, Exodus, xxii. 28. Paul checked himself for this, Acts xxiii. 5. *ὅτι ἡδυνῆν*; I did not consider it, if I had, I would not have said so. We must not traduce their government, as Absalom did David’s, 2 Samuel, xv. 3. Great care is to be taken how we speak of the faults of any, especially of rulers, Ecclesiastes, x. 20.—The people of God do make the word of God their rule, and by that they are taught. (1.) That magistracy is God’s ordinance, and magistrates God’s ministers; that by him kings reign, and the powers that be are ordained of him. (2.) That they, as well as others, are to have their dues, honour, and fear, and tribute. (3.) That their lawful commands are to be obeyed, and that readily and cheerfully, Titus, iii. 1. (4.) That the penalties inflicted for not obeying unlawful commands, are patiently to be undergone. This is the rule, and as many as walk according to this rule, *Peace shall be upon them*, and there can be no danger of their unpeaceableness. They are taught to pray for kings and all in authority, 1 Timothy, ii. 1, 2, and God forbid we should do otherwise: yea, though they persecute, Jeremiah, xxix. 7. Peaceable prayers bespeak a peaceable people, Psalm, cix. 4. If some professing religion have been unquiet, their unquietness hath given the lie to their profession, Jude, viii. 11, 12. Quietness is our badge, Colossians, iii. 12. It will be our strength, Isaiah, xxx. 7, 15. Our rejoicing in the day of evil, Jeremiah, xviii. 18: it is pleasing to God, 1 Timothy, ii. 2, 3: it may work upon others, 1 Peter, ii. 12, 13. The means he prescribed for the keeping of us quiet, were to get our hearts filled with

the knowledge and belief of these two things. 1. That the kingdom of Christ *is not of this world*, Job, xviii. 36; many have thought otherwise, and it made them unquiet. 2. That the *wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God*, James, i. 20; he needs not our sin to bring to pass his own counsel. We must mortify unquietness in the causes of it, James, iv. 1: we must always remember the oath of God, Ecclesiastes, viii. 2: the oath of allegiance is an oath of quietness. And we must beware of the company and converse of those that are unquiet. Proverbs, xxii. 24, 25. Though deceitful matters be devised, yet we must be quiet still; nay, be so much the more quiet."

I have been thus large in gathering these hints out of that sermon, (which he took all occasions in other sermons to inculcate, as all his brethren likewise did,) that if possible it may be a conviction to the present generation; or, however, may be a witness in time to come, that the nonconformist ministers were not enemies to Cæsar, nor troublers of the land; nor their meetings any way tending to the disturbance of the publick peace, but purely designed to help to repair the decays of christian piety.

All that knew Mr. Henry, knew very well that his practice all his days was consonant to these his settled principles.

In May, 1668,* he returned again with his family from Whitchurch to Broad Oak, which, through the good hand of his God upon him, continued his settled home, without any remove from it, till he was removed to his long home above twenty-eight years after. The edge of the Five Mile Act began now a little to abate, at least in that country; and he was desirous to be more useful to the neighbours, among whom God hath given him an estate, than he could be at a distance from them, by relieving the poor, employing the labourers, especially instructing the ignorant, and helping as many as he could to heaven. He made that scripture his standing rule, and wrote it in the beginning of his book of accounts, Proverbs, iii. 9, 10, *Honour the Lord with thy substance*, &c. And having set apart a day of secret prayer and humiliation, to beg of God a wise and an understanding heart, and to drop a tear, as he expresseth it, over the sins of his predecessors, formerly in that estate, he laid out himself very much in doing good. He was very serviceable upon all accounts in the neighbourhood, and though it took up a great deal of his time, and hindered him from his beloved studies, yet it

* May 27. This week I removed again with my family from Whitchurch to Broad Oke, Εὐ, Θσιζ.

The reasons inducing me thereunto were these;

1. The ceasing of those things which brought us thence, which were, 1. To avoid the penalty of the law now rebated. 2. For good schooling for my sons now not to be had by the removal of Mr. Edwards to Newport, and besides the Lord hath taken my eldest son to himself, *sublatâ causâ, tollitur effectus*.

2. That I might be of more use there where God hath given me an estate, than I can be at this distance, by relieving the poor thereabouts, and by helping as many as I can to heaven. Now, Lord, glorify thyself in and by thy poor servant, and prevent trouble here, or make me able to bear it. P. Henry's Diary. Orig. MS.

might be said of him, as the Bishop of Salisbury saith of Archbishop Tillotson, in his sermon at his funeral, that he choose rather to live to the good of others than to himself; and thought, that to do an act of charity, or even of tenderness and kindness, was of more value both in itself, and in the sight of God, than to pursue the pompous parts of learning, how much soever his own genius might lead him to it.*

He was very useful in the common concernments of the township and country, in which he was a very prudent counsellor; it was, indeed, a narrow sphere of activity, but, such as it was, to him,—as to Job, chapter xxix. 21, 22,—*Men gave ear and waited, and kept silence at his counsel; after his words they spake not again;* and many of the neighbours who respected him not as a minister, yet loved and honoured him as a knowing, prudent, and humble neighbour. In the concernments of private families, he was very far from busying himself, and further from seeking himself; but he was very much busied, advising many about their affairs, and the disposal of themselves and their children, arbitrating and composing differences among relations and neighbours, in which he had an excellent faculty, and often good success, inheriting the blessing entailed upon the peace-makers. References have sometimes been made to him by rule of court, at the assizes, with consent of parties. He was very affable and easy of access, and admirably patient in hearing every one's complaint, which he would answer with so much prudence and mildness, and give such apt advice, that many a time to consult with him, was to ask counsel at Abel, and so to end the matter.† He observed in almost all quarrels that happened, that there was a fault on both sides; and that generally they were most in the fault, that were most forward and clamorous in their complaints. One making her moan to him, of a bad husband she had, that in this, and the other instance was unkind; and, Sir, saith she, after a long complaint which he patiently heard, what would you have me to do now? Why truly, saith he, I would have you to go home, and be a better wife to him, and then you will find that he will be a better husband to you. Labouring to persuade one to forgive an injury that was done him; he urged this, Are you not a Christian?‡ and followed that argument so close that at last he prevailed.

He was very industrious, and oft successful in persuading people to recede from their right for peace sake; and he would for that purpose tell them Luther's story of the two goats, that met upon a narrow bridge over a deep water; they could not go back, they

* pp. 24, 25. 4to. 1694.

† See 2 Sam. xx. 18.

‡ In allusion, probably, to the martyrs, particularly "that blessed woman," Blandina, who, "fighting the worthy battell, became stronger and stronger, and as often as she spake these words,—*I am a Christian*, neither have wee committed any evill,—it was to her a marvellous comfort and boldening to abide the torments." Fox's Acts and Monuments, v. 1. p. 60. fol. 1641.

durst not fight; after a short parley, one of them lay down, and let the other go over him, and no harm was done.* He would likewise relate sometimes a remarkable story, worthy to be here inserted, concerning a good friend of his, Mr. T. Y.† of Whitchurch, who in his youth was greatly wronged by an unjust uncle of his, being an orphan, his portion, which was £200, was put into the hands of that uncle; who, when he grew up, shuffled with him, and would give him but £40, instead of his £200, and he had no way of recovering his right but by law; but before he would engage in that, he was willing to advise with his minister, who was the famous Dr. Twiss,‡ of Newbury; the counsel he gave him, all things considered, was, for peace sake, and for the preventing of sin, and snares, and trouble, to take the £40, rather than contend; and Thomas, saith the Doctor, if thou dost so, assure thyself, that God will make it up to thee and thine, some other way, and they that defraud thee will be the losers by it at last. He did so, and it pleased God so to bless that little which he began the world with, that when he died in a good old age, he left his son possessed of some hundreds a year, and he that wronged him fell into decay.

Many very pious worthy families in the country would say of Mr. Henry, that they had no friend like-minded, who did naturally care for their state, and so affectionately sympathize with them, and in whom their hearts could safely trust.

[The interest of families lay near his heart, and, sometimes, he would ask the affecting question, "Are there no families to be wept over? Yes. When there are none in a family, as far as we can judge, spiritually alive. As in Egypt, there was not a house in which there was not one dead, so there are many families in which not one is alive. We weep over the body from which the soul is departed, and why not over the soul from which God is departed? There are families too in which God is not worshipped. And are not those to be wept over? There are families where worldliness prevails, where all are for the wealth of the world, and where there is no care for the soul. There are families where divisions reign, two are against three, and three against two; and there the house is on fire; the house is falling. There are families where God's hand hath been by correction, and they have been sensible of it; but the correction being removed, they are as bad or worse than ever. These are to be wept over." §]

He was very charitable to the poor, and was full of alms'-deeds, which he did, (as is said of Tabitha, Acts, ix. 36,) not which he said

* The moral is easy. Be content thy person be trod upon for peace sake. Thy person, I say, not thy conscience. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Yates.

‡ Dr. Twiss, Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines, in 1643. He died the 20th of July, 1646, æt. 71. He was offered a prebendary at Winchester, which he declined; because he foresaw it would excite a quarrel between two neighbouring clergymen. Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons. p. 13. *ut supra*.

§ P. Henry. From a MS. in Mr. Matt. Henry's hand-writing.

he would do, or which he put others on to do, but which he *did himself*, dispersing abroad and giving to the poor, seeking and rejoicing in opportunities of that kind. And whenever he gave an alms for the body, he usually gave with it a spiritual alms, some good word of counsel, reproof, instruction, or comfort, as there was occasion, and in accommodating these to the persons he spoke to, he had a very great dexterity.

He was very forward to lend * money freely to any of his poor neighbours that had occasion, and would sometimes say, that in many cases there was more charity in lending than in giving, because it obliged the borrower both to honesty and industry. When one of his neighbours, to whom he had lent three pounds, failed, so that he was never likely to see a farthing of it, he writes thus upon it;—notwithstanding this, yet still I judge it my duty to lend, *μηδὲ ἀπελπίζω*, nothing despairing; so Dr. Hammond reads it, Luke, vi. 35. Though what is lent in charity be not repaid, yet it is not lost. When those that had borrowed money of him paid him again, he usually gave them back some part, to encourage honesty. He judged the taking of moderate interest for money lawful, † where the borrower was in a way of gaining by it. But he would advise his friends that had money, rather to dispose of it otherwise if they could.

It must not be forgotten, how punctual and exact he was in all his accounts with tenants, workmen, &c. being always careful to keep such things in black and white, as he used to say, which is the surest way to prevent mistakes, and a man's wronging either himself or his neighbour; such was his prudence, and such his patience and peaceableness, that all the time he was at Broad Oak, he never sued any, nor ever was sued, but was instrumental to prevent many a vexatious law-suit among his neighbours. He used to say, —There are four rules to be duly observed in going to law; (1.) We must not go to law for trifles, as he did who said, he would rather spend a hundred pounds in law, than lose a penny-worth of

* This was the practice of Dr. Hammond. See his *Life*, by Dr. Fell, p. 160, *ut supra*. It is said of a renowned nobleman, that he would often give to labouring men "good summes of money, making them beleve that hee did but lend it them; and causing some about him to passe their words for the repayment when hee never meant to receive it again: but did that as himself was wont to tell us in policie to make them continue their labour, and to be good husbands." A Sermon preached, at the Funeral of William Lord Russell, by William Walker, B. D. p. 48. 4to. 1614.

† Mr. Henry has thus recorded the opinion of Mr. Baxter on this subject. It is transcribed from his common-place book. "If usury be condemned, 'tis either by law of nature or some positive law. If the former, then either as an act of impiety, injustice, or unmercifulness. That which can be proved to have any of these I am resolved against, but there is some usury which I am not able to see any of these in, nay, I think I could so lend on usury in some cases, as might be as great an act of bounty or mercy as to give near half the money. If it be forbidden by a positive law, then either of Moses, or of Christ: not of Moses, for the Mosaick law is abrogated, though much of the matter of it be still in force,—as the law of nature, and of Christ. Not of Christ, for where hath Christ any such positive law? On these grounds I speak against all unjust and unmerciful usury, but I dare go no further, and yet I will justify none,—there is a paper of Dr. Sanderson's very moderate and clear in it." Mr. Baxter. MS. letter to Mr. Newcome.

of his right, Matthew, v. 39, 40, 41. (2.) We must not be rash and hasty in it, but try all other means possible to compose differences; wherein he that yields most, as Abraham did to Lot, is the better man, and there is nothing lost by it in the end. 1 Corinthians, vi. 1, 2. (3.) We must see that it be without malice, or desire of revenge. If the undoing of our brother be the end of our going to law, as it is with many, it is certainly evil, and it speeds accordingly. (4.) It must be with a disposition to peace, whenever it may be had, and an ear open to all overtures of that kind. The two mottos proper for the great guns are applicable to this, *ratio ultima regum*, and *sic quærimus pacem*.

[He was an enemy to austerity of deportment, and much enjoyed the pleasures of social intercourse. "Pest-houses," he would say, "always stand alone, and yet are full of infectious diseases. Solitariness is no infallible argument of sanctity."* It was against the evils of society his watchfulness was directed, and these he uniformly endeavoured to counteract. Hence] four rules he sometimes gave to be observed in our converse with men. Have communion with few. Be familiar with one. Deal justly with all. Speak evil of none.

He was noted for an extraordinary neat husband about his house and ground, which he would often say, he could not endure to see like the *field of the slothful*, and the *vineyard of the man void of understanding*. And it was strange, how easily one that had been bred up utterly a stranger to such things, yet when God so ordered his lot, acquainted himself with, and accommodated himself to the affairs of the country, making it the diversion of his vacant hours, to over-see his gardens and fields; when he better understood that known Epode of Horace, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*,† than he did when in his youth he made an ingenious translation of it. His care of this kind was an act of charity to poor labourers whom he employed; and it was a good example to his neighbours, as well as for the comfort of his family. His converse likewise with these things was excellently improved, for spiritual purposes, by occasional meditations, hints of which there are often in his Diary, as those that conversed with him had many in discourse. Instances of this were easy, but endless to give.

[The following may suffice:—

1661, March 20. The garden finished in time of an eclipse.—Lord, lift up upon me the light of thy countenance, and let nothing cloud it towards my soul!

Hawthorn sets planted to hedge in the orchard. Lord, be thou

* Com. Pl. Book. Orig. MS. "It is a scandal that is cast upon religion, and the professors of it, that they are unneighbourly and unsociable. God himself loves society, he loves holy meetings, he loves the communion of saints, the household of faith, and his delight is to be with the sons of men, and well approves that the sons of men should be one with another, yet so that he may not be excluded." Expos. on Luke, xi. 5—11, by Nehemiah Rogers, 4to. 1658, p. 189.

† Epode II. Vitæ Rusticæ Laudes.

a *wall of fire* round about thy church, and let not the *wild boar* out of the *forest* devour thy tender plants!

A tree cut up by the roots may have the leaves green upon it a great while. So a people, or person, devoted by God to ruin, may yet retain many of their outward comforts for a time, but they are withering. Saul, though rejected, obtained many victories.*

As far as the boughs of a tree spread, so far spread the roots. As much corruption in our actions, so much in our hearts.†]

He used to say, that, therefore many of the scripture parables and similitudes are taken from the common actions of this life, that when our hands are employed about them, our hearts may the more easily pass through them to divine and heavenly things. I have heard him often blame those, whose irregular zeal in the profession of religion, makes them to neglect their worldly business, and let the house drop through; the affairs of which the good man will *order with discretion*; and he would tell sometimes of a religious woman, whose fault it was, how she was convinced of it, by means of an intelligent, godly neighbour; who, coming into the house, and finding the good woman, far in the day, in her closet, and the house sadly neglected, children not tended, servants not minded.—What, saith he, is there no fear of God in this house? Which much startled and affected the good woman, that over-heard him. He would often say,—Every thing is beautiful in its season; and that it is the wisdom of the prudent, so to order the duties of their general callings as Christians, and those of their particular callings in the world, as that they may not clash, or interfere.‡ I have heard it observed from Ecclesiastes, vii. 16, —That there may be over-doing in well-doing.§

[He maintained, however,—That a Christian ought not to engage himself further in worldly business than so as still to keep himself fit for prayer. And sometimes would exclaim,—After the heart hath been let loose a little in the world, oh, what a hard matter is it to find it again! ||]

I cannot omit one little passage in his Diary, because it may be instructive. When he was once desired to be bound for one that had upon a particular occasion, been bound for him, he writes,—Solomon saith, *He that hateth suretyship is sure*; but he saith also, *He that hath friends, must shew himself friendly*. But he always

* P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† Com. Pl. Book. Orig. MS.

‡ One of the fathers,* speaking of the practice of Christians in the primitive times, saith,—“At supper, we eat and drink as those that must pray before they go to bed. So should we follow our callings all day as those who must pray before they go to bed.” Lay not out the strength of your spirits upon earthly things, but keep it for fellowship with God. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ It is said of the “pious and profoundly-learned” Joseph Mede, that the apophthegm,—Over-doing always undoes,—was “often in his mouth.” Appendix to his Life, prefixed to his Works, p. xlii. fol. 1672.

|| P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* Tertullian; and see Flavel's Works, vol. vi. p. 331.

not expect that God should bless them in it; and would not chide them, but reason with them. And he would say,—If he should tell them of their faults, and not give them an alms, the reproof would look only like an excuse to deny his charity, and would be rejected accordingly.

In a word, his greatest care about the things of this world was, how to do good with what he had, and to *devise liberal things*; desiring to make no other accession to his estate, but only that blessing which attends beneficence. He did firmly believe, and it should seem few do, that what *is given to the poor, is lent to the Lord*, who will pay it again in kind or kindness; and that religion and piety are undoubtedly the best friend to outward prosperity, and he found it so; for it pleased God abundantly to bless his habitation, and to *make a hedge about him*, and about his house, and about all that he had round about.* And though he did not delight himself in the abundance of wealth; yet, which is far better, he delighted himself in the *abundance of peace*; Psalm, xxxvii. 11. All that he had, and did, observably prospered, so that the country oftentimes took notice of it; and called his family a family which the Lord had blessed.

His comforts of this kind were, as he used to pray they might be,—Oil to the wheels of his obedience;† and, in the use of these things, he served the Lord his God with joyfulness and gladness of heart, yet still mindful of, and grieved for the affliction of Joseph. He would say sometimes, when he was in the midst of the comforts of this life, as that good man;—All this, and heaven too! Surely, then, we serve a good Master. Thus did the Lord bless him, and make him a blessing; and this *abundant grace, through the thanksgiving of many, redounded to the glory of God*.

Having given this general account of his circumstances at Broak Oak, we shall now go on with his story, especially as to the exercise of his ministry there, and thereabouts; for that was his *τὸ ἔργον*, the thing in which he was, and to which he wholly gave himself, taking other things *ὡς παράρτημα*. After this settlement at Broad Oak, whenever there was preaching at Whitewell Chapel, as usually there was two Lord's Days in the month, he constantly attended there with his family, was usually with the first, and reverently joined in the publick service; he diligently wrote the sermons; always stayed if the ordinance of baptism was administered, but not if there were a wedding, for he thought that a solemnity not proper for the Lord's Day. He often dined the minister that preached; after dinner he sung a psalm, repeated the morning sermon, and prayed; and then attended in like manner in the afternoon. In the evening he preached to his own family; and, perhaps, two or three of his neighbours would drop

* See P. Henry's Sermons, *ut supra*. Sermon I. p. 35.

† If love be the weight and the oil that makes the wheels run, thine obedience is such as it ought to be. Dyke's Worthy Communicant, *ut supra*, p. 341. See post. p. 138.

in to him. On those Lord's Days, when there was no preaching at the chapel, he spent the whole day at home, and many an excellent sermon he preached, when there were present only four besides his own family, and perhaps not so many, according to the limitation of the Conventicle Act.* In these narrow private circumstances he preached over the former part of of the Assembly's Catechism, from divers texts; he also preached over Psalm, cxvi. besides many particular occasional subjects.

What a grief of heart it was to him, to be thus put *under a bushel*, and confined to such a narrow sphere of usefulness, read in his own words, which I shall transcribe out of an elegy he made, to give vent to his thoughts, upon the death of his worthy friend, Mr. George Mainwaring, some time Minister of Malpas, who was silenced by the Act of Uniformity, and died, March 14, 1669-70; wherein he thus bewails, feelingly enough, the like restraints and confinements of his friend:—

His later years he sadly spent,
Wrapt up in silence and restraint.
A burden such as none do know,
But they that do it undergo.
To have a fire, shut up and pent
Within the bowels, and no vent;
To have gorg'd breasts, and, by a law,
Those that fain would, forbidden to draw.
But his dumb sabbaths here, did prove
Loud crying sabbaths in heav'n above.
His tears, when he might sow no more,
Watering what he had sown before.

Soon after Mr. Henry's settlement at Broad Oak, he took a young scholar into the house with him; partly to teach his son, and partly to be a companion to himself to converse with him, and to receive help and instruction from him; and, for many years, he was seldom without one or other such; who, before their going to

* In reference to the termination of the Conventicle Act, 16 Charles II. c. 4, he writes:—1669, March 1. This day, as is supposed, determines the Act against Conventicles, the Parliament being prorogued by proclamation, from this day to October 19, which prorogation makes a session, and the Act was to continue for three years, and to the end of the next session after, which is this.

And, blessed be God, who hath let me live to see it die; for, though but few in these parts have suffered much by it, yet some have, and to others it hath been as a bridle of restraint, hindering them in the free exercise of their duty, which is, as they have occasion, to assemble themselves together for mutual edification; whereby God hath had great dishonour, and poor souls no small loss in heaven's way.

It seems the Lord hath inclined the King's heart to this, which is in his hand, and he turneth it whithersoever he pleaseth. To him be glory!

I am somewhat fearful lest any ill use should be made of this indulgence by intemperate spirits, especially now at first; which, God prevent, for his own name, mercy, and gospel sake. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS. Another Conventicle Act soon after passed; the 22d Charles II. c. 1.

the University, or in the intervals of their attendance there, would be in his family, sitting under his shadow. One of the first he had with him, in the year 1668, and after, was Mr. William Turner, born in the neighbourhood; afterwards of Edmund Hall, in Oxford, now Vicar of Walberton in Sussex, to whom the world is beholden for that elaborate "History of all Religions," which he published in the year 1695, and from whom is earnestly expected the performance of that noble and useful project for the "Record of Providences."* Betwixt Mr. Henry and him there was a most entire and affectionate friendship; and, notwithstanding that distance of place, a constant and endearing correspondence kept up as long as Mr. Henry lived.

It was observed, that several young men who had sojourned with him, and were very hopeful, and likely to be serviceable to their generations, died soon after their removal from him; I could instance in six or seven, as if God had sent them to him to be prepared for another world, before they were called for out of this; yet never any died while they were with him.

He had so great a kindness for the University, and valued so much the mighty advantages of improvement there, that he advised all his friends who designed their children for scholars, to send them thither, for many years after the change, though he always counted upon their conformity. But long experience altered his mind herein, and he chose rather to keep his own son at home with him, and to give him what help he could there, in his education, than venture him into the snares and temptations of the University.

It was also soon after this settlement of his at Broad Oak, that he contracted an intimate friendship with that learned, and pious, and judicious gentleman, Mr. Hunt of Boreatton, the son of Colonel Hunt, of Salop, and with his excellent lady, Frances, daughter of the Right Honourable the Lord Paget.† The acquaintance then begun between Mr. Henry and that worthy family, continued to his dying day, about thirty years. One Lord's Day in a quarter he commonly spent with them, besides other interviews. And it was a constant rejoicing to him to see religion and the power of godliness uppermost, in such a family as that, when not many mighty, not many noble are called; and the branches of it *branches of righteousness, the planting of the Lord*. Divers of the honourable relations of that family contracted a very great respect for him, particularly the present Lord Paget, now his Majesty's Ambassador at the Ottoman Court, and Sir Henry Ashurst, whom we shall have occasion afterwards to make mention of.

* Afterwards published in folio, 1697.

† Ambassador for many years at Vienna, afterwards at Constantinople. He and Lady Paget sojourned for some years with his brother-in-law Mr. Hunt of Boreatton. He came oft to Broad Oke to visit Mr. Henry. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*. See the Life and Errors of John Dunton, v. 1, p. 347, *ut supra*.

[Mr. Henry also stood high in the esteem of Thomas Corbet, Esq.* of Stanwardine,† George Clyve, Esq. of Walford, and Mr. Harris, of Prescot. These gentlemen were always glad to receive him into their houses, and to attend upon his ministry whenever they had an opportunity. They lived in the same parish,‡ and though they generally frequented the place of publick worship, where they had a sober, judicious, and peaceable minister, the Rev. Mr. Hudson, yet they had often sermons preached in their own houses by the non-conformists, who lived near them, sometimes on week-days, sometimes on the Lord's Day, out of the time of publick worship; and I have often seen some of Mr. Hudson's family, his wife and children, present on such occasions. §]

In the time of trouble and distress, by the conventicle act, in 1670, he kept private and stirred little abroad, as loath to offend those that were in power, and judging it prudence to gather in his sails, when the storm was violent. He then observed, as that which he was troubled at,—“That there was a great deal of precious time lost among professors, when they came together, in discoursing on their adventures to meet, and their escapes, which he feared tended more to set up self, than to give glory to God. Also in telling how they got together, and such a one preached, but little inquiring what spiritual benefit and advantage was reaped by it; and that we are apt to make the *circumstances* of our religious services, more the matter of our discourse, than the *substance* of them.

[At the latter end of the year 1671, he ventured to London; and the following extracts from his Diary, on that occasion, will not be uninteresting.

1671, August 13. Preached on Jacob's vow, Genesis, xxviii. 20., &c. with personal application, saying,—*If God will be with me in this way that I go, then the Lord shall be my God.*

14. I set forward || towards London.

19. To Kensington.

22. Back to London again.

* See two sermons preached at Cockshutt Chapel, Salop, by William Gearing, entitled, “Wisdom justified of her Children,” and dedicated to Robert Corbet and Thomas Corbet, of Stanwardine, Esqrs, and to the virtuous Gentlewomen, their Wives.” duod. 1668.

† 1671. July 12. With my wife, at Stanwardine.

I accompanied them in killing a buck in their own park; far from being taken with any great delight or pleasure in the sport. They sent part of him to Broak Oak. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

‡ Baschurch.

§ Tong's Life of Matt. Henry. pp. 36, 37, *ut supra*.

|| The following minutes are now curious :—

1671. August 14. Lodged this night at Wolverhampton.

15. To Bromicham: thence to Coventry.

16. To Daventry: thence to Stony Stratford. Ebenezer.

17. To Barnett.

18. To London. The ways fair, and the weather favourable beyond expectation. Spent by the way, self and horse, 20s. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

24. Solemn fast in remembrance of the sad day of ministers' ejection, kept at the Countess of Exeter's,* with some measure of holy meltings and enlargements. Dr. Jacomb,† Mr. Steel,‡ Mr. Mayo,§ Mr. Bull,|| Mr. Poole,¶ prayed and preached alternatim. Texts, Psalm, li. 4.; xxxix. 9.

27. Preached at Mr. Doolittle's meeting place.** Text, Matthew, xxv. 29,—*To him that hath, &c.*

30. Preached at Mr. Steel's.†† Text, 1 Corinthians, x. 12. in much distraction.

September 1. This evening I was ill.

2. Attempted to keep the annual fast, this day, in remembrance of the dreadful fire of London, A. D. 1666; but strength failed: to will was present, to do was not. Thanks is also to be given for the strange and wonderful rebuilding of it in so short a time; which, but that my eyes saw, I could hardly have believed. I had the sentence of death within myself, and was, in some measure, willing to it, at that time, and in that place, though a stranger, ‡‡ had God seen good; but a reprieve came.

3. I should have preached and communicated with Dr. Annesley, §§ but prevented. *Multa cadent inter.* Time was when I might, and did not; now I would, and might not.

7. To Islington, where was buried Mr. Burghess, ||| a nonconformist minister of the west country: there were present one hundred, or six score ministers; and I bless God that for one dead there were so many living. But it grieved me to see them divided; part staying the office for the dead, part going out. Here I saw Mr. Senior, ¶¶ Mr. Bull, Mr. Rowles, former acquaintances.

10. A Sabbath spent with Mr. Doolittle. Text, John, viii. 36. persuading sinners to be willing to be made free.

* See Collins's Peerage, v. 2, p. 606; and Reliq. Baxter. part iii. p. 96.

† Dr. Thomas Jacomb was born in 1622, and died 27 Mar. 1687. See Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches, v. 3, p. 13, &c.

‡ See *ante*, p. 52.

§ The Rev. Richard Mayo, an eminent nonconformist, was born about 1631; he died, Sept. 8, 1695. See Wilson's Hist. v. 2, p. 9.

|| Rev. Daniel Bull. See Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 2, p. 458, &c. *ut supra*.

¶ See *ante*, p. 76.

** Whether then in Monkwell-street, or not, seems rather uncertain. Query,—Was not Monkwell-street Meeting-house in the possession of the Lord Mayor in 1671? See Wilson's Hist. v. 3, pp. 193, 194. Mr. Doolittle was born at Kidderminster, A. D. 1680. He died, May 24, 1707. *ib.*

†† His congregation met at Armourer's Hall, Coleman-street. Wilson's Hist. v. 2, p. 451.

‡‡ See the Life of Archbishop Leighton. Works. v. 1. p. xli. oct. 1820.

§§ Dr. Samuel Annesley was born, A. D. 1620, and died Dec. 31, 1696. See Wilson's Hist. v. 1, pp. 365—370.

||| It is probable that the reference is to the Rev. John Burgess, M. A. See the Noncon. Mem. v. 2, p. 3, *ut supra*; also, an extract from a Letter written by Mr. Henry to his wife relating to the funeral of Mr. Burgess, in the Univ. Theol. Mag. vol. 8, p. 184.

¶¶ The Rev. Thomas Senior, B. D. was Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity Church, Cambridge. He was a Westminster Scholar. Noncon. Mem. v. 1, p. 276, *ut supra*.

11. I saw Dean Hodges,* persuading to conform, but I dare not on such terms.

18. I reached home.

29. Day of family thanksgiving. The Lord accept in Christ Jesus.†

The visit, and particularly the indisposition which has been stated, gave rise to a letter which, viewed as an illustration of character, is too interesting to be entirely omitted. "For Mr. Philip Henry, to be left with Mr. Enock Darack, at the sime of the Trumpet, within Aldersgate, London."

My dear Husband;

I received your last yesterday, and am grieved to hear of your being ill. The children and family are well, blessed be God, and myself as well as I can be whilst in fear that you are ill. I have given up all my interest in you to my heavenly Father, and am labouring to be ready for evil tidings, which, if it be, God knows how I shall bear it. I shall expect, between hope and fear, till to-morrow night, and whatever the issue may be, labour to justify God. Yet I hope to hear of your coming, and when it will be, in your next. My dear heart, the Lord be with you, and send us a happy meeting; so prayeth your

Faithful and loving Wife,

September 6, 1671.

KATHERINE HENRY.‡]

We shall close this chapter with two remarks out of his Diary, in the year 1671, which will show what manner of spirit he was of, and what were his sentiments of things at that time. One is this,—All acknowledge that there is at this day a number of sober, peaceable men, both ministers and others, among Dissenters, but who either saith or doth any thing to oblige them? Who desireth or endeavoureth to open the door to let in such? Nay; do they not rather provoke them to run into the same extravagancies with others by making no difference, but laying load on them as if they were as bad as the worst? It is true that about this time the Lord Keeper Bridgman and Bishop Wilkins, § and the Lord Chief Justice Hale, || were making some overtures towards an accommodation with them; but it is as true, that those overtures did but the more exasperate their adversaries, who were ready to account

* Dean of Hereford, and father of Dr. Nath. Hodges. He had the living of Kensington, and was buried there Aug. 27, 1672. Lysons's *Env. of London*, v. 3, p. 193. Dr. N. Hodges was one of Mr. Henry's contemporaries at Westminster and Oxford. See Mr. Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* vol. 18, p. 24.

† P. Henry. *Diary. Orig. MS.*

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ The grandson of the venerable John Dod, (see post. p. 141.) was born in 1614; ob. 19 Nov. 1672. Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* v. 32, p. 74, &c. And see the *Biog. Brit.* v. 1, p. 637.

|| Sir Matthew was born Nov. 1, 1609, and died 25 Dec. 1676. See his *Life and Works*, 2 vols. oct. 1805.

such moderate men, the worst enemies the Church of England had, and the event was, greater acts of severity.

Another is this,—If all that hath been said and written to prove that prelacy is anti-christian, and that it is unlawful to join in the Common-Prayer, had been effectual to persuade bishops to study, and do the duty of church-rulers, in preaching, and feeding the flock, according to the word, and to persuade people to be serious, inward, and spiritual in the use of forms, it had been much better with the church of God in England, than it now is. Consonant to the spirit of this remark, was that which he took all occasions to mention as his settled principle.—In those things wherein all the people of God are agreed, I will spend my zeal; and wherein they differ I will endeavour to walk according to the light that God hath given me, and charitably believe that others do so too.

CHAPTER VI.

His Liberty by the Indulgence in the Year 1672, and thenceforward to the Year 1681.

NOTWITHSTANDING the severe act against conventicles in the year 1670, yet the nonconformists in London ventured to set up meetings in 1671, and were connived at;* but in the country there was little liberty taken till the King's declaration of March 15, 1671-2, gave countenance and encouragement to it. What were the secret springs which produced that declaration,† time discovered; however, it was to the poor dissenters as life from the dead, and gave them some reviving in their bondage; God graciously ordering it so, that the spirit he had made might not fail before him. But so precarious a liberty was it, that it should never be said, those people were hard to be pleased, who were so well pleased with that, and thanked God, who put such a thing into the King's heart. The tenor of that declaration was this,—In consideration of the inefficacy of rigour, tried for divers years, and to invite strangers into the kingdom, ratifying the Establishment in the Church of England, it suspends penal laws against all nonconformists and recusants, promiseth to license separate places for meetings, limiting papists only to private houses.

On this Mr. Henry writes; "It is a thing diversely resented, as men's interests lead them; the conformists displeased, the presbyterians glad, the independents‡ very glad, the papists triumph. The danger is, saith he, lest the allowing of separate places help to overthrow our parish-order, which God hath owned, and to beget divisions and animosities among us, which no honest heart but would rather should be healed. We are put hereby, saith he, into a trilemma, either to turn independents in practice, or to strike in with

* 1671. Nov. 9. Five London ministers with the King: Dr. Annesley, Mr. Watson, Mr. Whitaker, and the two Vincents; to whom he said,—He was sensible of their straits, and would endeavour their enlargements. Amen. He said,—As he would not willingly be persecuted himself for his own religion, so neither did he like to persecute others for their's. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† See it at length in Neal's Hist. v. 4, p. 461, &c. *ut supra*.

‡ In two things the independents are to be commended,—they keep up discipline among them; they love, and correspond one with another. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

the conformists, or to sit down in former silence and sufferings, (and silence he accounted one of the greatest sufferings,) till the Lord shall open a more effectual door. That which, he saith, he then heartily wished for, was,—That those who were in place, would admit the sober nonconformists to preach sometimes occasionally in their pulpits; by which means he thought prejudices would in time wear off on both sides, and they might mutually strengthen each other's hands against the common enemy,—the papists;* who he foresaw would fish best in troubled waters." This he would choose much rather than to keep a separate meeting. But it could not be had. No, not so much as leave to preach in Whitechapel when it was vacant, as it often was, though it were three long miles from the parish church. He found that some people, the more they are courted, the more coy they are; however, the overtures he made to this purpose, and the slow steps he took towards the setting up of a distinct congregation, yielded him satisfaction afterwards in the reflection, when he could say,—we would have been united, and they would not.

It was several weeks after the declaration came out, that he received a license to preach, as Paul did,† in his own house, and elsewhere, no man forbidding him. This was procured for him by some of his friends in London, without his privity, and came to him altogether unexpected.

[On the King's declaration, his papers contain the following observations:—

All or most of the conformists have said they could not deny us ministers, but not ministers of the Church of England, without episcopal ordination.

By a minister of the Church of England can be meant no other than a minister of Christ authorized to preach in the Church of England.

All the power‡ to be owned in bishops, is derived to them from the King; and, in those things wherein the King hath power in church matters, in those things we may obey the bishops, as his delegates and substitutes.

In King James's time, when four Scotch presbyters were to be consecrated bishops at Lambeth, it was moved that they might first be ordained presbyters again; but it was overruled, being without need.

In our case, the King immediately, without bishops, which is the better, gives us liberty, being already ministers of Christ, to preach in his dominions where he appoints.

* In the debates on the Bill for uniting His Majesty's Protestant Subjects, Dec. 21, 1680, it was remarked, by a Member of the House of Commons, that the Oxford Act, and other laws against Dissenters, were much promoted by Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir Solomon Swale, and Sir Roger Strickland, who since all appeared to be Papists. Coll. of the Parliamentary Debates, from 1668, v. 1, p. 484, oct. 1741.

† See Acts, xxi. 40.

‡ See Hooker's Eccl. Pol. *ut supra*. B. VII. pp. 11, 12, &c.

The law calls the King patron-general of England. His appointing me to preach, supposes I must have hearers, and those, of necessity, out of some parish or other. What we do is to serve the present necessity, and not of choice.

There are many among us debarred by imposition from communicating with freedom in publick in the Lord's Supper; the King takes pity upon them, authorizes one or another to give it in a way wherein they are satisfied. And why not?*

The use he made of it was, that at his own house, what he did before to his own family, and in private, the doors being shut for fear, he now did more publickly; threw his doors open, and welcomed his neighbours to him, to partake of his spiritual things. Only one sermon in the evening of the Lord's day, when there was preaching at Whitewell-chapel, where he still continued his attendance with his family and friends as usual; but when there was not, he spent the whole day, at publick time, in the services of the day, exposition of the scriptures read, and preaching, with prayer and praise. This he did *gratis*, receiving nothing for his labours, either at home or abroad, but the satisfaction of doing good to souls, which was his meat and drink, with the trouble and charge of giving entertainment of many of his friends, which he did with much cheerfulness; and he would say, he sometimes thought that the bread did even multiply in the breaking; and he found that God did abundantly bless his provision with that blessing, which, as he used to say, will make a little to go a great way. He was wont to observe, for the encouragement of such as had meetings in their houses, which sometimes drew upon them inconveniences,—That the ark is a guest, that always pays well for its entertainment. And he noted, that when Christ had borrowed Peter's boat to preach a sermon out of it, he presently repaid him for the loan, with a *great draught of fishes*, Luke, v. 3, 4.

Many thoughts of heart he had concerning this use he made of the liberty, not knowing what would be in the end hereof; but after serious consideration, and many prayers, he saw his way very plain before him, and addressed himself with all diligence to the improvement of this gale of opportunity.† Some had dismal apprehensions of the issue of it; and that there would be an after-reckoning. But, saith he, let us mind our duty, and let God alone to order events, which are his work, not our's.

It was a word upon the wheels, which he preached at that time for his own encouragement, and the encouragement of his friends, from that Scripture, Ecclesiastes, xi. 4, *He that observes the wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.*

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Opportunity is the flower and cream of time. All opportunity is time, but all time is not opportunity. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

See the "Gale of Opportunity;" a Sermon, preached at Lidbury North, at the Funeral of the Worshipful Humphrey Walcot, of Walcot, Esq. June 8, 1650; by Thomas Froyssell, Minister of the Gospel at Clun, in Shropshire. dnod. 1658.

Those that are minded either to do good, or get good, must not be frightened with seeming difficulties and discouragements. Our work is to sow and reap, to do good and get good; and let us mind that, and let who will mind the winds and clouds. *A lion in the way, a lion in the streets*;* a very unlikely place, he would say, for lions to be in; and yet that serves the sluggard for an excuse.

[In one of his diaries, in reference to this subject, he thus writes:—"I had occasion to discover another of the sins which do so easily beset me, and that is fearfulness. I am often afraid where no fear is. Dr. Hammond observes,—In evil times it fares best with them that are most careful about duty, and least about safety.

"To be afraid where no fear is, is sometimes the sin of God's people, and oftentimes the punishment of wicked men." Proverbs, xxviii. 1. †

Thus diligently did he watch against evil, and excite himself to activity in his master's service.]

While this liberty lasted, he was *in labours more abundant*; many lectures he preached abroad in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, ‡ laying out himself exceedingly for the good of souls, spending and being spent in the work of the Lord. And of that neighbourhood and of that time it was said, that this and that man was born again, then and there; and many there were who asked the way to Sion, with their face thitherwards, and were (not proselyted to a party, but) savingly brought home to Jesus Christ. I mean this; such as had been vain and worldly, and careless, and mindless of God and another world, became sober, and serious, and concerned about their souls, and a future state. This was the conversion of souls, aimed at, and laboured after, and through grace, not altogether in vain.

Whatever lectures were set up in the country round, it was still desired that Mr. Henry would begin them, (which was thought no small encouragement to those who were to carry them on,) and very happy he was, both in the choice and management of his subjects at such opportunities, seeking to find out acceptable words. Take one specimen of his address, when he began a lecture with a

* See the Outlines of a Sermon by Mr. P. Henry on this passage, in the *Evan. Mag.* v. xxii. p. 512.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Particularly Wrexham. In 1672 he has recorded a circumstance, which, while locally interesting, is illustrative of his own character, and fraught with instruction:—I said to Mrs. Figes, in my own house, speaking of the offence taken at the meeting-place in Wrexham being a barn, that,—wheat in a barn is better than chaff in a church. Her brother, Stephen Morhal, hearing it, told some, who told others, and it reached Dr. Fowler, who, a sabbath or two after, took notice of it in the pulpit, and said,—“There are some who, in the abundance of their humility, have said, lately, that there is nothing but chaff in churches; whereas chaff is rather to be looked for in barns,”—or, to that purpose. Whereby, I see how words, innocently spoken, may be perverted; but I, as a *deaf man*, heard not; for, I said, Lord, thou hearest. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

sermon on Hebrews, xii. 15. "I assure you, saith he, and God is my witness, I am not come to preach, either sedition against the peace of the state, or schism against the peace of the church, by persuading you to this or that opinion or party; but as a minister of Christ, that hath received mercy from the Lord, to desire to be faithful, my errand is to exhort you to all possible seriousness in the great business of your eternal salvation, according to my text, which if the Lord will make as profitable to you, as it is material and of weight in itself, neither you nor I shall have cause to repent our coming hither, and our being here to day; looking diligently, lest any of you fail of the grace of God. If it were the last sermon I were to preach, I did not know how to take my aim better to do you good.*

In doing of this work, he often said, that he looked upon himself but as an assistant to the parish ministers, in promoting the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls, by the explication and application of those great truths, wherein we are all agreed. And he would compare the case to that in Hezekiah's time, when the Levites helped the priests to kill the sacrifice, which was something of an irregularity, but the exigence of affairs called for it; the priests being too few, and some of them not so careful as they should have been, to sanctify themselves; (see 2 Chronicles, xxix. 34 :) and wherever he preached, he usually prayed for the parish minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry. He hath often said how well pleased he was, when, after he had preached a lecture at Oswestry, he went to visit the minister of the place, Mr. Edwards,† a worthy good man, and told him, he had been sowing a handful of seed among his people, and had this answer,—That's well, the Lord prosper your seed and mine too, there is need enough of us both. And another worthy conformist that came privately to hear him, but was reprimanded for it by his superiors, told him afterwards with tears, that his heart was with him.

His heart was wonderfully enlarged in his work at this time, the fields were white upon the harvest; and he was busy, and God did remarkably own him, setting many seals to his ministry, which much confirmed him in what he did. He hath this observable passage in his Diary, about this time, which he recorded for his after benefit, and the example of it may be instructive.—Remember that if trouble should come hereafter, for what we do now in the use of present liberty, I neither shrink from it, nor sink under it; for I do therein approve myself to God, and to my own conscience, in truth and uprightness; and the Lord whom I serve, can and will certainly both bear me out, and bring me off with comfort in the end. I say, Remember, and forget it not, this 24th day of March, 1672-3.

* Appendix, No. XV.

† Ejected from Christleton, in Cheshire. He afterwards conformed. See the *Noncon. Mem.* v. 1, p. 340, *ut supra*.

It was at the beginning of this liberty, that the society at Broad Oak did commence; made up, besides their neighbourhood, of some out of Whitchurch, and Whitchurch parish, that had been Mr. Porter's people, some out of Hanmer parish, that had been Mr. Steel's, and some out of the parishes of Wem, Prees, and Ellesmere. Persons generally of very moderate and sober principles, quiet and peaceable lives, and hearty well-wishers to the king and government; and not rigid or schismatical in their separation, but willing to attend, though sometimes with difficulty and hazard, upon those administrations which they found most lively and edifying, and most helpful to them, in the great business of working out their salvation. To this society he would never call himself a pastor, nor was he willing that they should call him so; but a helper, and a minister of Christ for their good. He would say, —That he looked upon his family only as his charge, and his preaching to others was but accidental, whom if they came, he could no more turn away, than he could a poor hungry man, that should come to his door for an alms. And being a minister of Jesus Christ, he thought himself bound to preach the gospel, as he had opportunity.

[His epistolary communications, as well as his publick preaching, bore upon this object, as is manifest from the following letter; which also corroborates the testimony borne of him as to the poor. The souls of such, he would say, are as precious as the souls of the rich.

To John Beard and Jane Camberbach.

Loving Friends;

Though the superscription be only to one of you, yet the letter is intended to you both. God having in his providence cast your lot to be fellow-servants in the same family. I hope you are, according to your opportunities, mutually helpful to each other in your way to heaven; it is a narrow way, and an up-hill way, but it is the way to life, and few find it, and fewer walk in it: if God hath given you to be of those few, he hath done that for you which should for ever engage your hearts to him, and for which you have great cause to be thankful, and to say with Judas, not Iscariot, John, xiv. 22. *Lord, how is it!*—I doubt not but your hands are full of the employments of your particular calling, and it ought to be so* in obedience to the will of God appointing you to it, and

* There dwelled in his parish a tanner, a very godly man, and one that had much communion with my father. This man, as he was very busie tawing of a hide with all his might, (not so much as turning aside his head any way,) my father, coming by accidentally, came behind him, and merrily gave him a little clap upon the back; he started; and, looking behind him suddenly, blushed.—“Sir,” saith he, “I am ashamed you should find me thus.” To whom my father said again,—“Let Christ, when he comes, find me so doing!” “What,” says the man, “doing thus?”—“Yes,” saith my father to him, “faithful in the duties of my calling.” The tomb-stone, or, a broken and imperfect monument, of that worthy man, the Rev. John Carter, p. 15, duod. 1653.

that the tempter may find you busy, but it is a good question you should be often putting to yourselves,—Where is the *mind* now? They only are *too* busy that lose God in their business, if you abide with him and walk with him, and live to him, doing what you do in his name and fear, and as in his sight, *not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart as to the Lord*, you may be assured you are, in Jesus Christ, accepted of him, and shall as certainly receive the reward of the inheritance, as any other in the world; wherefore encourage yourselves and one another with these words. Let the things of the other world be real things in your account and esteem; see heaven and hell before you, and believe every thought, word, and work, *now* is so much seed sown that, according as it is, will be sure to come up again, either in corruption, or in life eternal. I know not how it is with you at present, as to your liberties for worship, but you had a day of it; and, were you diligent? Have you provided meat in summer? Did you gather food in harvest? If aye, bless God; if no, reflect with grief and shame, and make peace, and *up yet, and be doing*;* it is no small measure of guilt that rises from our neglect of opportunities when God puts them as a price into our hand. I am glad to hear that you, Jane, have been in fellowship at the table of the Lord; remember the vows of God that are upon you, and also the covenant of God there sealed with you, the former for your establishment, the latter for your comfort. And I hope that you, John, either have already, or will speedily apply yourself to it, considering it is not privilege only,—if so, it were another matter,—but *duty*, and while you live without it, having opportunity for it, let the pretence be what it will,—awe and reverence towards it, sense of your own unworthiness, or whatever else,—you live in a sin of omission, and that of a known duty, a great duty, a sweet duty, made so by the command of a dear and dying Redeemer, saying,—*Do this, and,—do it in remembrance of me*. We commend our love to you both. God everlasting be your Sun and Shield, Father and Friend, Part and Portion. Amen!

So prays,

Broad Oak, Flint,
March 24, 1674-5.

Your's, in true affection,

PHILIP HENRY.

For John Beard,
At Mr. Bray's House,
In Worcester. †]

Usually once a month he administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Some of his opportunities of that kind he sets a particular remark upon, as sweet sealing days, on which he found it good to draw near to God.

* See 1 Chron. xxii. v. 16. A valuable note upon the phrase occurs in Mr. Dibdin's *Ædes Althorp*. v. 1, p. ix.

† Orig. MS.

When, about the year's end, there was a general expectation of the cancelling of the indulgence, he hath this note upon a precious sabbath and sacrament day, as he calls it;—"Perhaps this may be the last; *Father, thy will be done*; it is good for us to be at such uncertainties; for now we receive our liberty from our Father fresh every day, which is best and sweetest of all."

[In the spring and summer of 1673, he preached over, at Broad Oak, the parable of the Prodigal Son, in about forty sermons, in which it pleased the Lord wonderfully to assist and succeed him. Many who got good to their souls by those sermons, earnestly desired the publishing of them, and he was almost persuaded; but his modesty proved invincible, and it was never done.

He preached over the several articles of the new covenant, Hebrews, viii. 10, &c. in the year 1674.

When an end was put to that gleam of liberty, which had continued about three years, he was preaching upon the parable of the barren fig-tree, Luke, xiii. 6, &c. *These three years do I come seeking fruit*, and observed how the word of God was fulfilled,—though not cut down, yet cut short,—in opportunities.

However, after a year or two, there was such a general connivance of authority, that the meetings grew again as full as ever, especially at Broad Oak, the neighbouring magistrates of Flintshire being very civil, and not willing to give trouble to one who was so very peaceable and obliging,—for which he would often give thanks to God who hath the hearts of all men in his hands.*]

On the 3rd of March, 1676-7, being Saturday night, the town of Wem, in Shropshire, about six miles from him, was burnt down;† the church, market-house, and about one hundred and twenty-six dwelling houses, and one man, in little more than an hour's time, the wind being exceeding violent; at which time Mr. Henry was very helpful to his friends there, both for their support under, and their improvement of this sad providence. It was but about half a year before, that a threatening fire had broke out in that town, but did little hurt; some serious people there presently after celebrated a thanksgiving for their deliverance, in which Mr. Henry imparted to them a spiritual gift, October 3, 1676, from Zechariah, iii. 2, *Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?* In the close of that sermon, pressing them, from the consideration of that remarkable deliverance, to personal reformation and amendment of life: that those who had been proud, covetous, passionate, liars, swearers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, would be so no more; and urging Ezra, ix. 13, 14, he added,—If this providence have not this effect upon you, you may in reason expect another fire: for when God judgeth, he will overcome; and minded them of Leviticus, xxvi., where it is so often threatened against those who walk contrary to God, that he would *punish them yet seven times more*. The

* Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

† See the History of Wem, by the Rev. S. Garbet, A. M. p. 223, &c. oct. 1818.

remembrance of this could not but be affecting, when, in so short a time after, the whole town was laid in ruins. The first time he went thither after that calamity, a neighbouring justice, having notice of it, sent to forbid him to preach, to his own grief, as well as to the grief of many others, who came expecting. But, saith he in his Diary, there was a visible sermon before us, the ruins preaching, that sin is an evil thing, and God a terrible God. However, a few days after, he got an opportunity of preaching to them a word in season, which some will not forget, from Hosea, vi. 1,—*Come, and let us return unto the Lord, for he hath torn*——. And at the return of the year, when the town was in the re-building, he gave them another very suitable sermon, from Proverbs, iii. 33. *The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked, but he blesseth the habitation of the just*. Though it be rising again, saith he in his Diary, out of its ashes, yet the burning of it should not be forgotten, especially not the sin that kindled it. He often prayed for them, that the fire might be a refining fire.

In the years 1677, 1678, and 1679, in the course of his ministry at Broad Oak, he preached over the Ten Commandments, and largely opened from other texts of Scripture, the duties required, and sins forbidden, in each commandment. For though none delighted more than he in preaching Christ and gospel-grace; yet he knew that Christ came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil; and that, though, through grace, we are not under the law, as a covenant; yet we are under it as a rule, under the law to Christ. He was very large and particular in pressing second table duties, as essential to Christianity. We have known those, saith he, that have called preaching on such subjects, good moral preaching; but let them call it as they will, I am sure it is necessary, and as much now as ever. How earnestly would he press upon the people the necessity of righteousness and honesty in their whole conversation. A good christian, he used to say, will be a good husband, a good father, and a good master, and a good subject, and a good neighbour, and so in other relations. How often would he urge to this purpose, that it is the will and command of the great God, the character of all the citizens of Sion, the beauty and ornament of our christian profession; and the surest way to thrive and prosper in the world. Honesty is the best policy. He would say, that these are things in which the children of this world are competent judges. They that know not what belongs to faith, and repentance, and prayer, yet know what belongs to the making of an honest bargain: they are also parties concerned, and oftentimes are themselves careful in these things; and, therefore, those who profess religion, should walk very circumspectly, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, nor religion wounded through their sides.

[How sensible he was of the dislike frequently felt to practical preaching, as well as of the importance of such preaching, appears in the following extract. Having explained, in a course of sermons, the

Redeemer's sayings, as recorded in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew's Gospel, he pressed, in his last discourse, the importance, the necessity, of *doing*, as well as hearing, from the divine assurance,—that a stormy day is coming shortly, when hearers *only* will be found fools, and suffer loss; whereas hearers *and* doers will be owned for wise people, and will have the comfort of it. “What a do,” he remarks some one will object, “is here about doing; doing!” “If I had preached,” he proceeds, “these sermons, I know where, I had certainly been called a legal preacher, if not a papist, a jesuit, a preacher of works; and some would have said, we will never hear him again. If to preach on these things *be* legal preaching, then our Lord himself was a legal preacher, for you see they were *his* sayings all along that I took for my text to each sermon. Such a preacher as he was may I be, in my poor measure. I cannot write after a better copy. I cannot tread in better steps. His sayings must be *done*, as well as heard, that we may answer his end in saying them which was to promote holiness,—that we may approve ourselves his true kindred,—that God may be glorified,—that our profession may be beautified,—and that our building may stand. But they must be done *aright*. The tree must be good. All must be done by faith, and in the name of the Lord Jesus. Hebrews, xi. 6. Colossians, iii. 17,—with evenness and constancy,—with humility and self-denial,—in charity,—and with perseverance, and continuance.”

Do all you do as those who are under a covenant of grace, which, though it requires perfect, yet accepts of sincere obedience.* While the hand is doing, let the eye be looking at Jesus Christ, both for assistance and acceptance. This is the life of faith. Be resolved in duty. Look often at the recompence of reward.†]

Thus he preached, and his constant practice was a comment upon it. One thing I remember, he was more than ordinarily enlarged in the pressing of, which was,—upon the ninth commandment,—to *speak evil of no man*, from Titus, iii. 2. If we can say no good of persons, we must say nothing of them. He gave it as a rule.—Never to speak of any one's faults to others, till we have first spoken of them to the offender himself. He was himself an eminent example of this rule. Some that have conversed much with him, have said, That they never heard him speak evil of any body; nor could he bear to hear any spoken evil of, but often drove away a back-biting tongue with an angry countenance.‡ He was known

* Sincerity is all in all. It is all in all our prayers; all in all our tears; all in all our services. It is all to God,—that which God accounts all. Sincerity is gospel perfection. The Dead Saint speaking to Saints and Sinners living, by Samuel Bolton, D. D. p. 298, fol. 1657.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ He that backbites with his tongue wounds four at once; he wounds the good name of his neighbour, which is dearer to him than the apple of his eye; he wounds the name of God, religion suffers, when those who profess it thus backbite each other; he wounds his own soul, brings the guilt of a great sin upon his own soul, which he must certainly answer for; he wounds love in him that hears it, so that the esteem of his brother is lessened. P. Henry. Mrs. Savage's MS.

to be as faithful a patron of offenders before others, as he was a faithful reprover of them to themselves.

Whenever he preached of moral duties, he would always have something of Christ in his sermon; either his life, as the great pattern of the duty, or his love, as the great motive to it; or his merit, as making atonement for the neglect of it.

[Thus, in pressing moral duties, he observed that,—To an acceptable act of obedience, it is necessary that the principle be right, which is a *habit* of true grace in the heart. There must also be a knowledge of, and respect to, the will of God, as well as freedom, cheerfulness, and delight in doing it, in opposition to forced obedience. We are not to be haled to duty as a bear to a stake; but we are to do it voluntarily and pleasantly. There must also be faith* in Jesus Christ, both for strength to do, and for acceptance when we have done. And, withal, a single eye to God's glory.†

With a view to chronological arrangement, the narrative may be here interrupted by the introduction of the following epistle.

I have lately met, remarks Mr. Henry's biographer, with a letter of his to a couple related to him, who, in a very short time, had buried all their children of the small-pox, to their great grief; it was in the year 1679. What comfort and counsels he administered to them, may be of use to others in their afflictions, and, therefore, I shall transcribe the whole letter, though it be long.

Dear Cousins;

This is to you both, whom God hath made one in the conjugal relation, and who are also one in the present affliction; only to signify to you that we do heartily sympathize with you in it. The trial is, indeed, sharp, and there will be need of all the wisdom and grace you have, and of all the help of friends you can get, both to bear, and to improve it aright. You must bear it with silence and submission. *Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have borne chastisement.* He is Sovereign Lord of all, and may do with us, and our's, as pleaseth him. It is not for the clay to quarrel with the potter. It was a mercy you had children, and comfort with them so long; it is a mercy that yet you have one another,‡ and your children are not lost, but gone before, a little before, whither you yourselves are hastening after. And if a storm be coming, (as God grant it be not,) it is best with them that first put into the harbour. Your children are taken away from the evil to come, and you must not

* Look, what oyle is to the wheels, what weights are to the clock, what wings are to the bird, what sailes are to the ship,—that *faith* is to all religious duties and services. Heaven on Earth, by Thomas Brooks, duod. 1657, p. 342.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ If God should have riven the tree asunder, I meane, severed you one from another, it must have been taken thankfully; but, much more, when he leaveth the tree, and taketh but the fruit. Bayne's Christian Letters, *ut supra*, p. 127.

mourn as they that have no hope. Sensible you cannot but be, but dejected, and sullen you must not be; that will but put more bitterness into the cup, and make way for another, perhaps a sharper stroke. You must not think, and I hope you do not, that there cannot be a sharper stroke; for God hath many arrows in his quiver; he can heat the furnace seven times hotter, and again, and again, seven times hotter, till he hath consumed us; and if he should do so, yet still we must say, he hath *punished us less than our iniquities have deserved*. For examples of patience in the like kind, we have two eminent ones in the book of God, those are Job, and Aaron; of the latter it is said, Leviticus, x. 3., *He held his peace*; and that which quieted him, was what his brother Moses said to him. *This is that which the Lord hath said, I will be sanctified*; and if God be sanctified, Aaron is satisfied; if God have glory from it, Aaron hath nothing to say against it. Of the former it is said, Job, i. 20, *he fell down*, but it was to *worship*; and we are told how he expressed himself, *The Lord gave, &c.* He acknowledgeth God in all: and, indeed, after all, this is it (my dear cousins) that you must satisfy yourselves with under the sad providence, that the Lord hath done it, and the same will that ordered the thing itself,* ordered all the circumstances of it; and who are we that we should dispute with our Maker? *Let the potsherds strive with the potsherds of the earth, but let not the thing formed, say to him that formed it,—Why hast thou made me thus?* And as for the improvement of this affliction, (which, I hope, both of you earnestly desire, for it is a great loss to lose such a providence, and not to be made better by it,) I conceive there are four lessons which it should teach you, and they are good lessons, and should be well learned, for the advantage of them is unspeakable. 1. It should for ever *embitter sin to you*; you know what she said to the prophet, 1 Kings, xvii. 18. *Art thou come to call my sins to remembrance, and to slay my son?* It is sin, sin that is the old kill-friend, the Jonah that hath raised this storm, the Achan that hath troubled your house; then how should you grow in your hatred of it, and endeavours against it, that you may be the death of that which hath been the death of your dear children? I say the death of it, for nothing less will satisfy the true penitent, than the death of such a malefactor. 2. It should be a *spur† to you, to put you on in heaven's way*; it may be you were growing remiss in duty, beginning to slack your former pace in religion, and your heavenly Father saw it, and was grieved at it, and sent this sad providence to be your monitor, to tell you, you should remember whence you are fallen, and do your first works, and be more humble, and holy, and heavenly, self-

* The will of God's purpose, is the rule of all his actions; the will of his precept is the rule of all our actions. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Therefore, sickness, weepings, sorrow, mourning, and, in conclusion, all adversities, be unto us as *spurs*: with the which, we being dull horses, or, rather, very asses, are forced not to remain long in this transitory way. A Meditation touching Adversity, made by Lady Mary's Grace, 1549. Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 3, p. 552, oct. ed. 1823.

denying, and watchful, abounding always in the work of the Lord. Oh, blessed are they that come out of such a furnace thus refined; they will say hereafter, it was a happy day for them that ever they were put in. 3. You must learn by it, as long as you live, *to keep your affections in due bounds towards creature-comforts*. How hard is it to love, and not to *over* love; to delight in children, or yoke-fellows, and not *over* delight; now God is a jealous God, and will not give his glory to any other; and our excess this way doth often provoke him to remove that mercy from us, which we do thus make an idol of; and our duty is to labour when he doth so, to get that matter amended, and to rejoice in all our enjoyments with trembling, and as if we rejoiced not. 4. It should be a means of drawing *your hearts and thoughts more upwards and homewards*; I mean your everlasting home. You should be looking oftener now than before into the other world. *I shall go to him*, saith David, when his little son was gone before. It is yet but a little while ere all the things of time shall be swallowed up in eternity. And the matter is not great whether we or our's die first, while we are all dying; in the midst of life we are in death:—*What manner of persons then ought we to be!** Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, be your support under, and do you good by this dispensation, and give you a name better than that of sons and daughters. We are daily mindful of you at the throne of grace, in our poor measure, and dearly recommended to you, &c.†

In answer to the inquiry,—How are we to glorify God in our afflictions? he replied, Own and acknowledge sin to be the cause, and give glory to God. Own him as the author of your sufferings; acknowledge the mercies left with all thankfulness. See what has been amiss, and when you have found it, turn again unto the Lord.‡ Glorify him by patience, and quietness, and cheerful submission unto his will. Ply the throne of grace. Believe, and wait for a good issue. Hold fast your integrity.§

On another occasion it being asked,—When are we inordinately dejected and disquieted under afflicting providences? He answered,—When we grieve beyond the nature of the thing for which we grieve. When we are *wearied* and *faint in our minds*. When we grieve as those that *have no hope*. When we are unfitted for the

* 2 Peter, iii. 11. It is a word of admiration,—What manner of holiness should we use,—*looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of the Lord*, that is, dispatching and doing all for our lives against that day. Our lives should, as it were, be in a hurry after the day of judgment, as those that are to remove at quarter day, they hasten to do all against the time. Dr. Goodwin. Works. v. 6. p. 39. fol. 1704.

† Transposed from p. 177. Life. 3d. edit.

‡ Get repentance by an affliction, and then you may look on it as traffick, and not as a trouble, like a merchant's voyage, which hath pain in the way, but treasure in the end. No afflictions can hurt him that is penitent. Bishop Reynolds on Hosea. Works. p. 732, *ut supra*.

§ P. Henry. from Mrs. Savage's MS.

duties of our calling. When we are hindered from worshipping and rejoicing in God. When our grief exceeds bounds,—in continuing *too long*. 1 Samuel, xvi. 1.*]

In the year 1680 he preached over the doctrines of faith and repentance from several texts of scripture. He used to say, that he had been told concerning the famous Mr. Dod,† that some called him in scorn, faith and repentance; because he insisted so much upon those two,‡ in all his preaching. But, saith he, if this be to be vile, I will be yet more vile; for faith and repentance are all in all in Christianity.

[Illustrating the nature of faith, he would observe that,—We must take hold of Christ, as a man that is sinking in deep waters takes hold of a bough, or cord, or plank. We must see him to be the only way, and rest on him accordingly. We must see ourselves pursued by the justice of God, and see him to be the only altar. As the guilty malefactor took hold of the city of refuge. As a besieged garrison takes hold of terms when offered. As a man takes hold of an arm that is going to strike him, so must we resort to and accept of Christ. Plainly thus; there are three things in believing.—The sight and sense of our sin and misery.—Assent to the testimony given in the word concerning Christ, believing that though I am a great sinner, yet he is a *great* Saviour.—Application of him to ourselves, consenting to take him to be our's, and we to be his,—to be ruled by him, and saved by him.§]

Concerning repentance he hath sometimes said, “If I were to die in the pulpit, I would desire to die preaching repentance; as if I die out of the pulpit, I would desire to die practising repentance. And he had often this saying concerning repentance. He that repents every day, for the sins of every day,|| when he comes to die, will have the sins but of one day to repent of.¶ Even reckonings make long friends. [Speaking of Luke, xxii. 62, concerning Peter, he would say,—Peter's sin is recorded for our admonition, his repentance for our imitation.**]

[On this christian duty he further remarks. It is not required to make us precious to Christ, but to make Christ precious to us, and when it does that, then are we humbled to divine acceptance, though not to divine satisfaction. Sorrow is sin's echo, but as the echo answers the voice best where there are broken walls and ruined

* P. Henry. from Mrs. Savage's MS.

† Nat. 1549. ob. 1645. æt. 96. Clarke's *Lives*, annexed to his *Martyrologie*. p. 168, &c. *ut supra*.

‡ Mr. Hieron, noticing his own preaching, thus expressed himself. “I have but two things to teach; faith towards God, and a holy life. In one of these two I must still insist.” Works. p. 323. fol. 1624.

§ From Mrs. Savage's MS.

|| The dalliness of sin must be bewailed with the dalliness of sorrow. Bishop Taylor. Cited in his *Life* prefixed to Bishop Heber's edition of his Works. p. clvii. *ut supra*.

¶ Sayth Seint Augustine, penance of good and humble folk is the penance of every day. Chancer's *Canterbury Tales*, by T. Tyrwhitt, Esq. vol. 2. p. 283. 4to. 1798. *The Persones Tale*.

** Diary. Orig. MS.

buildings to return it, so does sorrow when reverberated by a broken ruined heart. That eye weeps most which looks oftenest on the Sun of Righteousness.* Though we cannot wash in innocency, yet we must wash in penitency.† The ingredients of true repentance are,—heartly sorrow, particular confession, faith in Christ, and general amendment.‡ When we set our sins before our faces in repentance and confession, God casts them behind his back in pardon and remission; but if we carelessly cast them behind our back, God justly sets them before his face.§]

That year also, and the year 1681, he preached over the duties of hearing the word and prayer; of the former, from the parable of the four sorts of ground; of the latter, from Luke, xi. 1, &c. when he preached over the Lord's Prayer in above thirty excellent and elaborate discourses. He looked upon the Lord's Prayer, to be not only a directory or pattern || for prayer, but, according to the advice of the Assembly of Divines, proper to be used as a form; ¶ and, accordingly, he often used it both in publick and in his family. And as he thought it was an error on the one hand to lay so much stress upon it as some do, who think no solemn prayer accepted, nor any solemn ordinance or administration of worship complete without it, and so repeat it five or six times, and perhaps oftener, at one meeting; so he thought it an error on the other hand not to use it at all; since it is a prayer, a compendious, comprehensive prayer, and may be of use to us, at least as other scripture prayers; but he thought it a much greater error to be angry at those who do use it, to judge and censure them, and for no other reason to conceive prejudices against them and their ministry. A great strait, saith he, poor ministers are in, when some will not hear them, if they do not use the Lord's Prayer, and others will not hear them if they do.** What is to be done in this case? We must walk according to the light we have, and approve ourselves to God, either in using or not using it, and wait for the day when God will end the matter; which I hope he will do in his own due time.

He was in the close of his exposition of the Lord's Prayer, when a dark cloud was brought upon his assemblies, and he was necessitated to contract his sails.

[In the year 1680, his son and biographer, Mr. Matthew Henry, having nearly completed his eighteenth year, was conducted to London, together with his relation and friend, Mr. Robert Bosier,

* P. Henry. Com. Pl. Book. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. Mem. of Mrs. Savage, *ut supra*. p. 217.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ P. Henry. Life of Lieut. Illidge, by Matth. Henry. Misc. Works. p. 852.

|| See "A Guide to goe to God, or an explanation of the perfect Patternne of Prayer, the Lord's Prayer," by [Dr.] W. Gouge. 4to. 1636.

¶ See the larger Catechism argued upon by the Assembly of Divines. 4to. 187. And their Directory for publick worship. ed. 1793. p. 539.

** See Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge, published by Mr. Stedman. pp. 14. 15. and Dr. Doddridge's Exposition on Luke, xi. 1. 12. n. d.

and placed under the care of that "holy, faithful, minister, Mr. Thomas Doolittle, who then lived at Islington."* This event gave rise to the following letters.

From the Rev. Philip Henry, to Mr. Matthew Henry.

My Dear Child ;

Your letter to me I received, and your mother, also her's. In the former, an account of your being busy, at which we were glad ; in the latter, of your being not well, and that troubles us ; but we are in hope, that this night's post will bring us better tidings. However, we desire to acquiesce in the will of God, in whose hand *our times* are, and at whose disposal are all our ways ; who doth always that which is just and righteous, always that which is best to those who love him. I am at Boreatton, where I expected your mother this morning, as we appointed, but, instead of coming herself, she sends Roger with your two letters, and her desire to me to answer them from hence by way of Shrewsbury. They are all well, blessed be God, both there and here. My Lord Paget intended to have gone from hence to-morrow, which hastened me hither a week sooner than I expected, and caused a failure at home yesterday, no chapel-day ; but his stay, now, is till next week. I am comforted, that you acknowledge God in your distemper, and are prepared to receive, with patience, what he appoints. The two last subjects we were upon when you left Broad Oak,—faith and repentance,—I hope were made profitable to you. He that truly repents of sin, and truly believes in the Lord Jesus Christ, nothing can come amiss to him ; things present are his, things to come are his ; life, death ; this world, and the other world. Though you are at a distance from us, you are near to him, who, according to his promise, is a present help, to those that fear him, in every time of need. Our poor prayers for you, you may be sure, are not, shall not, be wanting,—that, if the Lord please, you may have health to ply the work you came about, that you may serve the will of God in your generation ; if otherwise, that you may be satisfied in what he doth ; and so we, by his grace, shall endeavour to be also. Commend us to Mr. Doolittle, and his wife, whose tender love to you, and care concerning you, we shall always acknowledge with all thankfulness ; also to Cousin Robert,† who, I know, will help to bear your burden

* Life of Matt. Henry, p. 26, *ut supra*. It may be thought, indeed, that he who taught his daughter Hebrew at seven years of age, had little occasion to send his son from under the paternal roof, in order to prepare him for the church ; but Philip Henry was a publick spirited man, and he found that his frequent labours in the ministry were incompatible with the constant attentions which education indispensably requires. Hist. of Dissenters. v. 2. p. 291. A list of Mr. Doolittle's pupils may be seen in Dr. Toulmin's Historical View, p. 584.

† Robert Bosier.

The Lord Almighty bless you, my dear child, and cause his face to shine upon you, and send us good news in your next concerning you. Amen. This, from

Your loving father,

Aug. 16, 1680.

P. H.*

From the Rev. Philip Henry, to Mr. Robert Bosier.

August 28, 1680.

Dear Cousin;

I received your's, of August 24; the former part whereof, which was concerning yourself, gave cause for a great deal of joy and thankfulness to our good God, that you are so well pleased in your present circumstances of improvement; and, I hope, will be so more and more. I like it well, that you are put upon the exercise of your gifts, which is the ready way to increase, and add to them; for, *to him that hath, shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly*; and, I doubt not, but, if you set about it, in the strength of the divine grace, and not in your own strength, you will find that grace both ready to you, and sufficient for you. Your Concordance I forbear to send till I hear from you again. Notes upon the Galatians, &c. I have none yet, else you should have them. Strive not to be large, but concise, and close, and substantial, wherein, here, you wanted an example. I pray, be careful, in a special manner, about secret communion; for, you know, as *that* is kept up, or falls, accordingly the *soul prospers*. Do not over-tire yourself with study, especially by candle; fair and softly goes far. Though you do well to bewail your loss of precious time, yet, blessed be God for what you have redeemed; and, though it is true, as things are with you, *now* is your time, if ever, to be *busy*; yet health and strength must be considered, and nothing done to over-drive.

The latter part of your letter, which was concerning Matthew, gave us some trouble, yet, I thank you, that you were so large and particular in it. We have freely yielded him up, and our interest in him, as well as we can, to our Heavenly Father; and his will be done! I have written to him, as you will see,—if he be willing and able, and there be cause, with advice of friends,—to hasten home; and, if he must so leave you, it will be an instance,—that man purposes, but God disposes.

Present my dear love and respects to Mr. Doolittle, and to his wife, to whom I am much obliged for their kindness, which I shall ever acknowledge, whatever the event be. Fail not to write as there may be occasion. Here is room only to tell you, that we are all remembered to you; and, particularly, that I am,

Your true friend,

P. H.

This was intended for the superscription, but the paper being thin, I chose to enclose it. My two last sabbaths' absence hence, so quickly after the former three, at London, though I designed it not, hath caused reports, as if we had quite done, but I hope it is not so. To-morrow, God willing, we shall set the plough in again, begging of God, that late intermissions may quicken desires, and make the word so much the sweeter. Concerning Matthew I know not what to say more than I have said. The Lord prepare and fit us for evil tidings! I will not say, our *life is bound up in the life of the lad*, but much of the comfort of our life is; and yet, Father, *thy will be done!* Our cisterns may, and will, dry up, first or last, but our Fountain remains for ever.*]

* Orig. MS.

CHAPTER VII.

The Rebukes he lay under, at Broad Oak; between the Years 1680 and 1687.

IN the beginning of the year 1681, in April and May, the country was greatly afflicted and threatened by an extreme drought; there was no rain for several weeks, the grass failed. Corn, that was sown, languished; and much, that was intended to be sown, could not. The like had not been known for many years. It was generally apprehended that a dearth would ensue, especially in that country, which is for the most part dry. And now it was *time to seek the Lord*; and, according to his own appointment, to *ask of him rain in the season thereof*. Several serious thinking people being together at the funeral of that worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Malden, it was there said, how requisite it was that there should be some time set apart on purpose for fasting and prayer, in a solemn assembly, upon this occasion. Thomas Millington, of Weston, in Hodnet Parish, in Shropshire, desired it might be at his house; and Tuesday, June 14, was the day pitched upon. The connivance of authority was presumed upon, because no disturbance of meetings was heard of at London, or any where else. Mr. Henry was desired to come and give his assistance at that day's work. He asked upon what terms they stood with their neighbouring justices, and it was answered,—“Well enough.” The drought continuing in extremity, some that had not used to come to such meetings, yet came thither upon the apprehensions they had of the threatening judgment, which the country was under. Mr. Edward Bury,* of Bolas, well known by several useful books he hath published, prayed; Mr. Henry prayed,

* 1700. Friday, May 10. This week, old Mr. Bury, of Bolas, in Shropshire, was buried, an aged nonconformist, some time a fellow-labourer and sufferer with my dear father, now gone to his reward;—few left of the old generation. Lord, pour out of thy Spirit on our sons and our daughters! Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS. Mr. Bury was born A.D. 1616. He died May 5, 1700. Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 141, &c.

and preached on Psalm, lvi. 18; — *If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me*; whence his doctrine was,— That iniquity, regarded in the heart, will certainly spoil the success of prayer. When he was in the midst of his sermon, closely applying this truth, Sir T. V.* of Hodnet, and Mr. M.† of Ightfield, two justices of the peace for Shropshire, with several others of their retinue, came suddenly upon them; disturbed them, set guards upon the house door, and came in themselves, severely rallied all they knew, reflected upon the late Honourable House of Commons, and the vote they passed concerning the present unseasonableness of putting the laws in execution against Protestant Dissenters, as if, in so voting, they had acted beyond their sphere, as they did who took away the life of King Charles the First. They diverted themselves with very abusive and unbecoming talk; swearing, and cursing, and reviling bitterly. Being told the occasion of the meeting was to *seek to turn away the anger of God from us* in the present drought, it was answered; —“Such meetings as these were the cause of God’s anger. While they were thus entertaining themselves, their clerks took the names of those that were present, in all, about one hundred and fifty, and so dismissed them for the present. Mr. Henry hath noted, in the account he kept of this event, that the justices came to this good work from the ale-house upon Prees Heath, about two miles off; to which, and the bowling-green adjoining, they, with other justices, gentlemen, and clergymen of the neighbourhood, had long before obliged themselves to come every Tuesday, during the summer time, under the penalty of twelve-pence a time if they were absent; and there to spend the day in drinking and bowling; which is thought to be as direct a violation of the law of the land; viz. the Statute of 33d Henry VIII. Cap. 9, “for debarring unlawful games,” which was never yet repealed, as the meeting was of the Statute of 22d Car. II.; and, as much more to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of the christian profession, as cursing, and swearing, and drunkenness, are worse than praying, and singing psalms, and hearing the word of God.‡ It is supposed the justices knew of the meeting before, and might have prevented it by the least intimation; but they were willing to take the opportunity of making sport to themselves, and trouble to their neighbours. After the feat done, they returned back to the ale-house, and made themselves and their companions merry with calling over the names they had taken, making their reflections as they saw cause; and recounting the particulars of the exploit. There was one of the company, whose wife happened to be present at the meeting, and her name taken among the rest; with which upbraiding him, he answered, that she had been better employed than he

* Sir Thomas Vernon. Orig. MS. P. Henry.

† Charles Mainwaring, Esq. P. Henry. Orig. MS..

‡ See Baxter’s Eng. Noncon. p. 183, 4to. 1690.

was, and if Mr. Henry might be admitted to preach in a church, he would go a great many miles to hear him. For which words he was forthwith expelled their company, and never more to show his face again at that bowling-green; to which he replied,—If they had so ordered long ago, it had been a great deal the better for him and his family. Two days after they met again at Hodnet, where, upon the oath of two witnesses, who, as was supposed, were sent on purpose to inform, they signed and sealed two records of conviction. By one record, they convicted the master of the house, and fined him £20, and £5 more as constable of the town that year; and, with him, all the persons present, whose names they had taken, and fined them 5s. a piece, and issued out warrants accordingly. By another record, they convicted the two ministers, Mr. Bury and Mr. Henry. The Act makes it only punishable to preach, or teach, in any such conventicle; and yet they fined Mr. Bury £20, though he only prayed, and did not speak one word in the way either of preaching or teaching, not so much as,—“Let us pray;” however, they said, “Praying was teaching;”^{*} and, right or wrong, he must be fined; though his great piety, peaceableness, and usefulness, besides his deep poverty, one would think, might have pleaded for him, against so palpable a piece of injustice. They took £7 off from him, and laid it upon others, as they saw cause; and, for the remaining £13, he being utterly unable to pay it, they took from him, by distress, the bed which he lay upon, with blanket and rug; also, another feather bed, nineteen pair of sheets, most of them new; of which he could not prevail to have so much as one pair returned for him to lie in; also, books, to the value of £5, besides brass and pewter. And, though he was at this time perfectly innocent of that heinous crime of preaching and teaching, with which he was charged, (for so the record runs again and again, concerning Mr. Henry and Mr. Bury,—*Quod ad tunc et ibidem precaverunt, predicaverunt et docuerunt*;) yet he had no way to right himself, but by appealing to the justices themselves in quarter sessions, who would be sure to affirm their own decree, as the justices in Montgomeryshire had done not long before in a like case, especially when it was to recover to themselves treble costs. So the good man sat down with his loss, and *took joyfully the spoiling of his goods*; knowing in himself, that he had, *in heaven, a better, and a more enduring substance*.

But Mr. Henry being the greatest criminal,[†] and having done the

^{*} In the case of Robert Collins, A. M. it was contended, that “presbyterian preaching and praying was all one; for they, in their prayers, would undertake to teach Almighty God.” The counsel for the prosecutor prayed the bench to call for a dictionary, and said, “There they would find, that *predicare* and *orare* were the same.” See the Noncon. Mem. v. 2, p. 75, *ut supra*. Also, v. 3, p. 151.

[†] See an Account of the Rev. John Baily. Mather’s History of New England, book iii. p. 233; and Middleton’s Biog. Evang. v. 4, p. 102. oct. 1786.

most mischief, must needs be animadverted upon accordingly; and, therefore, he was fined £40; the pretence of which was this. In the year 1679, October 15, Mr. Kynaston, of Oatly, a justice of peace in Shropshire, meeting him and some others coming, as he supposed, from a conventicle, he was pleased to record their conviction, upon the notorious evidence and circumstances of the fact. The record was filed at Salop the next sessions after, but no notice was ever sent of it, either to Mr. Henry, or the justices of Flintshire; nor any prosecution upon it, against any of the parties charged; (the reason of which, Mr. Henry, in a narrative* he wrote of this affair, supposeth to be not only the then favourable posture of public affairs towards dissenters, but also the particular prudence and lenity of Mr. Kynaston;) so that, having never smarted for this, he could not be supposed to be deterred from the like offence; nor, if he were wronged in that first conviction, had he ever any opportunity of making his appeal. However, the justices being resolved he should have *summum jus*, thought that first record sufficient to give denomination to a second offence, and so he came to be fined double. This conviction, according to the direction of the Act, they certified to the next adjoining justices of Flintshire, who had all along carried themselves with great temper and moderation towards Mr. Henry, and had never given him any disturbance; though, if they had been so minded, they had not wanted opportunities; but they were now necessitated to execute the sentences of the Shropshire justices. It was much pressed upon him to pay the fine, which might prevent his own loss and the justices' trouble. But he was not willing to do it, partly, because he would give no encouragement to such prosecutions, nor voluntarily reward the informers for that which he thought they should rather be punished for; and partly because he thought himself wronged in the doubling of the fine.† Whereupon his goods were distrained upon, and carried away; in the doing of which many passages occurred which might be worth the noting, but, that the repetition of them would perhaps grate, and give offence to some. Let it therefore suffice, waving the circumstances, to remember only that their warrant, not giving them authority to break open doors, nor their watchfulness getting them an opportunity to enter the house, they carried away about thirty-three cart load of goods without doors, corn cut upon the ground, hay, coals, &c. This made a great

* This MS. is entitled, "An Account of the Proceedings against the Rev. Philip Henry, and others, for Preaching and Praying in the House of Mr. Thomas Milington, of Weston, in the Parish of Hodnet, in the County of Salop, in the Reign of Charles II., in the Year 1681." It is in the hand-writing of Mr. Henry, and possessed by Mr. Witton.

† This refusal is thought, and termed contempt, stubbornness, and what not. But let God and the world judge. It is supposed the easier they come by the fines, the likelier they will be to come again. Besides, as yet, the general practice of good people throughout the nation is to refuse payment, and to suffer distress, though it be found, for the most part, to inflame the reckoning. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

noise in the country, and raised the indignation of many against the decrees which prescribed this grievousness; while Mr. Henry bore it with his usual evenness and serenity of mind, not at all moved or disturbed by it. He did not boast of his sufferings, or make any great matter of them; but would often say,—Alas, this is nothing to what others suffer, nor to what we ourselves may suffer before we die! And yet he rejoiced, and blessed God that it was not for debt, or for evil-doing, that his goods were carried away.—And, saith he, while it is for well-doing that we suffer, they cannot harm us. Thus he writes in his Diary upon it;—How oft have we said that changes are at the door; but, blessed be God, there is no sting in this! He frequently expressed the assurance he had, that, whatever damage he sustained,—God is able to make it up again. And, as he used to say,—Though we may be losers *for* Christ, yet we shall not be losers *by* him in the end. He had often said, that his preaching was likely to do the most good, when it was sealed to by suffering; and, if this be the time, saith he, welcome the will of God; even this also shall turn to the furtherance of the gospel of Christ. *Bene agere et male pati vere christianum est.**

Soon after this, was the assizes for Flintshire, held at Mold, where Sir George Jeffries,† afterwards Lord Chancellor, then Chief Justice of Chester, sat Judge. He did not, in private conversation, seem to applaud what was done in this matter, so as was expected; whether out of a private pique against some that had been active in it, or for what other reason is not known; but it was said, he pleasantly asked some of the gentlemen, by what new law they pressed carts, as they passed upon their occasions along the road, to carry away goods distrained for a conventicle? It was also said, that he spoke with some respect of Mr. Henry; saying, he knew him, and his character, well, and that he was a great friend of his mother's, (Mrs. Jeffries of Acton, near Wrexham, a very pious, good woman,) and that, sometimes at his mother's request, Mr. Henry had examined him in his learning, when he was a school-boy, and had commended his proficiency. And it was much wondered at by many, that, of all the times Sir George Jeffries went that circuit, though it is well enough known what was his temper, and what the temper of that time, yet he never sought any occasion against Mr. Henry, nor took the occasions that were offered, nor countenanced any trouble intended him, though he was the only nonconformist in Flintshire. One passage I remember, not improper to be mentioned; there had been an agreement among some ministers, (I think it began in the West of England, where Mr. Allen‡ was,) to spend some time, either in secret, or in

* Appendix, No. XVI. See 1 Pet. ii. 20.

† See Granger's Biog. Hist. v. 3, p. 368, and the Life of Lord North, 4to. 1742, p. 209, &c.

‡ The Rev. Joseph Alleine. Nat. 1633, ob. Nov. 1688. See his *Life and Letters*, duod. 1671; lately reprinted.

their families, or both, between six and eight o'clock every Monday morning, in prayer for the church of God, and for the land and nation, more fully and particularly than at other times, and to make that their special errand at the throne of grace; and to engage as many of their praying friends, as ever they could, to the observance of it. This had been communicated to Mr. Henry, by some of his friends at London, and he punctually observed it in his own practice,* I believe, for many years. He also mentioned it to some of his acquaintance, who did in like manner observe it. It happened that one in Denbighshire,† to whom he had communicated it, was so well pleased with it, that he wrote a letter of it to a friend of his at a distance; which letter happened to fall into hands that perverted it, and made information upon it, against the writer and receiver of the letter, who were bound over to the Assizes, and great suspicions Sir George Jeffries had, that it was a branch of the presbyterian plot,‡ and rallied the parties accused severely.

It appeared, either by the letter, or by the confession of the parties, that they received the project from Mr. Henry, which, it was greatly feared, would bring him into trouble; but Sir George, to the admiration of many, let it fall,§ and never inquired further into it. It seems, there are some men, whose *ways so please the Lord, that he makes even their enemies to be at peace with them*; and there is nothing lost by trusting in God.

Mr. Henry, at the next assizes after he was distrained upon, was presented by one of the high constables,—1. For keeping a conventicle at his house; and, 2. For saying,—That the law for suppressing conventicles ought not to be obeyed, and that there was never a tittle of the word of God in it. As to this latter presentment, it was altogether false. He had, indeed, in discourse with the high constable, when he insisted so much upon the law, which required him to be so rigorous in the prosecution, objected,—That all human laws were not to be obeyed, merely because they were laws. But, as to any such reflections upon the law he suffered by, he was far from it, and had prudence enough to keep silence at that time; for it was an evil time when so many were made *offenders for a word*. But these presentments met with so little countenance from Judge Jeffries, that Mr. Henry only entered his

* Mr. Ambrose Lewis. MS. See *ante*, p. 41.

† See Baxter. Reliq. part iii. p. 186, &c. Various curious pamphlets were originated by the accusation; particularly the horrid sin of man-catching, the Second Part, 4to. 1681: and "No Protestant Plot, in Three Parts," 4to. 1681, 1682.

‡ At the same time, he (the judge) caused Mr. Ambrose Lewis, his old school-master at Wrexham, in Denbighshire, a worthy good man, Mr. Henry's great friend, to be presented, and rallied against him particularly, with great keenness in his charge to the grand jury, for keeping conventicles, as he called it, in the school; "by which means," saith he, "your children get the twang of fanaticism in their noses when they are young, and they will never leave it." Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

appearance in the prothonotary's office, and they were no more heard of; wherein he acknowledged the hand of God, *who turneth the hearts of the children of men as the rivulets of water.*

As to what was taken from him by the distress, they who took it made what markets they pleased of it, payed those they employed, and, what the remainder was, is not known for certain; but, it was said, that the following summer about £27 was paid to Sir T. V., of which, and the rest that was levied in other places, which amounted to a considerable sum, it was credibly reported, and I have not heard it contradicted, that neither the king nor the poor had their share, which, by the Act, is to be two-thirds, nor the informers all their's neither; but, people said, the gentleman had occasion for it all. But, as they that had it were never the richer for it, so he that lost it, would often say,—That he found that God did so abundantly bless the remainder to him, that he was never the poorer; which he would mention for the encouragement of his friends, not to balk duty, as he used to express it, for fear of suffering.

In the same year, 1681, happened a publick discourse at Oswestry, between the then Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. William Lloyd,* now Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and some nonconformist ministers, of which Mr. Henry was one. The story, in short, is this:—That learned bishop, at his first coming to the diocese of St. Asaph, in his zeal for the established church, set himself with vigour to reduce dissenters to it; and, that he might do it with the *cords of a man*, he resolved, before he took any other methods, to reason the matter with them, and to endeavour their conviction by discourse, in which he had a very great felicity, both by his learning and temper. If there were any that declined discoursing with him, he improved that against them very much; urging, as he wrote afterwards to Mr. Henry,—“That no man can pretend conscience for not coming when he is required, to give an account of his religion, to them that have authority to demand it, by the laws under which he lives, and to hear from their mouths what can be said for the established religion. These are things from which conscience is so far from exempting, that the great rule of conscience requires it, as an indispensable duty, that we should be always ready to *give an account of the hope that is in us*; and that we should hear them that are in *Moses's chair*,† &c.; and, therefore, those who refused this, he would consider as men governed, not by conscience, but obstinacy.”

He publickly discoursed with the quakers at Llanfyllin, in Montgomeryshire; their champion was Dr. Lloyd, a physician. One of the most considerable nonconformist ministers in his diocese was Mr. James Owen, of Oswestry,‡ then very young, but well

* Nat. A.D. 1627; ob. 30th August, 1717. Mr. Chalmers's Blog. Dict. v. 20, p. 347, &c.

† See Matt. xxiii. 2.

‡ Afterwards of Shrewsbury; where he died, April 8, 1706, æt. 52. See his Life, *ut supra*; and Memoirs of Mrs. Savage. Appendix, No. IV.

known since by his learned book, which he calls, "A Plea for Scripture Ordination;" proving ordination by presbyters, without diocesan bishops, to be valid, (published in the year 1694,) a point of controversy which he was then obliged, in his own defence, to search into. Several discourses the bishop had with him in private; at last, his lordship was pleased to appoint him, to give him the meeting in the town-hall of Oswestry, on Tuesday, September 27, 1681, there to give account, "by what right he exercised the ministry, not having episcopal ordination." He directed him also to procure what other ministers he could to assist him, for he would be glad to hear what any of them had to say for themselves. The notice was very short, not above four or five days. Some, whose assistance was desired, apprehended it might do more hurt than good, and might be prejudicial to their own liberty, and therefore declined it. It was not agreeable to Mr. Henry's mild and modest temper, to appear in such circumstances; but he was loath to desert his friend, Mr. Owen, and so, with much importunity, he was prevailed with to come to Oswestry, at the time appointed; and there came no other but he and Mr. Jonathan Roberts, of Denbighshire, in the diocese of Bangor, a plain man, of great integrity, and a very good scholar. The bishop came, according to appointment, and brought with him, for his assistant, the famous Mr. Henry Dodwell.* Mr. Henry, who was utterly a stranger to the bishop, pressed hard to have had the discourse in private, before a select number, but it would not be granted. He also desired his lordship that it might not be expected from him, being of another diocese, to concern himself in the discourse, but only as a hearer. "Nay, Mr. Henry," said the bishop, "it is not the concern of my diocese alone, but it is the common cause of religion, and, therefore, I expect you should interest yourself in it more than as a hearer." His lordship was pleased to promise, that nothing that should be said by way of argument, should be any way turned to the prejudice of the disputants, nor advantage taken of it to give them trouble. There were present divers of the clergy and gentry of the country, with the magistrates of the town, and a great number of people, which, if it could have been avoided, was not easy to Mr. Henry, who never loved any thing that made a noise; herein, like his Master,† who *did not strive, nor cry*. The discourse began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till between seven and eight at night; much was said, *pro and con*, touching the identity of bishops and presbyters, the bishoping and unbishoping of Timothy and Titus,‡ the validity of presbyterian ordination, &c. It was managed with a great deal of liberty, and not under the strict laws of

* Nat. Oct. 1641; ob. 7th June, 1711. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 12, p. 182. &c. There is a curious statement respecting him in the Preface to Dr. S. Clarke's *Discourses*, vol. 1, p. xvi. oct. 1730, by Benjamin, Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

† "I will always call Jesus my Master." Geo. Herbert. *Lives* by Walton, v. 2, p. 75, *ut supra*.

‡ See a curious volume bearing this title, 4to. 1636.

disputation, which made it hard to give any tolerable account of the particulars of it. The arguments on both sides may better be fetched from the books written on the subject than from such a discourse. The bishop managed his part of the conference with a great deal of gravity, calmness, and evenness of spirit, and therein gave an excellent pattern to all that are in such stations. Mr. Henry's remark upon this business, in his Diary, is this ;—That, whereas, many reports went abroad, far and near, concerning it, every one passing their judgment upon the result of it, as they stood affected ; for my own part, saith he, upon reflection, I find I have great reason to be ashamed of my manifold infirmities and imperfections ; and yet, do bless God, that, seeing I could manage it no better, to do the truth more service, there was not more said and done to its disservice. To God be glory. But there were others, who said, that Mr. Henry was an instrument of glorifying God, and serving the church, in that affair, almost as much as in any thing that ever he did, except the preaching of the gospel. And some, who were adversaries to the cause he pleaded, though they were not convinced by his arguments, yet, by his great meekness and humility, and that truly christian spirit, which appeared so evidently in the whole management, were brought to have a better opinion of him, and the way in which he walked.

The conference* broke off a little abruptly. The bishop and Mr. Henry being somewhat close at an argument, in the recapitulation of what had been discoursed of, Mr. Jonathan Roberts whispered to Mr. Henry,—“ Pray, let my lord have the last word ;” which, a justice of peace upon the bench over-hearing, presently replied ;—“ You say, ‘ My lord shall have the last word ;’ but he shall not ; for I will ;—we thank God, we have the sword of power in our hands ; and, by the grace of God, we will keep it ; and it shall not rust ; and I hope every lawful magistrate will do as I do. And, look to yourselves, gentlemen, by the grace of God, I will root you out of the country.” To which a forward man in the crowd, said,—“ Amen ! Throw them down stairs.” This the bishop heard with silence, but the mayor of the town took order for their safety.

Two days after this discourse, the bishop wrote a very obliging letter to Mr. Henry, to signify to him how very much he was pleased with the good temper and spirit that he found in him at Oswestry, and that he looked upon him as one that intended well, but laboured under prejudices ; and to desire further acquaintance and conversation with him ; particularly that he would come to him, straightway, to Wrexham.

[The letter was as follows ;—

“ Sir ;

“ I was much pleased with the good temper I found in you at

the conference at Oswestry, and sorry to find so little of it in those to whom you had joined yourself; therefore, though I would have bestowed a day or two more with them, in that service, if I had known what answer I should have received from Mr. Evans, of Wrexham, and Mr. John Trevors, I do not think it worth while to seek for an answer from men that contend, not for truth, but only for victory. But, for you, Sir, in whom I saw better appearances, I would go a good way to have an intercourse with you, could I be sure of finding you at home; and, since I cannot be sure of that, I send this bearer to desire you would meet me at Wrexham, where I intend, God willing, to be on Friday morning, and to stay all day; and allow me as much of your company as you can. Give me leave to tell you, though I think you put a wrong interpretation upon 2 Timothy, iv. 17, it is probable, that, in thus thinking, I may follow a prejudice of my own; and I know no reason to suspect this in myself, but on account of human infirmity; but, I make bold to say, with St. Austin, 'I cannot be a heretick.' I trust God will keep me from being obstinate in any error; for I know, and desire to follow none but him. If you are of the same disposition, there may be a good effect of this meeting. Howsoever, there can be no bad of it, as far as I am able to judge. God direct us in the way of peace and holiness!

"Your humble servant,

"In the Lord Jesus Christ,

"September 29, 1680.

W. ST. ASAPH.*]

About three months after he sent for him again to Chester; in both which interviews a great deal of discourse, with much freedom, passed between them in private, in which they seemed to vie in nothing more than candour and obligingness, shewing to each other *all meekness*. I remember the bishop was pleased to show him his plan for the government of his diocese, and the method he intended to take in church-censures, which Mr. Henry very well approved of; but pleasantly told his lordship, he hoped he would take care that Juvenal's verse should not be again verified. (Sat. 2.)

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

Which the bishop smiled at, and told him he would take care it should not. His lordship, observing his true catholic charity and moderation told him he did not look upon him as *χισμáτικος*, a schismatick; † but only as *παρασυνάγας*, a separatist; and, that if he

* From an authentick copy.

† "Envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness," are the ingredients of schism. Matt. Henry. Misc. Works, p. 634, *ut supra*. Who will not join heartily in the response,—From all these, "Good Lord, deliver us!"

See the Tracts of the ever-memorable Hales, of Eton, p. 184, duod. 1721; and Bishop Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying, sect. xxii. Works, *ut supra*, vol. 8, p. 230. Likewise, Howe's Works, vol. 8, p. lxvi.

were in his diocese, he did not question but that he should find out some way to make him useful. But all his reasonings could not satisfy Mr. Henry's conscience of the lawfulness of being re-ordained and conforming. The bishop, for some years after, when he came that way, towards London, either called on Mr. Henry, at his house, or sent for him to him at Whitchurch, and still with all outward expressions of friendship.

[With his characteristick benevolence, Mr. Henry took occasion to avail himself of the favour* of the worthy prelate, on behalf of his oppressed brethren, as appears by the following interesting letter:—

For the Right Reverend

William, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

My Lord;

The experience which I have had of your very great candour, together with the particular leave you were pleased to give me of applying myself to you, as there might be occasion of this nature, are my encouragement to trouble your lordship with these few lines. I understand there are several protestant dissenters of your diocese, that, being excommunicate, are in danger of being cast into prison, by writs remaining in the sheriff's hands for that purpose, concerning whom, when I was with you at Chester, you were pleased to say,—“It was not for their mere nonconformity, but for withholding their church dues;” and, having made inquiry about it, I do find, that there are but few of them chargeable with that neglect, and, of those few, there is one William David, of Myvod, on whose behalf the minister of the place hath written the inclosed, whereby it will appear, that his default therein was not wilful and usual, but merely accidental; which, when your lordship sees, I hope it will prevail to obtain from you his discharge. And, for the rest, who suffer for not conforming, I have personal acquaintance with divers of them, both about Wrexham, and in Montgomeryshire; particularly with Mr. Walter Griffiths, and Richard Gardiner, and Evan Roberts; and have reason to believe concerning them, that they are religious, sober, peaceable men, though under dissatisfactions in the things imposed; and, being such, I would entreat your lordship, that your lenity may be extended towards them, and the rather, considering, that the casting them into the jail is like to be the ruin of themselves, and of their families, as to this world, which I am confident can be no way pleasing to you in the reflection. Besides, the process against them, if I be not misinformed, is upon presentments made in your predecessor's days long

* The Rev. Richard Stretton used to say, that he kept up his acquaintance with persons of estate and figure as long as he could improve it for the doing of good; and, when it would no longer be made to serve that purpose, he let it drop. Funeral Sermon, by Matt. Henry. Misc. Works, p. 812, *ut supra*.

since; and if, in other cases, the action dies with the person,* it were but reasonable it should in this also. Would your lordship please to forbear but for a while, this highest act of severity towards them, it may be, upon further conference with them, and knowledge of them, you will find them other persons than they are represented to you to be. I humbly beg your lordship's pardon for my boldness with you herein; and subscribe myself,

My Lord,

Your servant, much obliged,

March 25, 1682.

PHILIP HENRY.†]

The trouble which Mr. Henry was in, about the meeting at Weston, obliged him, for a while, to keep his sabbaths at home somewhat private; but, in the year 1682, he took a greater liberty, and many flocked to him on Lord's Days, through the kind connivance of the neighbouring magistrates; but, in the year 1683, when the meetings were generally suppressed throughout the kingdom, he was again necessitated to contract his sails, and confine his labours more to his own family, and his friends, that visited him. He continued his attendance at Whitewell-chapel as usual; and, when he was abridged of his liberty, he often blessed God for his quietness. Once, when one of the curates preached a bitter sermon against dissenters, on a Lord's Day morning, some wondered that Mr. Henry would go again in the afternoon, for the second part.—But, saith he, if he do not know his duty, I know mine; and, I bless God, I can find honey in a carcass.

In this time of treading down, and of perplexity, he stirred little abroad,‡ being forced, as he used to express it,—To throw the plough under the hedge; but he preached constantly at home without disturbance.

[During this period he preached over the Old Testament types of Christ, real and personal; twelve of each; and the principal passages in the history of Christ's last sufferings; also, Psalm lxxiii., and part of Psalm lxxvii., besides many other occasional subjects.§]

He often comforted himself with this;—When we cannot do what we would, if we do what we can, God will accept us; when we cannot keep open shop, we must drive a secret trade. And he would say,—There is a mean, if we could hit it, between foolhardiness, and faint-heartedness. While he had some opportunity of being useful at home, he was afraid lest he should prejudice that by venturing abroad. One of his friends, in London, earnestly

* *Actio personalis moritur cum persona.*—A maxim in law.

† Orig. MS. This letter, a little altered, was printed in the *Protestant Dissenters' Magazine*, v. 2, p. 456.

‡ Except to Boreatton. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

§ Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*. See Mather's *History of New England*, book iv. p. 152.

soliciting him to make a visit thither in this time of restraint in the country, he thus wrote to him;—I should be glad once more to kiss my native soil, though it were but with a kiss of valediction; but my indisposedness to travel, and the small prospect there is of doing good to countervail the pains, are my prevailing arguments against it. I am here, it is true, buried alive, but I am quiet in my grave,* and have no mind to be a walking ghost.† We rejoice, and desire to be thankful, that God hath given us a home, and continued it to us, when so many, better than we, have not where to lay their head, having no certain dwelling-place. (It was at the time of the dispersion of the French protestants.) Why they exiles, and not we? They strangers, in a strange land, and not we? We must not say, *We will die in our nests*; lest God say, Nay; nor we will *multiply our days as that bird*, the phoenix, (referring to Job, xxix. 18,) lest God say, *This night, thy soul shall be required of thee*. Our times, and all our ways, are at his disposal, absolutely and universally; and it is very well they are so.

At the time of the Duke of Monmouth's descent,‡ and the insurrection in the west, in the year 1685, Mr. Henry, as many others, (pursuant to a general order of the lord-lieutenant, for securing all suspected persons, and particularly all nonconformist ministers,) was taken up by a warrant from the deputy-lieutenants, and sent under a guard to Chester Castle, where he was about three weeks a close prisoner. He was lodged with some gentlemen and ministers that were fetched thither out of Lancashire, who were all strangers to him, but he had great comfort in the acquaintance and society of many of them.

[Thence he addressed to Mrs. Henry the following letter;—

July 8, 1685.

Dear Heart;

I continue very well at present,—thanks be to God!—and feel nothing yet of the inconveniencies of a prison. We are better accommodated, as I acquainted you in my last, than we could have expected, though we must pay for it. Just now, six ministers, nonconformists, are brought in hither from Lancashire, more than before; so far are we from enlargement. But our times are in God's hand, who hath sent us hither, I am confident, for good, though how, or which way, or wherein, I know not; but *He is faithful who hath promised*. My chamber-fellows and I differ something

* In allusion, no doubt, to the prophetick vision as to the state of the Jews, Ezek. xxxvii. 12, 13. See also Milton's Poetical Works, *ut supra*, v. 5, pp. 352, 353, and the notes. Samson Agonistes, 100, &c.

† "When spirits walk, and ghosts break up their graves."

Shakspeare. Hen. VI. 2d part, act 1, sc. 4.

"Like a ghost, walk silent among men."

Ben Jonson. Works, v. 8, p. 411, *ut supra*.

‡ See the History of Taunton, pp. 135—170.

in our apprehensions of things past, which will not be helped ; but, for the *unseen things* that are to come, that are eternal, we are all one. Our afternoons, till late, are filled with visitants, who love us, and wish us well, and are kind to us ; but we cannot do with them what we would. I have not yet opened the little bottle I brought with me, not wanting it, and being more afraid of what might heat me, in regard we have no drink but strong, (unless very seldom,) which may turn to feverish distempers, wanting exercise. I have not trodden on the ground since Saturday, which, using myself to in the mornings, I thought the want of might be prejudicial ; but, hitherto, it is not. I have not tasted butter yet with bread, since I came from home. This dinner we had beans and bacon, salmon, &c. I am careful what I eat ; not fishes and fleshs. Mrs. Wenlock was to see me yesterday, and brought me a bottle of wine. I bestow all of that kind in common with my companions, strangers here. Let me hear from you, how you do, and the children, &c. as oft as you can. Love to Matthew. Our guards change every hour, which makes it so very hard to come to us. I would gladly see him ; but when, or how, I know not. I think there is little danger of any harm to him here, if there be none at home at his return. Love to Sarah and Eleanor, and to all the rest. Do what you can to get to heaven yourselves, and to help one another thither. Prepare for further sufferings, to which it may be these things are but the preamble ; but all is well that ends everlastingly well. Thanks for all your love and faithfulness to me, and patience with me ; the Lord will reward it. One of my fellow-prisoners last night received a letter from his wife, subscribed,—“So I rest, dear husband, in all duty and obedience, your obedient wife.”—Such is Lancashire kindness ; but deeds exceed words.

I am, in short, most entirely, and most affectionately, thine ;

P. H. *]

He often spake of this imprisonment, not as a matter of complaint, but of thanksgiving, † and blessed God he was in nothing uneasy all the while. In a sermon to his family, the day after he came home, he largely and affectionately recounted the mercies of that providence ; as for instance ;—That his imprisonment was for no cause : it is guilt that makes a prison. That it was his security in a dangerous time. That he had good company in his sufferings, who prayed together, and read the scriptures together, and discoursed to their mutual edification. That he had health there ; not *sick, and in prison* ; that he was visited and prayed for by his

* Orig. MS.

† “The mercies of God are infinite ; who doth, not only by his word, but also by his justice, make us fit for his kingdom. Little do our enemies know what good, by these things, they do unto us, and what wreck they bring to their own kingdom, while they set forth the wickedness thereof.” *Life of Mrs. Katherine Brettergh.* 4to. 1676, p. 4. Bl. Lett.

friends. That he was very cheerful and easy in his spirit, many a time asleep and quiet, when his adversaries were disturbed and unquiet. That his enlargement was speedy and unsought for, and that it gave occasion to the magistrates who committed him, to give it under their hands, that they had nothing in particular to lay to his charge; and, especially, that it was without a snare, which was the thing he feared more than any thing else. *

It was a surprise to some that visited him in his imprisonment, and were big with the expectations of the Duke of Monmouth's success, to hear him say;—I would not have you to flatter yourselves with such hopes, for God will not do his work for us in these nations by that man; but our deliverance and salvation will arise some other way.

It must not be forgotten how ready he was, nay, how studious and industrious, to serve and oblige such as had been any way instruments of trouble to him, as far as it lay in his power, and he had any opportunity to do it; so well had he learned that great lesson of forgiving and loving enemies; of this it were easy to give instances.

When a gentleman, who had sometimes been an instrument of trouble to him, had occasion to make use of his help to give him some light into a cause he had to be tried, Mr. Henry was very ready to serve him in it; and though he might have declined it, and it was somewhat against his own interest too, yet he appeared a witness for him, which so won upon the gentleman, that he was afterwards more friendly to him. Mentioning in his Diary the death of another gentleman in Shropshire, he notes,—That he was one that had been his professed enemy; but, saith he, God knows I have often prayed for him.

Some have wondered to see how courteously and friendly he would speak to such as had been any way injurious to him, when he met with them, being as industrious to discover his forgiving of wrongs, as some are to discover their resentments of them: [thus exemplifying the sentiment he pressed on others;—When any have provoked you, you say, you will be even with them; there is a way not only to be even with them, but above them, and that is, —to forgive them.*]

It was said of Archbishop Cranmer,† that the way to make him one's friend, was to do him an unkindness; and I am sure it might be said of Mr. Henry, that, doing him an unkindness, would not make him one's enemy. This minds me of an exemplary passage concerning his worthy friend Mr. Edward Lawrence. Once, going with some of his sons, by the house of a gentleman that had been injurious to him, he gave a charge to his sons to this purpose,—

* P. Henry. Com. Pl. Book. Orig. MS. *Overcome evil with good.* That is a noble victory indeed. This is the way not to be even with him that wrongs us, but to be above him. Poole's Annotations on Romans, xii. 21, fol. 1698.

† Nat. July 2, 1498. He suffered martyrdom at Oxford in the sixty-seventh year of his age. See his Life by the Rev. J. Strype, M. A. fol. 1691.

That they should never think or speak amiss of that gentleman for the sake of any thing he had done against him; but, whenever they went by his house, should lift up their hearts in prayer to God for him, and his family. And, *Who is he that will harm those who are thus followers of him that is good, in his goodness?* It is almost the only temporal promise in the New Testament, which is made to the meek, Matthew, v. 5,—that *they shall inherit the earth*; the meaning whereof, Dr. Hammond, in his Practical Catechism, takes to be especially this; that, in the ordinary dispensations of God's providence, the most mild and quiet people are most free from disturbance. Those only have every man's hand against them, that have their's against every man.*

[He often mentioned the memorandum which Dr. Prideaux† gave in the war-time to a gentleman who had been his pupil, containing three good lessons, in three Hebrew names twice put together, (lessons which he had well learned,) *Mishmah, Dumah, Massa*; Genesis, xxv. 14; 1 Chronicles, i. 30; which signify, *Hear, Keep silence, Bear*. The apostle has them together, James, i. 19;—*Be swift to hear, slow to speak, ‡ slow to wrath.* §

Being asked,—What are the common vices of the tongue, of which Christians ought more especially to beware?—he replied;—Vain, flattering, and proud speeches; also, much speaking; an open mouth is a sign of an empty heart; as a chest open is a sign nothing is in it; when money, or jewels are within it, it is kept locked. *Filthy speaking*; we ought to sprinkle gracious discourses among our other discourses about worldly things; else, not wholesome food. False, and profane speaking; beware of making use of scripture expressions without due reverence. Make not sport of the sins of others. Abusive speeches; our tongues must not be scourges, nor razors, nor swords. ||

In advising as to the government of the tongue, he pressed commencement with the heart. ¶—Resolve, he added, to *Take heed*; but resolve in the strength of Christ. Be not *hasty in speech*. Commit the guidance of your tongue to God in prayer. He is the Maker of the tongue.**]

* See Gen. xvi. 16.

† Dean of Norwich. He was a pupil of Dr. Busby's, and died 1st Nov. 1724, æt. 77. Aikin's Gen. Biog. v. 8, p. 340.

‡ We should keep a pair of scales between our heart and our mouth, to weigh what is suggested. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ Life. Orig. MS. at *supra*. It is said of Mr. Elliot, that when he heard any ministers complain, that such and such in their flocks were too difficult for them. the strain of his answer still was,—“Brother, compass them! Learn the meaning of those three little words, Bear, Forbear, Forgive. Life, by Cotton Mather, p. 36, duod. 1691.

|| P. Henry. Orig. MS.

¶ The heart is the scribe that indites matter; the tongue is the pen that writes it down. Ps. xlv. 1. The heart is as he that rides upon a horse; the tongue is as the horse that is ridden. James, iii. 3. The heart is the pilot in the ship; the tongue is the ship. James, iii. 4. The heart is the fountain; words are as the streams. Matt. xii. 34. The heart is the treasury; words are as stuff brought out of it. Matt. xii. 35. The heart is the root; words are the fruit. Prov. xv. 4. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

** P. Henry. Orig. MS.

We shall next introduce some of Mr. Henry's letters to a person of quality in London. The beginning of his correspondence with that gentleman, (which continued to his death, and was kept up monthly for a great while,) was in the year 1686; and the following letter broke the ice:—

Honoured Sir;

Hoping you are, by this time, as you intended, returned to London, to your home and habitation there, I make bold, according to my promise, to salute you in a few lines. In the first place, to be your remembrancer of the vows of God which are upon you, upon the account of the many mercies of your journey, both in your going out, and in your coming in. Was not every step you took hedged about with special providence? Had not the *angels charge over you*? Did they not pitch their tents where you pitched your's? Did not *goodness and mercy follow you*,—and should it not then be had in thankful remembrance? Where mercy goes before, should not duty follow after? If you have Mr. Angier's Life, you will find there, pages 88, 89, a collection out of his Diary, of ten heads of mercies, acknowledged in a journey,* to heighten God's praises, and to quicken his own and others' hearts therein, and they are certainly very affecting. Next, sir, I am to acquaint you, that I have faithfully disposed of the money you left with me at parting, to eight poor praying widows in this neighbourhood, as you appointed. And this, among all the rest of your alms'-deeds, is had in memorial before God;—it is fruit that will abound to your account;—*bread, sent a voyage upon the waters*, which you and your's will *find again after many days*; for, *he is faithful that hath promised*. The apostle's prayer shall be mine; 2 Corinthians, ix. 10;—*Now he that ministereth seed to*

* "1. Direction in the right way; want of this causeth wandering, labour, and sorrow. Ps. cvil. 7.

"2. Preservation of man and beast, of life and health, from falls, harm, from enemies, robbers, murderers: some have died in the way, as Rachel; others fallen sick by the way, as, 1 Sam. xxx. 18. It is a mercy when God supports in travel, to endure heat and cold; for a horse to die, or be lame in the way, is a great affliction; so, daily supply of new strength is mercy.

"3. Comfort in the way and weather, when both are good, and company is suitable and comfortable.

"4. Convenient places for rest, and good refreshment for noon and night.

"5. Seasonable provision of necessary food, and cheerful entertainment.

"6. Temporary ease from the burden of domestick affairs, both care and labour, the mind and body both are eased; others take the burden upon them for a time.

"7. Variety of objects to delight the sense, fair buildings, fruitful fields, pleasant meadows.

"8. Change of air; pleasantness and healthfulness there, by refreshing gales in the heat of the day.

"9. The society of friends whom we visit, and the mutual comfort that ariseth from their meeting after a time of absence, and from their friendly and hearty converse.

"10. Opportunity of understanding more fully how God hath answered our prayers for them; opportunity of soul-help, of doing and receiving good by joint prayer, and by conference, by declaring experiences, by stirring up one another to what is good." Life of the Rev. John Angier, pp. 88, 89, duod. 1685.

*the sower, both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness. Amen.**

[Who shoots an arrow, and looks not after it;† or knocks at a door, and stays not for an answer?‡ *I will direct my prayer to Thee*, says holy David, Psalm v. 3, as an archer his arrow to the mark, *and will look up*, to see what becomes of it. And, again, Psalm lxxxv. 8, *I will hearken what God the Lord will say*. And so, another prophet, having been at prayer, says, Habakkuk, ii. 1; *I will get me to my watch-tower*. Sometimes our heavenly Father withholds mercies, to quicken prayer; grants them, to awaken our thankful acknowledgments; or, if denied, to excite penitent reflections, searching and trying,—why, and wherefore: for, it is never so, but there is some cause. Thus the soul and God converse, and correspond. We send to him for some mercy wanted. He replies in his providence, either giving, delaying, or denying. We, in suitable returns, as there is occasion; and, if so, he is never wanting to rejoin, either in kind, or kindness, as he sees best.

With my due and true respects, I take leave, and rest,
Sir,

Your's, ever obliged to honour and serve you, in our dear Lord,
November 3, 1686. PHILIP HENRY.§

For Henry Ashurst, Esq. at his house in St. John-street, London.

December 15, 1686.

Sir;

I received your's soon after the date of it; and, according to your order therein, I have distributed other 20s. to the same eight poor praying widows in this neighbourhood, to whom I gave the former. I did also oblige them to continue their supplications at the throne of grace on the same particular account, which you at first desired; and, I believe, they have done, and do it accordingly; and, you may be sure, it shall not be in vain, because Truth itself hath said it shall not. Isaiah, xlv. 19. It is true of prayer what is said of winter, that it rots not in the skies.¶ Though the answer be not always in the thing asked, yet it is in something else as good, or better. Abraham's prayer for Ishmael was heard in Isaac. Sometimes God answers us, by *strengthening us with strength in our souls*. Psalm cxxxviii. 3. He answered his Son so,

* Transposed from the 3d edit. pp. 176, 177.

† See Ps. v. 3.

‡ See Garnall's Christian in Complete Armour, part iii. pp. 603, 604, 4to. 1662.

§ From an authentick copy.

¶ Beware of extremities; and, till the Lord hath truly brought downe *thy winter out of the sky, know it will never rot there*, it must be the mercifull calme of grace which must bring a settled state upon thy soule. Naaman's Disease and Cure, by Daniel Rogers, p. 264, fol. 1642.

Luke, xxii. 42, 43. If the prayer be for the removal of a present burden, and it be not removed, yet, if we are enabled with faith and patience to undergo it, the prayer is answered. If, for the bestowing of a desired mercy, as that of Moses, that he might go over into the promised land; if he say, as he did to him, Let it suffice thee; that is, if he give a contented frame of heart in the want of it, the prayer is answered; as was also that of Paul's, when he prayed that the thorn in the flesh might pass from him;—*My grace*, said he, *is sufficient for thee*. We have great need of heavenly wisdom, (the Lord give it!) both to discern and to improve answers to prayer; if we have them not in kind, if we have in kindness, we should be no less thankful. I shall be glad to hear, if God see good, that your child recovers; but, if not, if he sanctify the affliction to him and you, that is, further you in sanctification, do your souls good by it, bear you up under it in a quiet, patient, submissive frame, you will say, at last,—*It was well*. So, also, as to the fitting you with a convenient seat for your family; it were very desirable, if he please that you should be sped in it, but, if his pleasure be rather to keep you longer in your present circumstances, and then, withal, to give you a heart to improve the same, and to take occasion, from the uncertainties and unsettlements of this world, to be so much the more diligent in making sure, what will be made sure, a building in heaven, *not made with hands*, you will be no loser thereby, but a gainer.

My thoughts of justifying faith and sincere repentance, are, 1. That they are choice gifts of God, Ephesians, ii. 8; Acts, xi. 18. If he give not to us to believe and to repent, we can neither believe nor repent; and, therefore, the want of them, we are to ask them; and, if we ask, he will give. 2. That they are the fruits of electing love. Those that were, from all eternity, given to Christ,—to all those, and to none but those, it is in time given to believe, and repent, Acts, xiii. 48; John, vi. 37; xii. 39, 40. If it be said, 'Why doth he then find fault?' I should answer,—The decree is secret, which is concerning us, but that is revealed which is our duty; and to that we must attend. 3. That they are necessary conditions of pardon. There may perhaps be such a notion framed of a condition, as will by no means be applicable to them, but *sano sensu*, they are so required, that, if we have them not, our sin remains upon us. Luke, xiii. 3—5; John, iii. 36. If we have them, it is most certainly done away; 1 John, i. 9; John, iii. 16; not for their sake, but for *Christ's sake*. 4. That they are inseparable companions; where one is, there is the other also. He that says, 'I believe,' and doth not repent, presumes; he that says, 'I repent,' and doth not believe, despairs. Faith in Christ doth not justify *from* sin, where there is not godly sorrow *for* sin;* neither can

* The *motives* to repentance are,—the shortness of life, and uncertainty of the space for repentance, Rev. ii. 21;—the misery and danger of impenitency, Luke, xiii. 3, 5;—the commands of God, Acts, xvii. 30, 31;—the goodness of God,

sorrow for sin obtain pardon of it, where there is not faith in Jesus Christ, because *his blood*, alone, *cleanseth from all sin*. If your meaning were, what the *nature* of them is, and how they may be *known*, I have not left myself room in this paper to tell you. The Lord, by his grace, work them in us, and increase them more and more!

Please to give my most humble service to your good lady,* and to your virtuous daughter. I hope she doth not forget her baptismal covenant. The Lord fill you with comfort in each other, and in all your children, but, especially, and above all, in himself, who is the Spring-head and Fountain!

With my due respects to your good self, Sir, I rest,

Your's, much obliged, to honour and serve you,

P. H.

For Henry Ashurst, Esq.
At his house in St. John-street,
London. †]

Rom. ii. 4;—his readiness to forgive us upon our repentance, Ps. lxxxvi. 5;—the gospel's gracious invitations of Jesus Christ, Matt. iii. 2;—there is no other way to pardon and reconciliation. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* She was the fifth daughter of William, Lord Paget, by the Lady Frances, eldest daughter of Henry, Earl of Holland. See a Sermon preached on the Death of the Lady Diana Ashurst, who died Aug. 24, 1707, by Richard Mayo, Minister of St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark, 4to. 1708. p. 17.

† Orig. MS.

CHAPTER VIII.

The last Nine Years of his Life in Liberty and Enlargement at Broad Oak, from the Year 1687.

[THE correspondence, already introduced, was early continued in the year 1687, by the following excellent letters:—

Sir;

Our last to each other, as it seems, were of the same date, and met upon the road. You begin with a good subject;—to have my thoughts of faith and repentance. They are the two hinges, upon which the door of our salvation turns; except we repent, and believe the gospel, we cannot possibly be accepted, and saved. Paul tells the elders of Ephesus, Acts, xx. 20, that he had *kept back nothing that was profitable unto them*; and then adds, verse 21, —*testifying repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ*,—as if those included all that is profitable.* But why *repentance towards God*? Because he is the party wronged and injured by sin; and, therefore, to him it is fit the penitent acknowledgment should be made. And, also, because if it be not towards God, it is worth nothing. If we sorrow not with an eye to him; Ezekiel, vi. 9;—*They shall remember me, and loathe themselves*. If our confessions be not before him, as the prodigal's,—*Father, I have sinned*, &c. (not as Judas, who told the chief-priests what he had done, but did not tell God,) and, if our forsaking of sin, which is a necessary ingredient of saving repentance, be not for God's sake, and from a true respect to his will and glory,—it is not the sorrow, the confession, the forsaking, that accompanies salvation. We are, notwithstanding it, but as *sounding brass, and tinkling cymbals*. And, therefore, this is the main matter in repenting. Is what I do in it, done as *towards God*? Is he in the beginning, in the middle, at the end of it?—*When ye fasted and mourned, saith*

* In managing the great business of repentance, set God before thee in his holiness, Christ in his love, and thy sins in their filthiness. Dwell awhile upon the sight; compare one with another. Compare thy sins with the pure law. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

Guilt in the soul is like a mote in the eye; not at ease till wept out. P. Henry. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 490.

he, those seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, even to me? Zechariah, vii. 5. That there should be fasting and mourning for seventy years together, and not a jot of it to God, how sad was this! There is repentance in hell, but it is not repentance towards God, and, therefore, it avails nothing. If the sight and sense we have of sin drive us from God, and we pine away in our iniquities, how should we then live? But, if it bring us to God, lay us low, even at his feet, with shame and blushing, then it is right.* I say, with shame and blushing; as Ezra, Ezra, ix. 6;—*O my God, I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God.* It is that inward blushing of soul that is the colour of repentance. *I abhor myself*, saith Job, *and repent.* Self-abhorrency is always the companion of true repentance, and it flows from a sight of God, in his purity and glory. *Mine eye seeth thee, therefore I abhor myself.* There is the shame of a thief, when he is taken, Jeremiah, ii. 26, the ground whereof is the shameful punishment he is to undergo; and there is the ingenuous shame of a child towards a father, when he hath offended him, and cannot lift up his face with that boldness as before, which is quite another thing. Such was David's repentance, when he cries for washing, purging, cleansing; like one fallen in the dirt: and, when he prays, —*Open thou my lips*; Psalm li., like one tongue-tied through guilt. I believe there is no true penitent but what can witness this *there*, where no eye hath seen, but his that sees every where, and that daily, more or less, as there is occasion. And that is another evidence of true repentance, that it is constant and continual; not like a land-flood, but like the flowings of a spring; not a single, but an *abiding habit*.

With most affectionate respects, and humble service, to your whole good self; beseeching the Lord to remember both you and your's, with *the favour which he bears unto his people, that you may see the good of his chosen, and rejoice in the gladness of his nation*; I rest,

Sir,

Your's, obliged, to honour and serve you,

January 14, 1686-7.

P. H.

To Henry Ashurst, Esq.
At his house in St. John-street,
London.†

* The ingredients of true repentance are, inward, hearty sorrow, Zech. xii. 10; hatred of sin, and of self because of sin, Job, xlii. 6; apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, Matt. iii. 2; particular confession, with shame and blushing, 1 John, i. 7; a special eye to original sin, Ps. li. 5; reformation of life, Prov. xxviii. 18; Heb. vi. 1; restitution in case of wrong to man, Luke, xix. 8. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† From a copy by the late Rev. S. Lucas, of Shrewsbury, from the Orig. MS.

Sir;

I had your's from Hampton this week, and rejoice to hear of your good health, which, God continue! I shall do as you direct in the distribution of 20s. at present to the eight widows, and shall acquaint them with your concern in the young man you mention. God, if it be his will, prevent your fears about it! Uncertainty is written upon all things here below, but there is an unchangeable happiness laid up for us in the other world, and that may be made *sure*. Your acknowledging God in it, as in all your affairs, I cannot but rejoice in, as an evidence of the uprightness of your heart * towards him. It is the life and soul of all religion. It is, indeed, to walk with God; and includes as much as any other scripture-command in so few words;—*In all thy ways acknowledge him*. In every thing thou dost, have an eye to *him*; make *his* word and will thy rule; *his* glory thy end; fetch strength from *him*; expect success from *him*; and, in all events that happen, which are our ways too, whether they be for us, or against us, *he* is to be acknowledged; that is, adored; if prosperous, with thankfulness; if otherwise, with submission; as Job;—*The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken, and blessed be the name of the Lord!* This is to set the Lord always before us: to have our eyes ever towards him. Where this is not, we are, so far, *without God in the world*.

As to what you desire concerning your son, I am heartily willing to my poor power, to serve you in his education here, for a while, but I am afraid, by reason of your undeserved over-valuing thoughts of me, (wherein you would abate if you knew me better,) lest you promise yourself that, from it, which will not be. Should the liberty talked of prove an open door, concerning which we are yet in the dark here, and, I perceive, so are they also that are nearer you, I think, if others enter, (*salv. consc.*) I shall be loth to stay behind; it will be a hinderance to that attendance to his teaching, which should be, especially if he be not yet past the school measures. And, another thing is, that he will be alone, which will make the wheels go heavy. I have refused several of late, and at present do not know of any undisposed of, that will be meet for him. It were desirable it should be one who is rather a step before, than behind him. These are the things, at present, that offer themselves to my thoughts concerning it, and, from mine, they come to you, if my son have not already hinted them to you. I suppose it will not be long ere he will be looking home-wards; and, if so, with his help, it will be the better done. Please

* There are various signs of uprightness of heart. See Prov. xiv. 2; an upright man fears the Lord. See Prov. xvi. 17; he departs from evil. See Ps. xix. 13; he is kept back from presumptuous sins. See Ps. xviii. 23; he is kept from his own iniquity, and performs all duties, Luke, i. 6, 7. See Prov. x. 9; he walketh surely. See Matt. xix. 21; he is willing to part with any thing for Christ. He is as good in secret as before others; he keeps a single eye at God's glory, 2 Cor. i. 12. To get an upright heart, walk as always in God's sight, 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. Gen. xvii. 1. It will be a comfort when you lie upon your death-bed. Isa. xxxviii. 3. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

to weigh it yet further with yourself, and the Lord direct and determine your will by his will, and that shall be my will in the matter.

Sir, I most heartily thank both you and your good lady, (to whom I give my humble service,) for your very great kindness and respect to my son; * he intimates the deep sense he hath of it, and I join with him in the thankful acknowledgment.

I shall be glad to hear, in your next, how it is with your younger son, and also the young man you mention. The Lord, I trust, will be gracious. To his mercy, grace, and peace, I recommend you and your's; and beg again, that I, and mine, may be remembered of you, who am,

Sir,

Your's, much obliged, to honour, love, and serve you,
March 26, 1687. P. H.

For Henry Ashurst, Esq.
At his house in St. John-street,
London. †]

It was in the latter end of the year 1685, when the stream ran so very strong against the Dissenters, that Mr. Henry, being in discourse with a very great man of the Church of England, ‡ mentioned King Charles's indulgence in 1672, as that which gave rise to his stated preaching in a separate assembly; and added, if the present King James should, in like manner, give me leave, I would do the same again. To which that great man replied,—“Never expect any such thing from him; for, take my word for it, he hates you nonconformists in his heart.”—Truly, said Mr. Henry, I believe it, and I think he doth not love you of the Church of England neither. It was then little thought that the same right reverend person who said so to him, should have the honour, as he had soon after, to be one of the seven bishops § committed to the Tower by King James; as it was also far from any one's expectation, that the same King James should so quickly give liberty to the nonconformists. But we live in a world, wherein we are to think nothing strange, nor be surprised at any turn of the wheel of nature, as it is called. James, iii. 6.

* Matthew Henry, then in London.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Most likely Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph. See *ante*, p. 152.

§ Dr. William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph.

Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely.

Dr. John Lake, Bishop of Chichester.

Dr. Thomas Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough.

Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol.

The Speech, prepared to have been spoken by the Bishop of St. Asaph, on his trial, is preserved in Gutch's Collect. Cur. v. 1, p. 369.

The measures then taken by King James's court and council were soon laid open, not only to view, but to contempt, being in a short time, by the over-ruling providence of God, broken and defeated. However, the indulgence granted to dissenters in April, 1687, must needs be a reviving to those, who, for so many years, had lain buried in silence and restraint; nor can any, who will allow themselves the liberty of supposing the case their own, wonder that they should rejoice in it, though the design of it being manifest, they could not choose but *rejoice with trembling*. Mr. Henry's sentiments of it were,—Whatever men's ends are in it, I believe God's end in it is to do us good.

There were many that said, surely the dissenters will not embrace the liberty which is intended only for a snare to them. Mr. Henry read and considered the letter of advice * to the dissenters at that juncture; but concluded,—*Duty is ours, and events are God's*. He remembered the experience he had had of the like in King Charles's time, and *that* did good, and no hurt. And why might not this do so too? All power is for edification, not for destruction.† Did Jeremiah sit still in the court of the prison, because he had his discharge from the King of Babylon? Nay, did not Paul, when he was persecuted by his countrymen for preaching the gospel, appeal to Cæsar; and find more kindness at Rome, than he did at Jerusalem? In short, the principle of his *conversation in the world* being not *fleshly wisdom*, or policy, but *the grace of God*, and particularly the grace of simplicity and godly sincerity, he was willing to make the best of that which was, and to hope the best of the design and issue of it. Doubtless it was intended to introduce popery; but it is certain, that nothing could arm people against popery more effectually than the plain and powerful preaching of the gospel; and thus, they who granted that liberty, were out-shot in their own bow, which manifestly appeared in the event and issue. And, as they did good service to the protestant religion among scholars, who wrote so many learned books against popery ‡ at that time, for which we return them our best thanks; so they did no less service among the common people, who are the strength and body of the nation, that preached so many good sermons to arm their hearers against that *strong delusion*, which Mr. Henry, as the rest of the nonconformists generally did, took all occasions to do. How often would he com-

* Written by the Marquis of Halifax. See Neal, *ut supra*, v. 5, pp. 43—44.

† See 2 Cor. xiii. 10.

‡ Dr. Holland, "when he went any journey, calling the fellows of the college together, used to say to them,—"*Commendo vos dilectioni Dei, et odio papæ et superstitionis.*" Clarke's Marr. Eccl. Hist. p. 893, *ut supra*.

1687, Mar. 18. We heard of the strengthening of the popish interest; they are to have places for their worship in many great towns; particularly that which was my dear father's chamber at Christ-church, must now, as they say, be a mass-house. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

mend his hearers, as Dr. Holland,* Divinity Professor in Oxford, was wont to do, to the love of God, and the hatred of popery.†

Besides his preaching professedly to discover the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, (which he would have taken occasion to do more fully, had he seen those he preached to, in any immediate danger of the infection,) there could not be a more effectual antidote against popery, than the instructing and confirming of people in the truth, *as it is in Jesus*; and advancing the knowledge of, and a value and veneration for, the Holy Scriptures; to which, how much Mr. Henry, in his place, did contribute, all that knew him will bear record. He used to observe, that the fall of Babylon followed upon the free and open preaching of the *everlasting gospel*, Revelations, xiv. 6, 7. He apprehended this liberty likely to be of very short continuance, and to end in trouble; and, because he could not see how his not using of it would help to prevent the trouble; but he did see that his vigorous improvement of it would help to prepare for the trouble, he set himself with all diligence, to make the best use he could of this gleam, both at home and abroad, on sabbath-days, and week-days, to his power; yea, and beyond his power.

[It was at this juncture that Mr. Henry had the happiness of recognizing, in his son, an ordained minister of the gospel. The occasion gave rise to the following letter:—

May 14, 1687.

Son Matthew;

I rejoice in what you heard, and saw, and felt, of God on Monday last, and hope it hath left upon you a truly indelible character, and such impressions as no time, nor any thing else, shall be able to wear out. Remember; assisted by thy strength, O God, I will! As to the manner and circumstances of your return, we cannot order them here, but must leave it to yourself to do as you shall see cause, beseeching the Lord, in every thing, to make your way plain before you; but, as to the thing itself, we rejoice in hopes, it will not be long now ere we shall see you here, (though *multa cadunt inter*,) and, I must not say, be filled with your company, for this is not the world that we must be together in. Your dear mother hath no great joy in the thoughts of your closing with them at Chester upon the terms proposed; her reasons are weighty, and, in other things, have many times swayed with me against my own, and it hath done well. What they are in this matter, you shall hear immediately from herself. As to your Northampton affair we are no little concerned about it, making

* Nat. at Ludlow, in Shropshire. Ob. 17th March, 1611-12. Wood's Ath. Oxon. v. 2, p. 111, *ut supra*. Brooks's Lives of the Puritans, vol. 2, p. 213, *ut supra*.

† In the Common Prayer Book of King Edward the Sixth, the Litany ran thus;—“ From the tyranny of the Bishope of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us! 4to. 1547.

mention of it in every prayer, to our heavenly Father, who, we have learned, besides a common providence, hath a special hand in such proposals. Proverbs, xix. 14. And we say, if you, of all the other, should miss, it would be a grief of mind. Genesis, xxvi. 35.

The clergy in Cheshire and Shropshire are hammering an address of thanks, but divers of them will not strike. They begin to feel now for their oaths' sake.

Our love and blessing is all here is room for. "Εἰπωσθε ! "Εἰπωσθε ! twice ; within, without.*

Mr. Matthew Henry having, shortly after the preceding letter was written, settled at Chester,† the following was addressed to him by his father, on another, and interesting subject :—

July, 1687.

Son Matthew ;

I am very much concerned, that two such great affairs are, at this time, met together, upon your hand,—that of the next sabbath, and that of the week after. You know which of the two should fill you most, and I hope it will accordingly ; and, if it do, you may the more comfortably expect a blessing upon the other ; for, ever since I knew any thing in those matters, I have found it true, that, when I have been most careful in doing God's work, God hath been most faithful in doing mine.‡ I have not sealed, but subscribed, a draught of articles with Mr. Hardware.§ We were together yesterday at each place ; and, upon view, found every thing, not worse, but rather better than represented. As to a time and place of sealing, I would meet half way on Monday, but Wednesday being the first day appointed at Hanmer, I must needs attend

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Urbs Legionum, its primeval name,
Where many a Roman toil'd : where many a brow
Has grac'd a mitre ; 'twas a kingdom once,
And now a County Palatine ; all that's rare
In army, navy, church, and state, dwells here
In miniature. But, most of all revered
For that great name, a valiant Philip's son,
Nobler than he of Macedon ; for grace
Makes heroes, such as Plutarch never knew,
As Homer never sung ; to courts unknown.
While Matthew Henry in his " Comment " lives,
Chester can never die.

See the Select Remains of the late Rev. Ebenezer White of Chester, p. 152. duod. 1812.

‡ God saith to us, as a king said to a nobleman who desired to leave the court that he might provide for some that relied upon him : " Do my work," said the king, " and I will do thine." Canaan's Flowings, by Ralph Venning. duod. 1658, p. 251.

§ Miss Hardware, of Moldsworth, was Mr. Matthew Henry's first wife. See his Life by Tong, *ut supra*, p. 101, &c.

that. If you would not think it too long to defer till the week after; that is, to the 19th instant, I should hope, by that time, (your next sabbath work, and your Warrington journey, and our engagements here, being all over,) there would be much more of clearness and freeness, without hurry, as to each circumstance; but I must not move it, however, not *insist* upon it, lest *the heart be made sick*;* therefore do as you see cause, only in every thing take God along with you, † and do all *in the name of the Lord Jesus*.

Give my kind respects to ———, your good friend, whom I hope to call by another name shortly. The Lord bless you both, and first fit you for, and then give you to, each other, in much mercy! *Amen.* ‡

To resume the narrative.] The great subject of debate at this time in the nation, was, concerning the repeal of penal laws and tests. Mr. Henry's thoughts were, as to the penal laws, that, if those against the dissenters were all repealed, he would rejoice in it, and be very thankful both to God and man; for he would sometimes say, without reflection upon any, he could not but look upon them as a national sin; and, as for those against the papists, if our law-givers see cause to repeal them in a regular way; I will endeavour, saith he, to make the best of it, and to say,—The will of the Lord be done!

When King James came, his progress into that country, in August, 1687, § to court the compliments of the people, Mr. Henry joined with several others, in and about Whitchurch, Nantwich, and Wem, in an address to him, which was presented when he lay at Whitchurch; the purport of which was, not to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to him and to his interest, but only to return him thanks for the liberty they had, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it.

Some time after, commissioners were sent abroad into the country, to inquire after the trouble that dissenters had sustained by the

* See Prov. xiii. 12.

† Mr. Matthew Henry was married July 19. See Tong's Life of Mr. M. Henry, chap. iii. *ut supra*.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS. Addressed to Mr. Matthew Henry at Moldsworth.

§ In the former editions of the Life, the royal visit is stated to have been in September. This, no doubt, was a mistake. The last visit made to the ancient town of Shrewsbury, by its sovereign, was on the 25th of August, [1687.] The King, James the Second, passed a day there, and kept his court at the council house; and, during his stay, the conduits ran with wine. Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of Shrewsbury, pp. 52, 515.

In unison with the above statement is the following extract from the Diary of Mrs. Savage:—

"1687. Friday, August 26, the king came into Whitchurch. James the Second, in his progress to Chester; great flocking to see him. Lord, order all consultations and actions for glory to thy name!

"Tuesday. I went to Whitchurch to see His Majesty in his return from Chester; saw him only in his coach; desired heartily to pray that he were as good as he is great." Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

penal laws; and how the money that was levied upon them was disposed of, little of it being found paid into the Exchequer; they sent to Mr. Henry, to have an account from him of his sufferings; he returned answer, by letter, that he had indeed been fined some years before, for a conventicle, and distrained upon, and his goods carried away; which all the country knew, and to which he referred himself. But, being required to give a particular account of it upon oath, though he said he could be glad to see such instruments of trouble legally removed, yet he declined giving any further information concerning it; having, as he wrote to the commissioners, long since, from his heart, forgiven all the agents, instruments, and occasions of it; and having purposed never to say any thing more of it.

It was on Tuesday, June 14, 1681, that he was disturbed at Weston in Shropshire, when he was preaching on Psalm lxvi. 18; and, on Tuesday, June 14, 1687, that day six years, he preached there again without disturbance, finishing what he was then prevented from delivering, concerning prayer, and going on to verse 19, 20;—*But, verily, God hath heard me, blessed be God,* concerning the duty of thanksgiving. This seventh year of their silence and restraint, proved, through God's wonderful good providence, the year of release.

[Some admirable letters to Mr. Ashurst will carry the year to its close, and cannot fail to impress the reader with the writer's accomplishments as a christian, a divine, and a gentleman.

September 2, 1687.

Sir;

My sabbath subject was, Acts, xi. 21;—*The hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.* In this I shall acquaint you, the subject being the same, with the heads of what was then spoken, after my plain, country manner. The preachers here were such as had been scattered by persecution after the death of Stephen, Acts, viii., which scattering was intended by the devil, and wicked men, for hurt to the church; but God turned it for good, as he often does, and we ourselves have had experience of it. It was like the scattering of seed, or salt, whereby more were seasoned. It seems, then, that the hand of the Lord may be with us, when the hand of man is against us. Preachers disowned and persecuted by worldly powers, may be owned and blessed in their labours, by the God of Heaven. The place was Antioch, where these converts were, the first that took the honourable and sweet name of Christians. At Antioch, not at Rome. If Christians should own one place more than another, as the mother church of all churches, methinks it should be that, rather, where they first had their name. The preaching was Jesus. They preached the Lord Jesus, and then *the hand of the Lord was with them.* We are then most likely to have the

hand of the Lord with us, in our preaching, when we preach Jesus; * Not when we preach ourselves; but, when we preach Jesus, and *ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake*. By the *hand of the Lord with them*, is meant, the Lord himself, according to his promise; Matthew, xxvii. 20; *Lo! I am with you*. He assisted them in their preaching; made way for the word into the hearts of those that heard it; gave it the setting on there: and this is always all in all. If the hand of the Lord be not with the preachers, there will be no believing, no turning among the people; for *faith is the gift of God*;—*Unto you it is given to believe*;—*Turn thou me, and I shall be turned*. A great number believed. Sometimes God is pleased to enlarge his hand, in the conversion of many, by the ministry of the word; not a fish or two, but whole shoals caught in the net of the gospel. Oh, that it might be so at this day! Your love to souls, I know, will say, *Amen!*

To believe, has three things in it;—1. Assent to what is spoken, as true, either from the evidence of the thing itself, or upon the account of the veracity of him that speaketh it. 2. Application of it to myself; I must look upon myself as concerned in it, and say, 'This belongs to me.' 3. Answerable affections and actions, according as the thing is that is spoken. Without this, my believing is nothing. Noah believed, and feared, Hebrews, xi. The *devils believe, and tremble*, James, ii. If one tell me the house is falling, and I believe it, I shall fear, and run out of it; or, that there is a pot of gold hid in such a place, and I may have it for digging for it, if I believe, I shall dig. Now, there are, among many others, four great truths revealed in the word of God, the belief whereof, such a belief as hath in it the three things before mentioned, doth always accompany conversion and salvation.—

1. That a sinful condition is a miserable condition. That it is so, is certainly true; thou art wretched and miserable, under the curse of God, liable to all miseries. But do we believe it; that is, assent to it; and that with application? I am the man; sinful, and therefore, miserable. And, are we thereupon afraid, brought under a spirit of bondage? And doth that fear set us upon serious inquiries, 'What shall we do to get out of it?' If so, so far is well.

2. That Jesus Christ is ordained of God to be *Prince and Saviour*; that he is able and willing to save, *to save even to the uttermost*. Do we assent to this, this *faithful saying*? And do we apply it? 'He is able and willing to save me.' And are we suitably affected thereunto? And do we act accordingly? Come to him, close with him, accept of him, as he is offered to us in the gospel.†

* See Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, p. 581, *ut supra*.

† To believe in Jesus Christ for salvation is to come to him. Matt. xi. 28; John, vi. 37; v. 40. By unbelief, we depart from him. Heb. iii. 12. It is to lean upon him; Cant. viii. 5; forsaking all other leaning-stocks whatever. It is to look upon him. John, iii. 14, 15; *Look unto me, and be ye saved*. It is to receive, and accept of him, as he is offered in the promise, to be Lord and King, as well as Priest and Saviour; giving ourselves to him unreservedly. 2 Cor. viii. 5; Hos. iii. 3. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

If so, we are believers; and, if believers, then *the sons of God*, justified by that faith, at peace with God, and heirs of heaven. And to that also we must assent, with application, and be affected, and act accordingly; *rejoicing always with joy unspeakable, and abounding always in the work of the Lord.*

3. The absolute necessity of an holy heart, and an holy life. That we must be new creatures, or we cannot enter the New Jerusalem; *born again*, or we cannot see the kingdom of God. That we must *deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this world*, if ever we mean to be happy in another world. Do we believe this; that is, assent to it? Is it not plain in the word of God, written there as with a sun-beam, so that *he who runs may read*? But do we apply it? I must be regenerated; if I be not, I shall not be saved. My civility and moral honesty, my profession and outward form of godliness, will not serve my turn;—I must *put off the old man, and put on the new*. And doth there follow suitable affection and action? Do I love the word as a regenerating word? Do I pray for, and receive the Spirit, as a regenerating Spirit? Do I set myself, in the use of all God's appointed means, to the great work of *crucifying the flesh, with all the affections and lusts,—walking in all the commandments of the Lord blameless*? This is believing.

4. The certainty and reality of future rewards and punishments. That there is another life after this, and that it is to be a life of retribution; that, as sure as there is an earth which we tread upon, so sure there is an hell under it, a place of eternal torments; so sure as there is an outward heaven, which our eyes see, so sure there is another heaven beyond it, a fixed state of everlasting blessedness. Are these things so? Certainly they are; for *the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it*. No room is left for doubting. But will one of these be our place shortly? Certainly it will. I must; I, even I, be, ere long, either in hell miserable, or in heaven happy. Oh, then, how should I be affected? How should I act? Should I not fear that place of torment, and fly from it? Make sure that place of happiness, and rejoice always in the hope of it; having my conversation there; * laying up treasure there?

* I find my heart inclined to things below, and am sensible, in some measure, what a dishonour it is to God, and what a wrong to myself, and fain I would that it might be otherwise.

Get to know the nature of earthly things, common things, such as a man may abound in, and perish everlastingly. They are empty things, that will not satisfy; vexing things, *vexation of spirit*. Labour for a serious, practical knowledge of this. Beg of God to give you a sight of their vanity and emptiness. Look into the word. Prov. xxiii. 5; Isa. lv. 2; Matt. vi. 24; John, vi. 27; 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10; Ecclesiastes. Observe and improve your own crosses and disappointments, and the crosses and disappointments of others. The voice of these dispensations is,—Cease from the world, the men of the world, the things of the world. Consult with dying men, and see what account they will give you of earthly things.

Actuate this knowledge by meditation, and do it often. There is no duty more profitable,—none more neglected.

This is believing. The same may be said in reference to every other truth of God; precept, promise, threatenings. There are quarter-believers, and half-believers; but the *whole*-believer is he that assents, applies, is affected, and acts according to what he says he believes.

Now the good Lord work this belief in all our hearts, fulfilling in us all *the good pleasure of his goodness* and this *work of faith with power.* Amen.*

Sir;

Your continued kind acceptance is still my encouragement to perform this monthly service to you, wishing I could do it better to your soul's advantage and edification. The grace of faith is, indeed, the grace of all graces. 1. The grace that God hath most honoured in making it,—whether the condition or the instrument,—I am sure, the *means* of our justification, reconciliation, acceptation, salvation. Of all graces, faith doth most abase the creature, and lift up God; it is a self-emptying, and a God-advancing grace; and therefore, of all graces, God doth most advance and lift up faith; for so is the word that he hath spoken, *Those that honour me, I will honour.* 2. The grace that of all graces we do live by; for *the just shall live by faith*, Habakkuk, ii. 4; than which, I think, there is scarce any one passage in the Old Testament more often quoted in the New; and good reason, for it is the marrow of the gospel. *We live by faith.* 1. *Spiritually as to justification, sanctification, consolation*; in which three stands our spiritual life. We are justified by faith, Romans, v. 1, Acts, xiii. 39: justified from the guilt of sin, the curse of the law, and the damnation of hell. In the want of which justification, we are but dead men, that is, under

Study the nature and necessities of thy soul. Thou hast a soul that is greatly in want, a poor, though precious soul; it wants pardon of sin, wants peace with God, wants his image, wants his grace, wants his spirit. And can the world furnish these? No. Mic. vi. 6, 7.

Look beyond this to another world. Will these things avail there? No. 'Tis not getting more, but making use of what we have that will then avail. Luke, xvi. 9. 2 Cor. iv. 18.

Cast thy care upon the Lord; if thou art a believer, he careth for thee. 1 Pet. v. 7.

Be acquainted with the reality and excellency of heavenly things. Heb. xi. 1. John, iv. 10. Earthly-minded men are like moles, they live in the earth, and so are blind as to spiritual things; they see no beauty in holiness, no comeliness in Jesus Christ.

Learn to spiritualize earthly things. It is our sin and misery that earthly thoughts mix themselves when we are employed in spiritual duties; it were our profit and advantage if heavenly thoughts might as often mix themselves, and be as welcome when we are employed in worldly affairs.

Choose as much as may be to be in heavenly company. Company is of a transforming nature. Prov. xxii. 24, 25, 1 John, i. 2, 3. Be often discoursing of things above.

Labour to tread in the steps of those who have gone before us in heaven's way. Phil. iii. 17, &c. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* Evan. Mag. v. 3, p. 276.

a sentence of death; so that in that sense, by faith we live; we live by it as we are made just by it; the just, by faith, shall live. We are sanctified by faith, Acts, xxvi. 18: as, by it we receive the spirit of sanctification, who finds us dead in trespasses and sins, as to our spiritual state, and then breathes into us the breath of spiritual life, whereby we become living souls, alive to God through Jesus Christ our Lord. We are comforted by faith, Romans, xv. 13, and that comfort is our life, 1 Thessalonians, iii. 8. Now we live, that is, now we are comforted, *if ye stand fast in the Lord: non est vivere sed valere vita*. Faith comforts as it applies the promises, which promises are our breasts of consolation, at which the believing soul sucks and is satisfied. And there are two of them, one concerning the things of the life that now is, the other concerning the things of that which is to come; for godliness hath both, and hath need of both, in order to comfort, upon one occasion or other, every day. They are also called well-springs of salvation, and, as such, faith is the bucket by which we draw water from those wells. If the well be deep, as good no well as no bucket; so, as good no promise as no faith. 2. As we live spiritually* by faith in all these three great concernments of our spiritual life, so we live our life in the flesh by the faith of the Son of God, Galatians, ii. 20.† He means his life of conversation in the world; for, that is the life that he lived then in the flesh. *We walk by faith, not by sight*,—not as glorified saints do in heaven by immediate vision,—nor by carnal sight, as the men of the world, who look only at the *things that are seen* with bodily eyes,—but by faith. So that faith is a principle of living quite different from the one and from the other. It is far short of living by heavenly vision, but it is infinitely above and beyond the life of carnal reason, which men, as men, live. *In the ordinary actions and affairs of life*, 1. It is by faith and no otherwise that we *set the Lord always before us*, and see him that is invisible. And what influence that hath upon the conversation, to make it what it should be, they can best tell that have tried. 2. It is by faith, and no otherwise, that we close with the word of God as our rule and square, by which we

* Spiritual life is an inward principle in the soul of a believer, arising from his union with Jesus Christ. The following are signs of such a life;—The knowledge of God and Christ, John, xvii. 3.—Growth in grace and knowledge, John, xv. 2.—Faith in Jesus Christ, John, vi. 47.—Heavenly mindedness, Col. iii. 1, 2. Rom. vi. 11.—Spiritual sense; of sin, the first risings of it. Rom. vii. 24; the sins of others, 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8; of the withdrawals of God's presence, Ps. xxii. 1; of the afflictions of God's people, Jer. ix. 1. Neh. i. 4, &c. 1 John, iii. 14.—Speech; to God in prayer, Gal. iv. 6. Acts, ix. 11. Zech. xii. 10; for God.—Appetite, 1 Pet. ii. 2.—Care for self-preservation, Job, ii. 4, comp. 1 Pet. ii. 7.—Desires to communicate, 1 John, i. 1, 2, 3.—Art thou alive? Live at a higher rate than others, 1 Cor. iii. 3.—Art thou dead? make haste to Christ, Eph. v. 14.—He complains, Ye will not come to me that ye might have life, John, v. 40. For encouragement to come to Christ, he raised three to life in the gospel,—one in the chamber, secret sinners,—another in the street, open sinners,—a third buried, dead four days, aged sinners. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See a sermon by P. Henry, on these words. *Eighteen Sermons, ut supra.* p. 144.

regulate and order our conversation. The commandments are to be believed, Psalm, cxix. 66, as well as the promises. 3. It is by faith that we fetch strength from the Lord Jesus, for the doing of what we have to do every day in every thing, for *without him we can do nothing*. 4. It is by faith that we look at the *recompense of reward*, which makes us lively and cheerful in our obedience, both active and passive; *forasmuch as we know our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. And then for life eternal*, as we look at it by faith, so by faith it is that we have title to it; *he that believes shall be saved. Whosoever believes shall not perish, but have everlasting life. We are all the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ. And if children then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, of an inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.** If all this be true of faith, and not the one half hath been told you, then there is good reason why it should be called *precious* faith. It closes with a precious Christ, and to them only that believe is he precious. It embraces precious promises, and it saves precious souls. Is Christ our all in all? So, in a sense, Is faith our all in all? Oh, faith, (but that also must be taken with a grain of salt,) *thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory*; not thine to rest with thee, but thine to hand to him, whose it is. Amen.

Your son shall be truly welcome here at the time you mention, and I shall think it long till it come. As to the late access made to your estate, much good may it do you, that is, much good may you do with it, which is the true good of an estate. Lady Warwick† would not thank him that would give her £1000 a year, and tie her up from doing good with it. I rejoice in the large heart which God hath given you with your large estate, without which heart, the estate would be your snare. As to your purposed kindness to me, you will call me unkind if I refuse it; but as to the quantity, let it be as little as you please, for it cannot be too little where so little is deserved, as is by

September 28, 1687.

Your Servant.

* There are *evidences* of saving faith. Faith, however, is the best evidence of itself, 1 John, v. 10, as we know that the sun shines by its own light. The following are evidences.—A new nature, Acts, xxvi. 18.—Heart purity, Acts, xv. 9, at least begun and laboured after.—A low esteem of earthly things, Phil. iii. 8; a high esteem of Christ, 1 Pet. ii. 7.—Joy in tribulation, Acts, xvi. 25, &c. Rom. v. 1, 2. 1 Pet. i. 7. Hab. iii. 17, 18.—Reliance upon God for things of this life, as well as of heaven.—How came we by our faith? Did it come by hearing? Rom. x. 17.—Did it begin in doubting? What fruit doth it bear? James, ii. 14, &c. Gal. v. 6.—Self-denial, Luke, vii. 6, 7, 9.—Fear of offending.—A true believer reckons it the hardest thing in the world to believe. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See a sermon at the funeral of the Countesse of Warwick. By Anthony Walker, D. D. duod. 1680. Also Memoirs of Eminently Pious Women, v. 1, p. 169. oct. 1815. She died A. D. 1678. æt. 64.

My most humble service is to your worthy lady, and to your son and daughter with you, whom God bless.

For Henry Ashurst, Esq.
At his House in St. John Street,
London.*

October 28, 1687.

Sir;

Yet further concerning the grace of faith. Besides that it is that by which we live,—as of Christ it is said, *who is our life*,—so we may say of faith, in a different sense, it is our life. As Paul says, *to me to live is Christ*; so we may say, to us to live is to believe. I say, besides this, there are four great things said in scripture concerning faith, which deserve a particular consideration. 1. It purifies the heart;† *purifying their hearts by faith*. Faith is a heart-purifying grace, elsewhere called, *purging the conscience from dead works*, Hebrews, ix. 14. It is done *by the blood of Christ, who, through the Eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God*, meritoriously, and, by faith, instrumentally. Christ's blood is the water of purification, the true and only water, and faith is as the bunch of hyssop, dipped in it, and so purging the conscience, that is, pacifying it in reference to the guilt contracted, quieting the mind as to the pardon and forgiveness of it before God, which nothing else can do. All the legal purifyings prescribed by the law of Moses, availed nothing as to this; it is done by faith only, and, therefore, the Gentiles, which is the scope of that place, ought not to be obliged by circumcision to those ceremonial observances, seeing there was another nearer, and better way to that blessed end, and that was, by believing. We may also, by purifying the heart, understand the work of sanctification, wherein faith is greatly instrumental; but, I conceive the other the design of the place. 2. *It works by love*, Galatians, v. 6. It is a working grace; if it be idle, and work not, it is not genuine faith. And how works it? *By love*. Love in the full extent and latitude of it; the love of God, and the love of our neighbour, which two are *the fulfilling of the law*; so that to work by love, is to work by

* P. Henry. Orig. MS. Part of this letter was printed in the Evan. Mag. v. 3, p. 368.

† Means are to be used to get and keep a pure heart. We must be sensible of our impurity, Prov. xxx. 12.—Pray for a clean heart, Ps. li: it is promised, Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26.—Be frequent in self-examination.—Beware of other men's sins, 1 Tim. v. 22.—Abstain from all appearance of evil, 1 Thess. v. 22, 23.—Act faith. This is a heart-purifying grace, Acts, xv. 9; it interests us in the blood of Christ, and that cleanses, 1 John, i. 7. Zech. xii. 1; by it we receive the Spirit; by it we apply the promises, 2 Pet. i. 3, 4.—Attend upon the ordinances, John, xv. 3. xvii. 17. Titus, iii. 5.—Improve your baptism, it is a cleansing ordinance.—Afflictions, when sanctified, are means of cleansing.—Watchfulness, Ps. cxix. 9. We must take heed where we tread. We are in the light, and must walk as children of the light; carefully; cleanly. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

universal obedience, which obedience is worth nothing further than love hath a hand in it, and love stirs not further than faith acts it. He that believes the love of Christ for poor sinners, in dying for them, with particular application to himself,* cannot but find his heart constrained thereby, more or less, according as the belief is, to love him again, and out of love to him, to keep his commandments. Do we find love cold? It is because faith is weak. Do we love little? Our belief is little. Therefore, when a hard duty was enjoined, which is that of loving and forgiving enemies,—*Lord*, say the disciples, *increase our faith*; intimating, without more faith, it would not be possible. The more strongly and stedfastly we believe that Christ loved us when we were enemies to him, the more frequently and freely, readily and cheerfully, we shall forgive our brother, who is become an enemy unto us. 3. It overcomes the world, 1 John, v. 4. *This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith*;† where, by world, is meant, especially, its smiles and frowns; they are both as nothing to us, have no power or prevalency with us, so as to draw or drive us from our christian course, as long as we keep faith alive and active,—either upon the past great things that our great Redeemer hath done and suffered for us; or, upon the future invisible realities of the other world, that crown and kingdom which he hath set before us, and made over to us. 4. It quenches all the fiery darts of the wicked, Ephesians, vi. 16; that is, the devil and all his instruments; all the temptations of what kind soever, wherewith, at any time, they may assault us, they are quenched by faith, loose their hurtful keenness, and wound us not. But then that faith must be not in habit only, but in act and exercise; as a shield, not hanging up, but in the hand. Oh, that, to us, then, *it might be given always to believe!* How much better would it be with us on this four-fold account, had we more faith!

As to the truth of the matter whereof you desire an account, it was this; what reports are concerning it I know not. When I had read the address, the words which the King spoke,‡ were to this purpose.—Gentlemen, I perceive you have been yourselves sufferers for your consciences, and, therefore, I cannot but look upon you as men of conscience, and take it for granted, you will be ready to do what is fit to be done for the ease both of yourselves and others in that case, when there is a Parliament. For my part, I shall be ready to do what lies in me, and I hope, so will you. You desire me to continue your liberty, and I promise you I will as long as I live, and could be well contented, it might be as secure to you by law, as your Magna Charta is.

* See *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. James Hervey*, by the Rev. J. Brown. p. 57, &c. 3d. ed. 1822.

† See the substance of a sermon by Mr. P. Henry, on these words, in the *Evan. Mag.* v. xxvii. p. 314.

‡ See *ante*, p. 173.

Q. What persuasion are you of? Are you for the congregational way?

A. No, Sir, we are not for the congregational way.

Q. What then are you for?

A. We are for a moderate presbytery.

Q. Are you all so hereabouts?

A. There are few dissenters, if any, hereabouts, that differ from us in that matter.

This was all that was spoken, as far as I can remember; after which, he gave each of us (in all eight, whereof two were ministers) his hand to kiss, and so went his way.

Sir, I received your extraordinary kind token, and return you my most humble, hearty thanks for it. It hath no fault but that it is too good. Last week, another of your praying widows went to rest, a very choice flower in our small garden.*

Most humble service to your whole self, &c.

P. H.†

For Henry Ashurst, Esq.
At his House in St. John-street,
London.

Sir;

The nature, excellency, and usefulness of the grace of faith, is the subject concerning which I do yet owe you a further account of my poor thoughts. And, oh! that I, while I am writing, and you also, while you are reading, might each of us find, through the powerful working of the Spirit in us, an increase of that grace, that precious grace, that we may be strong in believing, giving glory to God, and that our consolations may be strong also; for as the faith is weak or strong, so the comfort is. Faith is the EYE of the soul, by which we look unto Christ, as the poor stung Israelite did to the Brazen Serpent, lifted up upon the pole, and thereby receive a cure from him; but, as Paul saith in another case, 1 Corinthians, xii. 14, the body is not one member but many, so faith is not one member but many. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? verse 17. So if faith were our eye only, and nothing else, what should we do for other instruments of spiritual life and motion? Behold, therefore, how faith, besides being our eye, is, our FOOT, by which we come to Christ; an expression often used in scripture, *e. g.* Matthew, xi. 28. Come unto me, that is, believe in me. John, vi. 37. *Him that cometh unto me*, that is, that believeth in me, *I will in no wise cast out*. By unbelief we depart from the living God, Hebrews, iii. 12. By faith we come to him by Christ, *ib.* vii. 25. And without him there is no coming, for he is the way, the true, and living, and only way; all that are out of him are

* See Sol. Song, iv. 12, v. 1. Ps. xcii. 13.

† Orig. MS.

out of the way. It is our HAND also by which we receive him, John, i. 12. *To as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name ; where believing is the same with receiving.* In the gospel, God offers him to us, freely and graciously, to be our Prince and Saviour, to be *the Lord our righteousness*, to redeem us from iniquity, and to purify us to himself. When we do heartily, by faith, close with that offer, and accept of him to be our's, he becomes our's : we have union with him, relation to him, and benefit by him. But then, there is another act of faith put forth at the same time by another hand, which is the giving act, whereby we give ourselves to him to be his, to love him, and serve him, and live to him. *O Lord*, saith David, *I am thy servant, truly I am thy servant.* Psalm, cxvi. 16. *They gave their ourselves unto the Lord.* 2 Corinthians, viii. 5. Without this our receiving is not right. There is a faith, that is one-handed, receives but gives not ; this will not save. They that come to Christ for rest, and receive Christ, must take his yoke upon them, and learn of him.* It is the MOUTH of the soul by which we feed upon him, and are nourished by him. John, vi. *Except ye eat his flesh, and drink his blood, that is, believe in him, as it is there explained, ye cannot be saved.* And this of all the rest doth in the most lively manner represent to us what it is to believe. To believe, is when a poor soul being made sensible of its lost and undone condition by sin, doth earnestly desire, as they do that are hungry and thirsty, after a Saviour. Oh, for a righteousness, wherein to appear before God ! Oh, for a pardon for what is past ! Oh, for grace and strength to do so no more ! And hearing, by the report of the gospel, and believing that report, that all this, and a great deal more, is to be had in Christ ; the next request is,—Oh, for that Christ ! Oh, that that Christ might be mine ! Why, he is thine, man, if thou wilt accept of him ! Accept of him ! Lord, I accept of him ! Then feed upon him, *His flesh is meat indeed, his blood is drink indeed.* Oh, taste and see that he is gracious. How sweet are his promises ! What inward refreshment doth the soul find by his suffering, and dying to redeem, and save ! How is it thereby strengthened, as by bread, and made glad as by wine ! We must and do each of us eat for ourselves, and drink for ourselves. My eating will not refresh another, nor strengthen another ; neither will my believing. The just shall live by his faith, his own faith. Other creatures die to make food for our bodies, and to maintain natural life ; but then we must take them, and eat them, and digest them, and having done so, they turn into nourishment to us, and so become our's, that they and we cannot be parted again. It is so in believing. Christ died to make food for our souls ; and not thereby to maintain only, but to give spiritual life, which other food doth not to the body. But then we must take him, and eat him, and digest him, that is, make a

* See the Works of Bishop Cowper, fol. 1629, p. 691.

particular application of him to ourselves, and, having done so, nothing shall, nothing can, separate us from him. Oh, that unto us it might be more and more given, thus to believe.*

Sir, I thank you most heartily, as for your last great kindness, (had it been coarser it would have been fitter for me,) so for your affectionate inquiry after my poor children. I bless God, they are all yet, both married and unmarried, our comfort and joy. Bless God with me that it is so, and pray that it may be more and more so, especially that my son may be still owned and blessed in his great work! My most humble service to your good lady, and dear children, with you. The Mediator's blessing be upon them. Upon the 8th instant, there was a publick ordination in the meeting-house at Warrington in your Lancashire; the ordainers six, the ordained six, with solemn fasting and prayer, where much of God was seen.

November 25, 1687.

For Henry Ashurst, Esq.
At his house in St. John-street,
London.†

Sir;

This once more concerning the grace of faith. As it is that by which we live, so it is that by which also we must *die*, if we will die well. There is no dying *well* without it. Hebrews, xi. 13. *These all died in faith*; meaning Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, spoken of before, who all died well, who all died believing. To die well, is to die safely, comfortably, profitably.

1. Safely. He dies safely, whose spiritual state and condition is good; who is a *new creature*; *born again*; reconciled to God; whose sins are forgiven; whose person is justified. Death hath no hurt in it to such an one: it shall be well with him for ever. Now, without believing, there is none of all this. It is faith that justifies; it is faith that sanctifies. There is no adoption, no reconciliation, no acceptance, and, consequently, no salvation without it. *He that believeth not, is condemned already*; the law condemns him, though the sentence be not yet actually passed upon him.

2. Comfortably. These two may be, and often are, parted. How many die safely who do not die comfortably; whose sun sets under a cloud. And whence is it? They are of *little faith*, and, therefore, they doubt; and, therefore, they are not comforted; they are not filled with joy and peace, for want of believing. Such kind of dying brings an evil report, like that of the evil spies, upon the good ways of the Lord; causes them to be ill thought of, and ill spoken of. If religion will not bear us out, and bear us up, at the last cast, in

* See Phil. i. 29.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS. See the Evan. Mag. v. 8, p. 452.

a dying hour, what is it good for? There are degrees of this comfort in dying. All that have it, have it not alike; some have more, some less. There is such a thing as dying triumphantly, which is putting into harbour with full-spread sails;* when *an abundant entrance is administered unto us into the everlasting kingdom*. And it is according as the faith is.

There are six things, the firm belief whereof will exceedingly promote our comfort in dying:—

1. That, at what time soever, and in what way soever, death comes, it comes by the will and appointment of our heavenly Father. He cuts no corn of his down till it is fully ripe, Job, v. 26; Revelations, xi. 7.

2. That death hath no sting in it to them that are *in Christ Jesus*; and, therefore, though it may hiss at us, we need not fear it. The brazen serpent had the form of a serpent, which is affrighting, but it hurt none; it healed the believing looker on it. How doth Paul exult over death and the grave! 1 Corinthians, xv. 56.

3. That, to them that fear the Lord, immediately beyond death is heaven,† Luke, xvi. 25; now, now, he is comforted; Philipians, i. 23. No sooner dissolved, but presently with Christ. Where this is believed, with application, there cannot but be comfort.‡ Were the soul to be no more, or to sleep till the last day, or to go, for nobody knows how long, to a popish purgatory, what comfort could we have in dying? But, if the last moment on earth be the first moment in heaven, how sweet is that!

4. That the body will certainly rise again *a glorious body*;—it is sown in weakness, and dishonour, and corruption; it shall be raised in power, and glory, incorruptible;—even this body. Your's, and mine, now crazed and sickly, hereafter shall be like the glorified body of Jesus Christ, or like *the sun shining in its brightness*.

5. That God will certainly take care of poor disconsolate relations left behind, Psalm, xxvii. 10; Jeremiah, xlix. 11. “He that feeds the young ravens will not suffer the young Herons to starve,” as godly Mr. Heron said to his wife on his death-bed. § This helped to make Jacob's death comfortable to him, Genesis, xlviii. 21; Joseph's, Genesis, l. 24.

6. That God will certainly accomplish and fulfil, in due time, all the great things that he hath purposed and promised concerning

* See “Invisibles Realities demonstrated in the Holy Life and Triumphant Death of Mr. John Janeway, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.” duod. 1698. A new edition was published in 1815, with a Preface by the Rev. R. Hall.

† Let him be afraid to die that is afraid of going to heaven. Mr. Henry. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 490.

‡ See a Sermon at the Funeral of Lady Anne Waller, by Edmund Calamy, B. D. 4to. 1662.

§ “He that feeds the young ravens will not starve the young Herons.” The Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, 4to, 1661. p. 437. Sermon 18.

See Turner's Remarkable Providences, ch. xxvii. p. 128, fol. 1697, where the same fact, differently expressed, is cited from “Dr. Fuller, in his Meditations.”

his church and people in the latter days; as, that Babylon shall fall; the Jews and Gentiles be brought in; the gospel kingdom more and more advanced; divisions healed. Oh! how have some rejoiced, and even triumphed in a dying hour, in the firm belief of these things! As Abraham rejoiced to see Christ's day, now past, and died in the faith of it, so may we as to another day of his, which is yet to come, before and besides the last day.

3. To die profitably is a step beyond dying comfortably; I mean, to die so as to do good to those that are about us, in dying. To die so as to convince them of sin, and convert them from it; which is to die like Sampson, who slew more Philistines at his death, than in all his life before.* We die profitably when our natural death is a means of spiritual life to any. Now this will not, cannot be, but in the way of believing. He that doubts, droops, desponds, calls all in question, and dies so, rather frightens from, than allures to, the love of religion and godliness. What need have we then to pray, and pray again,—*Lord, increase our faith*,—that we may not only have wherewithal to live, while we live, but wherewithal to die also, when we die!

Thus I have written you, Sir, a funeral letter, God knows whose, perhaps my own. It is certainly good to be always ready, seeing we know neither day nor hour.

Sir, I sent on Friday for your worthy, hopeful son, who came hither safe and well on Saturday. I see him very much upon improvement in learning, and rejoice, that God hath guided you, both now, and formerly, to put him into circumstances conducent thereunto. His profiting is much beyond his equals in age; and, I hope he doth also, which is the main matter, seriously set his face heavenwards, and means to make religion his business. God keep it always *in the imagination of the thoughts of his heart, and establish his way before him!*

My most affectionate respects and service are to your good lady, son, and daughter. God Almighty spare you to them, and them to you, to your mutual comfort and joy! *Amen.*

December 20, 1687.

For Henry Ashurst, Esq.

In St. John-street,
London.†

To resume the narrative:—

In May, 1688, a new commission of the peace came down for the county of Flint, in which, by whose interest or procurement was not known, Mr. Henry was nominated a justice of peace for that county. It was no small surprise to him to receive a letter from the clerk of the peace, directed to Philip Henry, Esq. acquainting him with it, and appointing him when and whither to

* See Judges, xvi. 30.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

come to be sworn. To which he returned answer, that he was very sensible of his unworthiness of the honour, and his unfitness for the office which he was nominated to, and, therefore, desired to be excused, and he was so, and did what he could, that it might not be spoken of in the country. There were some, who, upon this occasion, unhappily remembered, that, a few years before, a reverend clergyman in Shropshire told Mr. Henry to his face that he had done more mischief in the country than any man that ever came into it;* and that he himself hoped shortly to be in the commission of the peace, and then he would rid the country of him. But, alas, he was quite disappointed! Thus honour is like the shadow, which flies from those that pursue it, and follows those that flee from it.

For two years after this liberty began, Mr. Henry still continued his attendance, as usual, at Whitewell-chapel, whenever there was preaching there; and he preached at his own house only when there was no supply there, and in the evening of those days when there was. For doing thus he was greatly clamoured against by some of the rigid separatists, and called a dissembler, and one that halted between two, and the like. Thus, as he notes in his Diary, one side told him, he was the author of all the mischief in the country, in drawing people *from* the church; and the other side told him, he was the author of all the mischief, in drawing people *to* the church.—And, which of these, saith he, shall I seek to please? Lord, neither, but thyself alone, and my own conscience; and, while I can do that, I have enough.

In a sermon at Whitewell-chapel, one Lord's-day in the afternoon, where he and his family, and many of his congregation were attending, much was said, with some keen reflections, to prove the dissenters schismatics, and in a damnable state. When he came immediately after to preach at his own house, before he began his sermon, he expressed himself to this purpose;—Perhaps some of you may expect now that I should say something in answer to what we have heard, by which we have been so severely charged; but truly I have something else to do;—and so, without any further notice taken of it, went on to preach *Jesus Christ, and him crucified*.

It was not without some fear and trembling, that Mr. Henry received the tidings of the Prince of Orange's landing, in November, 1688, as being somewhat in the dark concerning the clearness of his call, and dreading what might be the consequence of it. He used to say;—"Give peace in our time, O Lord,"—was a prayer that he would heartily set his *Amen* to. But, when secret things were brought to light, and a regular course was taken to fill the vacant throne with such a king, and such a queen, none rejoiced in it more heartily than he did. He celebrated the National Thanks-

* The Apostle Paul was called a pestilent fellow, Acts, xxiv. 5; and see Archbishop Leighton's Works, v. 2, p. 276, &c. *ut supra*.

giving for that great deliverance, with an excellent sermon on that text, Romans, viii. 31;—*What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?*

[Referring to this change of affairs, as it affected associating for christian worship, he thus endeavoured to raise the minds of his flock above the consideration of mere second causes.—Christ is, said he, a Shield to particular congregations and assemblies professing faith in, and obedience to him; especially, walking worthy of their profession, to protect and defend them against the wrath and violence of those who hate them. Are not we ourselves an instance, among many others, in like circumstances? Had we been here to-day, if the blessed Jesus had not been a Shield to us? Whose hand, but his, hath been our covering? It is true, we have a good law, and a good king and queen,* but had they been for us if the Lord Jesus had been against us? No, no;—he hath been for us, therefore they. *The shields of the earth belong unto God.* He who hath undertaken the protection of the whole tabernacle, hath undertaken the protection of every apartment in it. He who hath undertaken the care of the whole vineyard, hath undertaken the care of every bed in it. He who hath undertaken to look after the whole flock, hath undertaken to look after every sheep in it. He who hath the command of the whole army, hath the command of every troop in it. Therefore, to him let us give the glory. Therefore, on him let us still wait.†]

Soon after that happy settlement, there were overtures made towards a comprehension of the moderate dissenters with the Church of England; which Mr. Henry most earnestly desired, and wished for, if it could be had upon any terms less than sinning against his conscience; for never was any more averse to that which looked like a separation than he was, if he could possibly have helped it, *salvâ conscientiâ*. His prayers were constant, and his endeavours, as he had opportunity, that there might be some healing methods found out and agreed upon.‡

But it is well known what was the *vox cleri* at that time, viz.—That, forasmuch as the oaths, subscriptions, and ceremonies, were imposed only to keep out such men, they would never consent to their removal, for the letting them in again. *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*,§ was a saying perverted to this purpose. And the fixed principle was,—Better a schism without the church, than a faction within it, &c. This was at that time published and owned, as the sense of the clergy in convocation. Which temper and resolve, so contrary to that which might have been expected upon that happy and glorious revolution, did a little alter his sentiments in that

* William and Mary.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ Appendix, No. XVIII.

§ See Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends, p. 145, 4to.

matter ; and he saw himself perfectly driven from them. Despairing, therefore, to see an accommodation, he set himself the more vigorously to improve the present liberty. In June, 1689, the Act of Indulgence* passed, which not only tolerated, but allowed the dissenters meetings, and took them under the protection of the government.

[In allusion to the gratifying event, he writes : †—

The condition of many ministers and people among ourselves, of many in France, hath been, in outward appearance, a dead condition. The words of the Act ‡ are, that they shall be as if naturally dead ; but, blessed be God, there hath been a resurrection in some measure, a coming out of the grave again, of which, whoever was the instrument, the Lord Jesus himself hath been the principal Agent. He is the Resurrection to us. When a company of non-conformists went to court to congratulate the king and queen, and to thank them for the present liberty, being clothed alike in long black cloaks, such as ministers usually wear in London, a scoffer said ;—"Whither are all these going ;—to a burial ?" "No, Sir," said one of them, "to a resurrection." §]

Soon after, though he never in the least changed his judgment as to the lawfulness of joining in the Common Prayer, but was still ready to do it occasionally ; yet the ministers that preached at Whitewell-chapel, being often uncertain in their coming, which kept his meeting at Broad Oak at like uncertainties, to the frequent disappointment of many of his hearers that came from far ; he was at last prevailed with to preach at publick time every Lord's-day, which he continued to do while he lived, much to his own satisfaction, and the satisfaction of his friends. An eminent minister in Lancashire, who did in like manner alter his practice about that time, gave this for a reason ;—"That he had been for twenty-seven years striving to please a generation of men, who, after all, would not be pleased ; and, therefore, he would no longer endeavour it as he had done."

It may be of use to give some account how he managed his ministerial work in the latter part of his time, wherein he had as signal tokens of the presence of God with him as ever ; enabling him still to *bring forth fruit in old age*, and to *renew his youth like the eagles*. Though what he did, he still did *gratis*, and would do so,

* Usually styled the Toleration Act, and entitled,—“An Act for exempting their Majesty's Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws.” 1st William and Mary, st. 1, c. 18 : confirmed by 10th Anne, c. 2 ; 19th Geo. III. c. 44 ; and 52d Geo. III. c. 155. See the Hist. of Rel. Lib. v. 2, pp. 172, 213, 394. Also, Lord Mansfield's Speech in the House of Lords. Letters to the Hon. Mr. Justice Blackstone, by P. Furneaux, D. D. p. 257, oct. 1771.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ The Act of Uniformity.

§ A similar anecdote, and, probably, originating in this, is related of the Rev. Thomas Bradbury, in the reign of King George the First. See Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, v. 3. p. 514. History of Dissenters, v. 3, p. 118.

yet he was not willing to have any constant assistant, nor had he any; so much was he in his element, when he was about his Master's work. It was his meat and drink to do it.

1. As to his constant sabbath-work, he was uniform and abundant in it. He began his morning family-worship, on Lord's-days, at eight o'clock, when he read and expounded pretty largely, sung a psalm, and prayed; and many strove to come time enough to join with him in that service. He began, in publick, just at nine o'clock, winter and summer. His meeting-place was an out-building of his own, near adjoining to his house, fitted up very decently and conveniently for the purpose. He began with prayer; then he sung Psalm cx, without reading the line; next, he read and expounded a chapter in the Old Testament in the morning, and in the New Testament in the afternoon. He looked upon the publick reading of the scriptures in religious assemblies to be an ordinance of God, and that it tended very much to the edification of people by that ordinance, to have what is read expounded to them. The bare reading of the word he used to compare to the throwing of a net into the water; but, the expounding of it is like the spreading out of that net, which makes it the more likely to catch fish;* especially as he managed it, with practical, profitable, observations. Some that have heard him read a chapter with this thought,—How will he make such a chapter as this useful to us?—have been surprised with such pertinent, useful instructions, as they have owned to be as much for their edification as any sermon. And, commonly, when he had expounded a chapter, he would desire them, when they came home, to read it over, and recollect some of those things that had been spoken to them out of it.

In his expounding of the Old Testament, he industriously sought for something in it concerning Christ, who is the true treasure, hid in the field, the true manna hid in the dew of the Old Testament. Take one instance; the last sabbath that ever he spent with his children at Chester, in the publick morning worship, he read and expounded the last chapter of the Book of Job. After he had gone through the chapter, and observed what he thought fit out of it, he expressed himself to this purpose.—When I have read a chapter in the Old Testament, I used to inquire what there is in it that points at Christ, or is any way applicable to Christ. Here is in this chapter a great deal of Job, but is there nothing of Christ here? Yes. You have heard of the patience of Job, and have in him seen the end of the Lord. This in Job is applicable to Christ, that after he had patiently gone through his sufferings, he was appointed an intercessor for his unkind friends. Verse 8. Go to my servant Job, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept. If any one hath an errand to God, let him go to Jesus Christ, and put it into his hand, for there is no acceptance to be hoped for with God, but by him, who is his beloved Son; not only with whom he is well

* See Matt. iv. 18, 19; John, xxi. 7, &c.

pleased, but in whom, viz., with us in him, he hath made us accepted in the beloved.

[On another occasion, having gone through a course of lectures on the real types* (as distinguished from personal†) of Christ, he thus concluded the repetition sermon, in which he had briefly recapitulated the twelve topicks ;—"Thus I have endeavoured to break these shells that you may come at the kernel. What have we need of, that is not to be had in *Christ*,—the marrow in all these bones? In *him* we have an ark against a deluge, a ram to be slain for us, a ladder to get to heaven by, a lamb to take away our sins, manna to feed us, water out of the rock to refresh us, a brazen serpent to heal us, purification-blood to cleanse us, a scape goat to carry our sins into a land of forgetfulness, a city of refuge to fly to, a temple to pray to, an altar to sanctify all our gifts. Lo, Christ is all this, and infinitely more, therefore, we need to look for no other."‡]

After the exposition of the chapter, he sung a psalm, and commonly chose a psalm suitable to the chapter he had expounded ; and would briefly tell his hearers how they might sing that psalm with understanding, and what affections of soul should be working towards God, in the singing of it ; his hints of that kind were of great use, and contributed much to the right performance of that service ; he often said,—The more singing of psalms there is in our families and congregations on sabbath-days, the more like they are to heaven, and the more there is in them of the everlasting sabbath. He would say sometimes, he loved to sing whole psalms, rather than pieces.

After the sermon in the morning, he sung the 117th Psalm, without reading the line.

He intermitted at noon about an hour and a half, and on sacrament-days not near so long, in which time he took some little refreshment in his study, making no solemn dinner ; yet many of his friends did partake of his carnal, as well as of his spiritual things, as those did that followed Christ, of whom he was careful they should not *faint by the way*. The morning sermon was repeated, by a ready writer, to those that stayed in the meeting place, as many did, and when that was done, he begun the afternoon's exercise ; in which he not only read and expounded a

* Having Mrs. Savage's MS. copy of these excellent discourses before me, it seems desirable to preserve here the order in which they were delivered, and the texts.

The Lamb, from John, i. 29.—Rock, 1 Cor. x. 4.—Ark, 1 Pet. iii. 18—21.—Ram, Gen. xxii. 13.—Manna, John, vi. 49, 50, 51.—The Brazen Serpent, John, iii. 14, 15.—Jacob's ladder, Gen. xxviii. 12.—The red heifer, Heb. ix. 13, 14.—The scape-goat, Lev. xvi. 8, 9, 10, 22.—Cities of refuge, Josh. xx. 1—3.—Temple, John, ii. 19—21.—An altar, Hebrews, xiii. 10. See *ante*, p. 157.

† The personal types discussed by Mr. Henry, were,—Adam, Melchisedec, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Sampson, Joshua, David, Solomon, Jonah, Cyrus. Mrs. Tylston's MS.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

chapter, but catechised the children, and expounded the catechism briefly before sermon. Thus did he go *from strength to strength*, and from duty and duty, on sabbath-days; running the way of God's commandments with an *enlarged heart*. And the variety and vivacity of his publick services made them exceeding pleasant to all that joined with him, who never had cause to complain of his being tedious. He used to say,—Every minute of sabbath-time is precious, and none of it to be lost; and that he scarce thought the Lord's day well spent, if he were not weary in body at night; wearied *with* his work, but not weary *of* it, as he used to distinguish. He would say sometimes to those about him, when he had gone through the duties of a sabbath,—Well, if this be not the way to heaven, I do not know what is. In pressing people to number their days, he would especially exhort them to number their sabbath-days, how many they have been, and how ill they have been spent; how few it is like they may be, that they may be spent better; and to help in the account, he would say, that for every twenty years of our lives, we enjoy above a thousand sabbaths, which must all be accounted for in the day of reckoning.

As to his constant preaching, it was very substantial and elaborate, and greatly to edification. He used to say, he could not starch in his preaching; that is, he would not; as knowing where the language and expression is stiff, and forced, and fine, as they call it, it doth not reach the greatest part of the hearers. When he grew old, he would say, sure he might now take a greater liberty to talk, as he called it, in the pulpit, that is, to speak familiarly to people; yet to the last he abated not in his preparations for the pulpit, nor ever delivered any thing raw and undigested; much less any thing unbecoming the gravity and seriousness of the work. If his preaching were talking, it was talking to the purpose. His sermons were not common place, but even when his subjects were the most plain and trite, yet his management of them was usually peculiar, and surprising. In those years as formerly, he kept for the most part in a method for subjects, and was very seldom above one sabbath upon a text. And his constant practice was, as it had been before, when he concluded a subject that he had been a good while upon, he spent one sabbath in a brief rehearsal of the marrow and substance of the many sermons he preached upon it; which he called the clenching of the nail, that it might be *as a nail in a sure place*. So very industrious was he, and no less ingenious in his endeavours, that his hearers might be able, after his decease, to have these things always in remembrance, 2 Peter, i. 15, and it is hoped, that, by the blessing of God, the effect did not altogether disappoint his expectation. In the latter times of his ministry he would often contrive the heads of his sermons to begin with the same letter, or rather two and two of a letter;* but he did not at

* Thus in a discourse on Rom. v. 12, *By one man sin entered into the world*; after showing that sin consists in the want of original righteousness, and in the corruption of the whole nature, he remarked that a natural state is,—

all seem to affect, or force it; only if it fell in naturally and easily, he thought it a good help to memory, and of use, especially to the younger sort. And he would say, the chief reason why he did it was, because it is frequently observed in the scripture, particularly the Book of Psalms. And though it be not a fashionable ornament of discourse, if it be a *scripture* ornament, that is sufficient to recommend it, at least to justify it against the imputation of childishness. Mr. Porter, of Whitchurch, very much used it; so did Mr. Malden. But the excellency of his sermons lay chiefly in the enlargements, which were always very solid, grave, and judicious; but in expressing and marshalling his heads, he often condescended below his own judgment, to help his hearers' memories. Some of his subjects, when he had finished them, he made some short memorandums of in verse,* a distich or two of each sabbath's work, and gave them out in writing, among the young ones of his congregation, many of whom wrote them, and learned them, and profited by them.†

It might be of use, especially to those who had the happiness of sitting under his ministry, to give some account of the method of his sabbath subjects, during the last eight or nine years of his ministry; and it was designed, till it was found it would swell this narrative into too great a bulk.‡

2. As to the administration of the sacraments, those mysteries of God, which ministers are the stewards of.

As to the sacrament of baptism, he had never, that I know of, baptized any children except his own, from the time he was turned

An estate of distance from God, Eph. ii. 13; Luke, xv. 13; Gen. iii. 8; Eph. iv. 18.

Desperate enmity against God, Rom. viii. 7; Rom. i. 30.

Universal disorder in the whole man. That which should obey, rules; the will rules the understanding; the affections the judgment; the body the soul; alluding to Eccles. x. 6, 7.

A dark state, Eph. v. 8; Eph. iv. 18. Nay, not only void of light, but hating it, resisting it, not receiving spiritual things, 1 Cor. ii. 14.

A defiled state, Ps. xiv. 3; Ezek. xvi. 6; Ps. li. 5, 7.

A diseased state, Isaiah, i. 6.

Dead to every thing that is good, Eph. ii. 1. No will, desire, or inclination to do the will of God, no more than a dead man hath to any natural action of life.

Disposed to all manner of evil, Hos. xi. 7; bent, as the bowl to follow the bias.

Disabled for ever to help himself out of this condition, Ezek. xvi. 1, 2, 3, &c. Rom. v. 6; *without strength*; nay, refusing help when offered; alluding to Luke, xiii. 11. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* A godly minister in Wales, perceiving his people to be ignorant, and also much addicted to singing, at last took this course;—he turned the subject of his sabbath sermon into a song, and gave it to his parishioners; and it did good. Much of God's mind is revealed in scripture by songs. P. Henry. From Matthew Henry's MS.

The allusion is supposed to be to the Rev. Rees Prichard, author of the *Welshman's Candle*. See a version of part of this useful poem, entitled, *The Vicar of Llandovery, a Light from the Welshman's Candle*, "by John Bulmer." duod. 1821. Preface, pp. x. xvi. &c. Mr. Prichard died in 1644, æt. 69.

† Appendix, No. XIX.

‡ Appendix, No. XX.

out in 1662, till his last liberty came, though often desired to do it; such was the tender regard he had to the established church; but now he revived the administration of that ordinance in his congregation. The occasion was this. One of the parish ministers, preaching at Whitewell-chapel,—Mr. Henry and his family, and many of his friends, being present,—was earnestly cautioning people not to go to conventicles, and used this as an argument against it,—“That they were baptized into the Church of England.” Mr. Henry’s catholic charity could not well digest this monopolizing of the great ordinance of baptism, and thought it time to bear his testimony against such narrow principles, which he ever expressed his dislike of in all parties and persuasions. Accordingly he took the next opportunity that offered itself, publicly to baptize a child, and desired the congregation to bear witness,—That he did not baptize that child into the Church of England, nor into the Church of Scotland, nor into the Church of the Dissenters, nor into the Church at Broad Oak, but into the visible catholic church of Jesus Christ. After this he baptized very many, and always publicly, though, being in the country, they were commonly carried a good way. The publick administration of baptism, he not only judged most agreeable to the nature and end of the ordinance, but found to be very profitable and edifying to the congregation; for he always took that occasion, not only to explain the nature of the ordinance, but affectionately and pathetically to excite people duly to *improve* their baptism. He usually received the child immediately out of the hands of the parent that presented it, and returned it into the same hands again, with this, or the like charge;—Take this child, and bring it up for God. He used to say, that one advantage of publick baptism was, that there were many to join in prayer for the child, in which therefore, and in blessing God for it, he was usually very large and particular. After he had baptized the child, before he gave it back to the parent, he commonly used these words;—We receive this child into the congregation of Christ’s church, having washed it with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in token, that, hereafter, it shall not be ashamed to confess Christ crucified, and manfully to fight, &c.

He baptized many adult persons, that, through the error of their parents, were not baptized in infancy, and some in publick.

The solemn ordinance of the Lord’s Supper he constantly celebrated in his congregation once a month, and always to a very considerable number of communicants. He did not usually observe publick days of preparation for that ordinance, other than as they fell in course in the weekly lectures; nor did he ever appropriate any particular subject of his preaching to sacrament days, having a great felicity in adapting any profitable subject to such an occasion: and he would say;—What did the primitive Christians do, when they celebrated the Lord’s Supper every Lord’s-day? His administration of this ordinance was very solemn and affecting. He had

been wont to go about in the congregation, and to deliver the elements with his own hand; but, in his latter time, he delivered them only to those near him, and so they were handed from one to another, with the assistance of one who supplied the office of a deacon,* as having also the custody and disposal of the money gathered for the use of the poor; Mr. Henry taking, and carefully keeping, a particular account of it.

Such as desired to be admitted to the Lord's Supper, he first discoursed with concerning their spiritual state, and how the case stood between God and their souls; not only to examine them, but to instruct and teach them, and to encourage them, as he saw occasion; gently leading those whom he discerned to be serious, though weak and timorous. He usually discoursed with them more than once, as finding *precept upon precept, and line upon line*, necessary: but he did it with so much mildness, and humility, and tenderness, and endeavour to make the best of every body, as did greatly affect, and win upon many. He was herein like our great Master, who can have *compassion on the ignorant*, and doth not *despise the day of small things*.

But his admission of young people out of the rank of catechumens into that of communicants, had a peculiar solemnity in it. Such as he catechised, when they grew up to some years of discretion, if he observed them to be intelligent and serious, and to set their faces heavenwards, he marked them out to be admitted to the Lord's Supper; and, when he had a competent number of such, twelve or fifteen, perhaps, or more, he ordered each of them to come to him severally, and discoursed with them of the things belonging to their everlasting peace; put it to their choice, whom they would serve; and endeavoured to affect them with those things with which, by their catechisms, they had been made acquainted; drawing them with the *cords of a man, and the bands of love*, into the way which is called holy. For several Lord's-days he catechised them, particularly in publick, touching the Lord's Supper,† and the duty of preparation for it, and their baptismal covenant, which, in that ordinance they were to take upon themselves, and to make their own act and deed. Often telling them upon such occasions, that they were not to oblige themselves to

* The peculiar work of deacons, according to the primitive institution, was the serving tables, and making a prudent and faithful distribution of the stock of the society, Acts, vi. 2. Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. 2, p. ix. oct. 1788. Watts's Works, v. 4, p. 146, oct. 1813. Some of them, perhaps all, were occasionally preachers; but this was no part of their office as deacons. Mr. Newton. Review of Ecclesiastical History. Works, v. 3, p. 87. oct. 1808.

† 1687-8. Sab. Mar. 11, I spent still at dear Broad Oak: many sweet lessons taught us. The subject,—that a bold spirit is an excellent spirit; but I was most affected with the catechising, which was not then of the children, but the young persons who are shortly to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. After many serious exhortations and questions, all the company, as well as dear father, were much affected, when tears would scarce let him say any more than,—God, bless you! Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

any more than what they were already obliged to by their baptism, only to bind themselves faster to it. Then he appointed a day in the week before the ordinance; when, in a solemn assembly on purpose, he prayed for them, and preached a sermon* to them, proper to their age and circumstances; and so the following sabbath they were all received together to the Lord's Supper. This he looked upon as the right confirmation, or transition into the state of adult church-membership. The more solemn our covenanting with God is, the more deep and the more durable the impressions are likely to be. He hath recorded it in his Diary, upon one of these occasions, as his heart's desire and prayer for those who were thus admitted;—That it might be as the day of their espousals to the Lord Jesus, and that they might each of them have a wedding-garment.

3. The discipline he observed in his congregation was, not such as he could have wished for, but the best he could get, considering what a scattered flock he had, which was his trouble; but it could not be helped. He would sometimes apply to the circumstances he was in, that of Moses, Deuteronomy, xii. 8, 9. However, I see not but the end was effectually attained by the methods he took, though there wanted the formality of officers and church-meetings for the purpose. If he heard of any that walked disorderly, he sent for them, and reproved them gently, or sharply, as he saw the case required. If the sin had scandal in it, he suspended them from the ordinance of the Lord's Supper till they gave some tokens of their repentance and reformation. And where the offence was publick and gross, his judgment was, that some publick satisfaction should be made to the congregation before re-admission. But, whatever offence did happen, or breaches of the christian peace, Mr. Henry's peculiar excellence lay in restoring with the *spirit of meekness*;† which, with his great prudence and love, and condescension, did so much command the respect of his people, and win upon them, that there was a universal satisfaction in all his management; and it may be truly said of him, as it was of David, 2 Samuel, iii. 36; that *whatsoever he did pleased all the people*. And it is an instance and evidence, that those ministers who will rule by love and meekness, need no laws or canons to rule by, other than those of the Holy Scripture.—*How forcible are right words!* Job, vi. 25.

* Once he preached on that occasion, on 1 Cor. xiii. 11; at another time on 2 Chron. xxx. 8; another, on 1 Chron. xxix. 18. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

† Meekness is a grace of the Spirit, Gal. v. 22, 23; and is of general use to us in every thing we do, both towards God and man, James, iii. 13. Meekness in the understanding is seen in receiving the truths of God, James, i. 21. Meekness in the will is seen in yielding to his commands, Matt. xi. 29. The proper work of meekness is to compose, and cool, and quiet the spirit. It regulates anger in its cause, measure, and continuance, Eph. iv. 26. We must answer with meekness, 1 Pet. iii. 15. We must instruct with meekness, 2 Tim. ii. 25. We must restore with meekness, Gal. vi. 1. We must bear reproaches with meekness, Numb. xii. 2, 3; 2 Sam. xvi. 7, 8. We must bear reproofs with meekness. Meekness towards God stands opposed to murmuring and repining at his dealings with us. The language will be,—*It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good*. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

4. He was very strict and very serious in observing the publick fasts appointed by authority, and called them a delight. He had seldom any one to assist him in carrying on the duties of those days, but performed the service of them himself alone. He began at nine of the clock, or quickly after, and never stirred out of the pulpit till about four in the afternoon, spending all that time in praying and expounding, and singing, and preaching, to the admiration of all that heard him, who were generally more on such days than usual. And he was sometimes observed to be more warm and lively towards the latter end of the duties of a fast-day than at the beginning; as if the spirit were most willing and enlarged when the flesh was most weak. In all his performances on publick fast-days, he did, *hoc agere*, attend to that which was the proper work of the day; *every thing is beautiful in its season*. His prayers and pleadings with God on those days, were especially for national mercies, and the pardon of national sins. How excellently did he order the cause before God, and fill his mouth with arguments in his large and particular intercessions for the land, for the king, the government, the army, the navy, the church, the French Protestants, &c. He was another Jacob, a wrestler, an Israel, a prince with God.* Before a fast-day, he would be more than ordinarily inquisitive concerning the state of publick affairs, as Nehemiah was, Nehemiah, i. 2, that he might know the better how to order his prayers and preaching; for, on such a day, he hath sometimes said,—As good say nothing, as nothing to the purpose. He made it his business on fast-days, to show people their transgressions, especially *the house of Jacob their sins*.—It is most proper, said he, to preach of Christ on Lord's-days, to preach of sin on fast-days, and to preach duty on both. He went over the third chapter of the Revelations, in the fast sermons of two years. Another year he preached over the particulars of that charge,† Zephaniah, iii. 2. Hypocrisy in hearers, and flattery in preachers, as he would sometimes say, is bad at any time, but it is especially abominable upon a day of humiliation.

5. He preached a great many lectures in the country about, some stated, some occasional, in supplying of which he was very indefatigable. He hath sometimes preached a lecture, ridden eight or nine miles, and preached another, and the next day two more. To quicken himself to diligence he would often say,—Our opportunities are passing away, and *we must work while it is day, for the night cometh*. Once, having very wet and foul weather to go

* 1697-8. Sab. Sep. 4. I oft think of a petition of dear praying father, now with God, thus;—Let, O Lord, the blessing of the ordinances reach those whose hearts are with us here to-day, though their persons be not. God grant I may tread in his steps, and be truly of the seed of this praying Jacob, who was so mighty in that duty. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

† See P. Henry's Sermons, oct. 1816, pp. 226, 242, 269. Also, a sermon on the Fifth of November, by P. Henry. Evan. Mag. vol. xxviii. p. 456.

through to preach a lecture, he said, he comforted himself with two scriptures; one was, 2 Timothy, ii. 3,—*Endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ*; the other, because he exposed and hazarded his health, for which some blamed him, was, 2 Samuel, vi. 21,—*It was before the Lord*. He took all occasions in his lectures abroad, to possess the minds of people with sober and moderate principles, and to stir them up to the serious regard of those things wherein we are all agreed.—We are not met here together, said he, once in an exhortation, with which he often began at his lecture, because we think ourselves better than others, but because we desire to be better than we are.

He was very happy in the choice of his subjects for his week-day lecture. At one, which was stated, he preached against errors* in general, from James, i. 16;—*Do not err, my beloved brethren*;—particularly, from divers other scriptures he shewed, that we must not err, concerning God, and Christ, and the Spirit; concerning sin and repentance, faith, and good works; concerning God's ordinances; concerning grace and peace, and afflictions and prosperity, and the things of the life to come.†

[At another lecture, he considered what the people of God are compared to in scripture. They are *the salt of the earth; the light of the world; God's witnesses; the planting of the Lord; his husbandry; his building*.‡]

At the monthly lectures at his own house, he chose to preach upon the four last things, death and judgment, heaven and hell, in many particulars, but commonly a new text for every sermon. When he had, in many sermons, finished the first of the four, one that used to hear him sometimes, inquiring of his progress in his subjects, asked him if he had done with death, meaning that subject concerning death; to which he pleasantly replied;—No, I have not done with him yet. I must have another turn with him, and he will give me a fall; but I hope to have the victory at last. He would sometimes remove the lectures in the country from one place to another, for the benefit of those that could not travel. Once having adjourned a lecture to a new place, he began it with a sermon on Acts, xvii. 6;—*These men that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also*; in which he shewed how false the charge is as they meant it; for religion doth not disturb the

* Appendix, No. XXI.

† As a preservative against error, get truth of grace, and grow in it, 2 Pet. iii. 17, 18; Heb. xiii. 9; Matt. xxiv. 24. Be filled with knowledge, especially in fundamentals, Matt. xxii. 29; Ps. cxix. 104, &c. Get an humble heart, Ps. cxxxi. 1, 2; Ps. xxv. 9. Receive the truth in the love of it, 2 Thes. ii. 10, 11; John, vii. 17. Be much in secret prayer; pray for the Spirit, who is given to lead into truth, John, xvi. 13. Maintain communion with the saints; come not near seducers, 2 Cor. vi. 17; Prov. iv. 14, 15; 2 John, x.; Jer. xxiii. 16. Keep up due esteem of ministers whom God hath set over you, Heb. xiii. 7, 17; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Jer. vi. 16, 17; Eph. iv. 11, &c.; Mal. ii. 2, 7. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

peace of families, or societies, doth not cause any disorder or unquietness, &c. And yet, that in another sense there is a great truth in it,—that, when the gospel comes in power to any soul, it turns the world upside down in that soul; such is the change it makes there.

All this he did *gratis*, and without being burdensome to any; nay, he was best pleased, when, at the places where he preached, nothing was got for his entertainment, but he came home, though some miles, fasting; as in other places it was a trouble to him to see his friends careful about much serving, though it was out of their respect to him.

Lastly. As he was an excellent preacher himself, so he was an exemplary hearer of the word, when others preached, though every way his inferiors; so reverent, serious, and attentive was he in hearing, and so observant of what was spoken. I have heard him tell, that he knew one, and I suppose it was as Paul knew a man in Christ, who could truly say, to the glory of God, that for forty years he had never slept at a sermon.

[He would sometimes remark;—Those who are ordinarily drowsy in hearing the word of God, and allow themselves in it, are next door to some great affliction, or great temptation, or on the declining hand.*]

He was diligent also to improve what he heard afterwards by meditation, repetition, prayer, and discourse; and he was a very great encourager of young ministers that were humble and serious, though their abilities and performances were but mean. He hath noted in his Diary, as that which affected him, this saying of a godly man, a hearer of his;—"I find it easier to go six miles to hear a sermon, than to spend one quarter of an hour in meditating and praying over it in secret, as I should, when I come home.†

As to the circumstances of his family in these last nine years of his life, they were somewhat different from what they had been; but the same *candle*‡ of God, which had shined upon his tabernacle, continued still to do so. In the years 1687, and 1688, he married all his five children; the three eldest in four months' time, in the year 1687; and the other two in a year and a half after; so many swarms, as he used to call them, out of his hive;§ and all, not only with his full consent, but to his abundant comfort, and satisfaction. He would say, he thought it the duty of parents to study

* From an authentick MS. believed to be in the hand-writing of his daughter, Mrs. Tylston.

† Appendix, No. XXII.

‡ See Job, xxix. 3.

§ Probably in allusion to Shakspeare:—

"All's well that ends well." Act 1, sc. 2.
 I after him, do after him wish too,
 Since I nor wax, nor honey, can bring home,
 I quickly were dissolved from my hire,
 To give some labourer room.

to oblige their children in that affair. And though never could children be more easy and at rest in a father's house than his were, yet he would sometimes say concerning them, as Naomi to Ruth, Ruth, iii. 1,—*Shall I not seek rest for thee?* Two advices he used to give, both to his children and others, in their choice of that relation. One was;—Keep within the bounds of profession, such as one may charitably hope is from a good principle. The other was;—Look at suitableness in age, quality, education, temper, &c. He used to observe from Genesis, ii. 18,—*I will make him a help meet for him*,—that where there is not meetness, there will not be much help. And he would commonly say to his children, with reference to that choice;—Please God, and please yourselves, and you shall never displease me; and greatly blamed those parents, who conclude matches for their children, and do not ask counsel at their mouth.

[When the proposal made to his youngest daughter was communicated to him, his sentiments were expressed in the following letter:—

My dear Daughter;

Your present affair we can truly say was no less a surprise to us, than it was to you; but we have learned, both from our fixed belief of God's universal providence in every thing, and his particular special providence towards those that fear him, and also from our last year's experience, once and again, of his doing that for us which we looked not for;—to cease our wonder, and to apply ourselves, as we ought to do, to our duty. We would have you do so likewise; saying, as Paul, which was the first word that grace spoke in him,—*Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?* Your way is, in the first place, to acknowledge God, not only in the thing itself, but in all the motions and events of it; and, if you do so, he will direct you; that is, guide, and bless, and succeed your steps. You are, next, to admit the person into your converse as in another case, 1 Timothy, v. 2, with all purity; that is, at no unfitting time, in no unfitting place, manner, or other circumstance; as it will not be desired, so neither ought it to be granted. Your end, herein, is to be the same with his; your next end that you may be acquainted with each other's temper and disposition. Especially that you may feel the pulse of each other's soul, how it beats towards God, and his works, and ways. As the agreement is in *that*, accordingly will be much of the sweetness and comfort of the condition.

As to the calling, estate, and other things of that kind, I am glad you know, and am more glad you have espoused Mr. Alleyn's six principles,* which are the same in *practice*, and are of as great use and influence as Mr. Perkins's Six Principles† in *Doctrine*;

* See the Sure Guide to Heaven, by Joseph Alleine, pp. 235, 245, ed. 1704, duod.

† See *ante*, p. 3.

and, therefore, hold to them. If height and fulness in the world were the things that would make us happy, those who have them would be the happy people; but it is not so. It shall be my endeavour, as far as I can, to inform myself how things are in those matters, that there may be no mistake on either side, and then to do as there shall be cause. You will remember one thing, which you have often heard from me in others' cases, though never in your own, and that is,—To keep yourself free from all engagements, by promise, till the time come when it shall be thought proper, by mutual consent, that I contract you,* which will be time enough for you to do that. To how many hath the not observing this rule been a snare! We are truly thoughtful for you, you may well believe, but must not be too thoughtful. Unto God we must, and do, commit our way in it, and so must you your's,—*casting all our care upon him, for he careth for us*. We have, hitherto, found his contrivances best, not our's. I am glad you have so worthy a friend as Mrs. M. K. to unbosom yourself to, and to help to advise you, and pray for you. I told your brother when I thought it would be convenient you should come home. If he has not opportunity of sending you then, we shall, soon after, God willing, send for you. Our love and blessing is to him, and our daughter, and to your dear self, having *confidence in you in all things*; (2 Corinthians, vii. 16;—but it is *through the Lord*, as it is limited, Galatians, v. 10;) that you will act as I have counselled you.

Committing you to his protection and guidance, I rest,

Your loving father,

Feb. 17, 1687-8.

PHILIP HENRY.†]

He never aimed at great things‡ in the world for his children, but sought for them, in the first place, *the kingdom of God*, and the *righteousness* thereof. He used to mention, sometimes, the saying of a pious gentlewoman, that had many daughters;—"The care of most people is how to get good husbands for their daughters; but my care is to fit my daughters to be good wives, and then let God provide for them." In this, as in other things, Mr. Henry steered by that principle,—*That a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth*. And it pleased God so to order it, that all his children were disposed of, into circumstances very agreeable and comfortable, both for life and godliness. He was greatly affected with the goodness of God to him herein, without

* See the Investigator, v. 7, p. 70. Also the Works of the Rev. R. Greenham, p. 174, fol. 1605, where there is a Treatise of a Contract before Marriage.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Having in view, very likely, the pithy couplet of his admired poet, George Herbert:—

"For gold and grace did never yet agree;
Religion always sides with poverty."

The Temple, &c., *ut supra*, 191. Also, Clarke's Lives, annexed to the Martyrologie, p. 152, *ut supra*.

any forecast or contrivance of his own.—The country, saith he, in his Diary, takes notice of it, and what then shall I render? Surely, this is a *token for good*.

[Speaking of the arrangements of outward comforts, and the eagerness of the affections towards them, he would remark, that, —God hath three hands, wherewith he distributes earthly things; a hand of common providence; with this he feeds the ravens, when they cry. A hand of special love; with this he feeds his children, who commit their way to him, and put their trust in him. A hand of anger and wrath; with this he gives to those who are impatient; they must and will be rich; they must and will have this or that.* In gifts from men we look more at the mind of the giver than the value of the gift. So should we in gifts from God. Have I his *love* with what I have? Then I am well enough. If otherwise, it is but a sad portion; as a golden suit with the plague in it.†]

All his four daughters were married at Whitewell-chapel, and he preached a wedding-sermon‡ for each of them, in his own family after.§

He would often tell his friends, that those who desire, in the married condition, to live in the favour of God, must enter upon that condition in *the fear of God*. For it is an ill omen to stumble at the threshold; and an error in the first concoction is seldom amended in the second.

While he lived he had much comfort in all his children, and their yoke-fellows, and somewhat the more, that, by the Divine Providence, four of the five families which branched out of his, were settled in Chester.

His youngest daughter|| was married April 26, 1688, the same day of the year, as he observes in his Diary, and the same day of the week, and in the same place that he was married to his dear wife, twenty-eight years before; upon which, this is his remark;—I cannot desire for them, that they should *receive* more from God than we have received, in that relation and condition; but I would desire, and do desire, that they may *do* more for God in it than we have done.

His usual compliment to his new-married friends, was;—Others wish you all happiness, I wish you all holiness, and then there is no doubt but you will have all happiness.

* Upon those men who escape the curse of Adam, Genesis, iii. 19;—*In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread*,—God commonly inflicts the serpent's curse; verse 14, —*Upon thy belly shalt thou go, dust shalt thou eat*. Those usually that have most dote most upon what they have, grovelling in the earth, &c. We must use riches as thorns; make a hedge, and stop gaps with them; but by no means make a bed of them, as that fool; Luke, xii. 19. P. Henry. Com. Pl. Book. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ For a singular Collection of Wedding Sermons, see the *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, by the Rev. W. Beloe, v. 3, pp. 100—109, oct. 1808;—"Every one of which, from some cause or other, the whimsicality of the title, the phraseology, or the matter, is an object of curiosity." Ib. p. 100.

§ Appendix, No. XXIII.

|| See *ante*.

When the marriage of the last of his daughters was about to be concluded on, he thus writes ;—*But is Joseph gone, and Simeon gone, and must Benjamin go also?* We will not say, that *all these things are against us*, but *for us*. If we must be thus, in this merciful way, bereaved of our children, let us be bereaved ; and God turn it for good to them, as we know he will, if they love and fear his name. And when, some time after she was married, he parted with her to the house of her husband, he thus writes ;—We have sent her away, not as Laban said he would have sent his daughters away, with *mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp*, but with prayers, and tears, and hearty good wishes.—And now, saith he, in his Diary, we are alone again, as we were in our beginning. God be better to us than twenty children. Upon the same occasion he thus writes to a dear relation ;—We are now left as we were, one and one, and yet but one one ; the Lord, I trust, that has brought us thus far, will enable us to finish well ; * and then all will be well, and not till then.

That which he often mentioned, as the matter of his great comfort that it was so, and his desire that it might continue so, was, the love and unity that was among his children ; and that, as he writes, the transplanting of them into new relations, had not lessened that love, but rather increased it ; for this he often gave thanks to the God of love ; noting, from Job, i. 4 ;—That the children's love to one another is the parents' comfort and joy. In his last will and testament, this is the prayer which he puts up for his children,—That the Lord would build them up in holiness, and continue them still in brotherly love, as *a bundle of arrows which cannot be broken*.

When his children were removed from him, he was a daily intercessor at the throne of grace for them, and their families. Still the burnt-offerings were offered *according to the number of them all*. He used to say ;—Surely, the children of so many prayers will not miscarry. Their particular circumstances of affliction and danger were sure to be mentioned by him with suitable petitions. The greatest affliction he saw in his family, was the death of his dear daughter-in-law, Catharine, † the only daughter of Samuel Hardware, Esq. ; who, about a year and a half after she was transplanted into his family, to which she was the greatest comfort and ornament imaginable, died of the small-pox in child-bed, upon the Thanksgiving-day for King William's coming in. She died but a few weeks after Mr. Henry had married the last of his daughters ; upon which marriage she had said ;—“ Now we have a full lease,

* See Acts, xx. 24.

† See Tong's Life of the Rev. Matthew Henry, p. 105, &c. *ut supra*. Her epitaph is preserved in the History of Cheshire, *ut supra*, vol. 1, p. 262 ; and a pedigree of the Hardware family, *ib.* vol. 2, p. 181.

Mr. Matthew Henry bewailed his loss in some pathetick lines which were first printed in the Evan. Mag. v. 2, p. 351 ; and a little altered, v. 29, p. 163.

God only knows which life will drop first." She comforted herself in the extremity of her illness with this word;—"Well, when I come to heaven, I shall see that I could not have been without this affliction." She had been for some time before under some fears as to her spiritual state, but the clouds were, through grace, dispelled, and she finished her course with joy, and a cheerful expectation of the glory to be revealed. When she lay ill, Mr. Henry, being in fear not only for her that was ill, but for the rest of his children in Chester, who had none of them past the pikes* of that perilous distemper, wrote thus to his son, on the evening of the Lord's-day.—"I have just done the publick work of this day, wherein, before many scores of witnesses, many of whom I dare say, are no little concerned for you, I have absolutely, freely, and unreservedly, given you all up to the good-will and pleasure of our heavenly Father, waiting what he will do with us, for good I am sure we have received, and shall we not receive evil also?" He preached at Chester, upon occasion of that sad breach in his family, on Job, x. 3;—*Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me.*

When two of his children lay ill, and in perilous circumstances, after he had been wrestling with God in prayer for them, he wrote thus in his Diary;—If the Lord will be pleased to grant me my request this time concerning my children, I will not say as the beggars at our door use to do;—I'll never ask any thing of him again; but, on the contrary, he shall hear oftener from me than ever; and I will love God the better, and love prayer the better, as long as I live. He used to say,—Tradesmen take it ill, if those that are in their books, go to another shop. While we are so much indebted to God for past mercies, we are bound to attend him for further mercies.

As he was an intercessor for his children at the throne of grace, so he was upon all occasions a remembrancer to them, both by word and letter, to quicken them to that which is good. How often did he inculcate this upon them? Love one another, and the God of love and peace will be with you. Do all you can, while you are together, to help one another to heaven, that you may be together there, for ever, and with the Lord. When the families of his children were in health and peace, the candle of God shining upon their tabernacles, he wrote thus to them;—It was one of Job's comforts in his pros-

* Mr. Paul Bayne, in his *Christian Letters*, *ut supra*, p. 246, urges for consolation, that it is,—“promised we shall *pass the pikes*, and bring forth, though with sorrowes.” In another of his works he says;—“We see that who will keepe life and power in his course, endeavouring a good conscience in all things, they must *pass the pikes* of evill tongues which are shaken against them.” The *Triall of a Christian's Estate*, p. 27, duod. 1637. See also Bishop Saunderson's *Thirty-four Sermons*, p. 24, fol. 1674; and an *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, by John Dod and Robert Cleaver, p. 16, 4to, 1622.

An old biographer says;—There are no preachers so experimental, spiritual, powerful, courageous, awakening, convincing, converting, compassionate, comforting, as those who have passed *through the pikes*. *Life of Mr. John Murcot*, p. 5, prefixed to his *Works*, *ut supra*.

perity, that his children loved one another, and feasted together. The same is our's in you, which, God continue. But you will not be offended, if we pray that you may none of you curse God in your hearts. Remember the wheel is always in motion, and the spoke that is uppermost will be under,* and therefore mix tremblings always with your joy.

He much rejoiced in the visits of his children, and made that, as other things, which were the matter of his rejoicing, the matter of his thanksgiving. His usual saying, at parting, was;—This is not the world we are to be together in, and it is well it is not; but there is such a world before us. And his usual prayer was,—That our next meeting might be either in heaven, or further on in our way towards it.

He had, in eight years' time, twenty-four grand-children born; some by each of his children; concerning whom he would often bless God, that they were all the sealed ones of the God of heaven, and enrolled among his lambs. On the birth of his second grand-child, at a troublesome time as to publick affairs, he thus writes;—I have now seen my *children's children*; let me also see *peace upon Israel*; and then I will say,—*Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart*. Some were much affected with it, when he baptized two of his grand-children together at Chester, publicly, and preached on Genesis, xxxiii. 5;—*They are the children which God hath graciously given thy servant*. He observed in what a savoury, pious, gracious manner Jacob speaks. He had spoken good sense if he had only said; They are my children; but then he had not spoken like Jacob, like one that had so lately seen the face of God. Though our speech be not always of grace, yet it must be always *with* grace; grace poured into the lips. There is a kind of language, the air of which speaks it the *language of Canaan*. Christians should speak like Christians.

It was not long after his children were married from him, but his house was filled again with the children of several of his friends, whom he was, by much importunity, persuaded to take to table with him.† All that knew him, thought it a thousand pities that such a master of a family should have but a small family, and should not have many to sit down under his shadow.‡ He was first almost necessitated to it, by the death of his dear friend and

* Heavenly honour and glory, like a pole, or axle-tree, is fixed and immoveable; but earthly is like a wheel that turns over and over, and runs round; that part which is now above, or aloft, will by and by be below, and at bottom. Precepts for Christian Practice, by Edward Reyner, p. 184, duod. 1668, edit. 13th.

† It would be interesting to see a list of his "Tablers," as his papers designate them, but an effort to furnish one has proved ineffectual. Dr. Latham, in a "Sermon preached at Uttoxeter, May 26, 1745, on occasion of the Death of the Rev. Mr. Daniel Madock," says;—"His first years were spent in old Mr. Philip Henry's family, where he was early formed to piety as well as instructed in good literature." p. 27, oct. 1745.

‡ See Sol. Song, ch. ii. v. 3.

kinsman, Mr. Benyon, of Ash, who left his children to his care. Some he took *gratis*, or for small consideration; and when, by reason of the advances of age, he could not go about so much as he had done, doing good, he laid out himself to do the more at home. He kept a teacher to attend their school-learning; and they had the benefit not only of his inspection in that, but, which was much more, his family-worship, sabbath instructions, catechizing, and daily converse, in which his tongue was *as choice silver*, and his *lips fed many*. Nothing but the hopes of doing some good to the rising generation could have prevailed with him, to take this trouble upon him. He would often say;—We have a busy house, but there is a rest remaining. We must be doing something in the world while we are in it; but this fashion will not last long, methinks I see it passing away.

Sometimes he had such with him as had gone through their course of university-learning, at private academies, and desired to spend some time in his family, before their entrance upon the ministry, that they might have the benefit, not only of his publick and family instructions, but of his learned and pious converse,* in which, as he was thoroughly furnished, for every good word and work, so he was very free and communicative. The great thing which he used to press upon those who intended the ministry, was to study the scriptures, and make them familiar. *Bonus textuarius est bonus theologus*, was a maxim he often minded them of. For this purpose he recommended to them the study of the Hebrew, that they might be able to search the scriptures in the original. He also advised them to the use of an interleaved Bible, wherein to insert such expositions and observations, as occur occasionally in sermons or other books; which he would say, are more happy and considerable sometimes, than those that are found in the professed commentators. When some young men desired the happiness of coming into his family, he would tell them;—You come to me, as Naaman did to Elisha, expecting that I should do this and the other for you, and, alas, I can but say as he did, *Go, wash in Jordan*. Go, study the scriptures. I profess to teach no other learning but scripture-learning.

[Sometimes he would say;—Prefer having eyes to read the scriptures, and be blind to every thing else, rather than to read every thing else, and neglect the Bible.† Christ is the lesson there taught, and it is a lesson which it will do us abundant good to learn.

* Mr. Wilson, of Warwick, an eminent young minister, (See Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, pp. 49, 271,) before he undertook a publick charge desired to spend some time in the family of the excellent Philip Henry; and said to a near relation of his,—He desired to learn Mr. Henry's way of preaching, and praying, and living; and, says he, "If God will give me his Spirit, I shall be a happy person." This desire of his was pleasing to God; he had the opportunity, and most discernible advantage by it. A Funeral Sermon for the Rev. Mr. Samuel Slater, p. 26, 4to. 1704. By the Rev. W. Tong.

† See Hildersam's Lecture upon the 4th of John, fol. 1629. Address, "To the godly reader, whether minister or private Christian."

It is unspeakably satisfying to the understanding. It is both sweet and comfortable, refreshing and joyous. It is strangely renewing and changing within, as to the *inner man*, by making the tree good, bowing the will, and raising the affections; and as strangely reforming, and mending without, in the life and conversation.*]

It was but a little before he died, that, in reading Isaiah, i. he observed, from verse 4;—*The Lord hath given me the tongue of the learned, &c.*—That the true learning of a gospel minister consists,—not in being able to talk Latin fluently, and to dispute in philosophy,—but in being able to *speak a word in season* to weary souls. He that knows how to do that well, is a learned minister.

[He still employed his edifying talent in letter-writing to the no small gratification of his friends. In these communications he usually wrote with the warmth of holy affection and zeal; occasionally indulging in a playfulness of expression which served to show how far he was from being gloomy, or morose. The following may be taken as examples:—

July 5, 1692.

Dear Sir;

The change of your hand for so much the better, made me altogether uncertain to whom I owed the kindness of the printed paper, till your father informed my ignorance, which is now quite removed by your second letter. The tidings whereof, though it be not like that of the former, as to the account it gives of publick affairs, yet as to this were very acceptable, that it assures me of the continuance of your personal respect to, and remembrance of, unworthy me; and also gives me good ground of hope, that you are confirmed more and more in your choice of the good ways of the Lord, the good old ways of religion and godliness, as the ways you resolve to walk in, though but few of your rank and circumstances, yea, *very few*, do so. And what then? Is it not better to go to heaven with a remnant, than to hell with a multitude? Are diamonds and rubies ever the less precious, because they are short in number of the pebble stones? I am glad to think there is one the more for you; and I hope, *He that hath begun the good work*, the same *will perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ*. What you write of the paralyzing atheism of the town, I am afraid is too true; but what do you think of such a thing as *a-christism*? I am sure Ephesians, ii. 12, mentions both. How many are there that own a God, and worship him, that have no regard to Christ Jesus in doing so,—as if we could come to him, and have to do with him, and receive from him without a Mediator! How is he then *the way*? Hath he not said,—*No man cometh to the Father but by me*? Is he the way to those that do not *walk in him*, or an Advocate to those that

do not employ him? The blessed Paul could say,—*To me to live is Christ*; and if we cannot, in some measure, say so too, to us *to die* will not be *gain*. Dear Sir, give me leave, with all the affectionate earnestness I can use, to recommend him to your study and acquaintance; and to intreat you to *abound therein more and more*; learn him, and love him, and live him, and, my soul for your's, all will be well. Learn him, for he is a good Lesson; love him, for he is a good Friend; and live him, for he is a good Pattern. Count upon it you can have no sin pardoned without him; no strength to do your duty without him; no acceptance, when it is done, without him; no communion with God here, without him; and no heaven hereafter, without him. And is there not good reason, then, why you should make him your *All in all*, and use him accordingly?

I have been for some weeks, of late, a poor prisoner, under pain in an ill-affected limb, which still continues; but, I thank God, with less violence. I am in hopes of creeping to the pulpit again, from which, for three sabbaths, I have been excluded; if so, it shall be to preach *Christ Jesus the Lord*, the *Prince of our peace*, and the *Captain of our salvation*; to whose acquaintance I again recommend you; and rest,

Dear Sir,

Your truly loving friend, to serve you,

My wife is, with all
due respects, remem-
bered to you. }

PHILIP HENRY.

For Thomas Hunt, Esq.
In White Hart Yard,
In Fleet-street,
London.*

Dear Sir, Cousin, and Brother;

You have authorised me, more than ever, to call you so, since you have superscribed your letter to Mr. Philip Tallents, at Broad-Oke. It was no mistake; for my name is Philip, and I am Tallents's; obliged his, adopted his. As to Mr. Hal, I have not yet a convenience for him, there having been no vacancy made as yet, as I expected. If he will please to come guestwise for a night or two, he shall be welcome. It may be, the sight of our mean circumstances, when he sees them, will give him enough to prevent inquiring further; for they are really poor and mean.

We do both of us most affectionately salute you both in our dear Lord. He that told us you talked of letting us see you here

* Orig. MS. Mr. Hunt was of Boreatton, in Shropshire, and afterwards a magistrate for the county. See *ante*, p. 86.

together, when the days and ways would permit, did make us really glad. Many thanks to you for your kind entertainment of my last Mercury. The Lord Almighty be your *Sun and Shield!* *Amen.* This from,

Dear Cousin and Brother,

Your's, to serve you,

Jan. 12, 1692-3.

PHILIP HENRY.

For the Rev. Mr. Tallents,
At Salop.
These.*

I send you these few lines to be your remembrancer when you do not see me. You are now come out of the age of childhood; and, though when you were a child, you *thought and spake as a child, and understood as a child*, it will be time for you now *to put away childish things*. You must begin to bethink yourself for what you are come into this world; not to eat, and drink, and play, but to glorify God, and save your soul. You are, *by nature, a child of wrath, even as others*; your understanding dark; your mind carnal, and that *carnal mind* no better than downright *enmity against God*,—prone to all manner of evil, and backward to all manner of good. Do not you find it so, every day, in every thing? Must there not, then, be a change? Must you not be *renewed in the spirit of your mind, born again, passed from death to life*? You must, if you will be *saved*, for none but *new creatures* are fit for the *new Jerusalem*.

And is the good work wrought in you? When? Where? How was it? How long is it since you closed with Christ upon gospel terms, taking him to be your's,—giving yourself to him to be his. I do not mean in word and tongue only;—I have often heard you *so* do it, but *in deed and truth*; in secret, between God and your own soul, where no eye hath seen, nor no ear hath heard; from a due sight and sense of your lost condition without him; as one truly weary of the heavy yoke of sin and Satan,—and resolved no longer to draw in it, laying your neck under Christ's sweet and easy yoke. If you have not done this, do it before you sleep; do it before you proceed any farther. Once well done, and it is done *for ever*. Can you give any good reason, to the contrary, why you should not? Either as to the thing itself, or as to the speedy doing of it? Can you begin too soon to be Christ's? Is any time your's but the *present* time? Until *this* be done, you are a *child of the devil*, and heir of the curse and condemnation. The guilt of all your past sins is upon your score. God is your enemy. But assure yourself, as soon as it is done aright, and as it ought to be done, in the very moment in which you repent and believe the gospel, and receive

Christ Jesus the Lord, to be your Prince and Saviour, you are immediately made a child of God, and an heir of heaven; all your past sins are forgiven; your peace is made; all the promises in the Bible are your's, both concerning this life and the other. No evil thing shall befall you; no good thing shall be wanting to you. And is not that a blessed condition? Will it not then grate for ever, that you might so easily have been saved, and would not? And why would you not,—but *because* you would not? They that hate me *love* death, says wisdom. Do you love death,—*eternal* death? I hope you do not.

Your name-sake, Mary, made a wise choice, and pray let it be your's. When she had an opportunity she laid all other matters aside, and sat down at Christ's feet, and heard his word. So do you love your Bible, take your alone meals out of it every day,* besides what you have in common with the family. Be sure you read and hear with application. *Let the word of Christ dwell richly in you.* Make a business of praying; though you cannot do it as you would,† do it as you can;—*to him that hath shall be given.* Remember, it is to a Father, and let be in the name of Christ, and it shall not be in vain.

In your place and calling be diligent, humble, and trusty. Take heed of vain companions, either men or women, lest you be ensnared by them. Let your dress be modest, and according to your place, not coveting every fine thing that you see others have, nor desiring to be like them. Learn Peter's good lesson, to be *clothed with humility*; and, to put on *the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price.*

I have not room to enlarge; if you receive it, and heed it, it is enough; if not, it is too much.

The grace of our Lord Jesus be with you. Amen.

P. H.

August 1, 1693.‡

* I wryt my knowlege, and do speik my conscience, that sa necessarie as meit and drink is to the preservatioun of lyfe corporall, and so necessarie as the heit and bryghtnes of the sone is to the quicknyng of the herbis and to expell darknes; sa necessarie is also to lyfe everlastyng, and to the illumination and lyght of the sanle, the perpetuall meditation, exercis, and use of Godis halie word. Lat na day slip over without sum comfort resavit fra the mouth of God; open your eaxis, and he will speik even pleasing thingis to your hart. Knox's Letter of Instructions to the Protestants of Scotland. Life, by Dr. M'Crie, vol. 1, p. 416.

† See a Sermon by P. Henry, on Gal. v. 17;—*So that ye cannot do the things that ye would,*—in the Cong. Mag. v. 7, p. 230.

‡ The above letter was “written by my honoured father, Mr. Henry, to a young woman newly gone from her parents to service in Chester; Mary Web, now Mrs. Frail.” Mrs. Savage. Orig. MS.

Dear Brother ;

I received your's by Mr. Travers ;* and, though I am so near you, and though it be so much in my desires to see you both, yet, being at present not in a capacity to do it, through my great indisposedness to travel, further than needs must, (especially winter travel, unless about my Master's immediate work,) yet, having so fair an opportunity, a line is better than nothing, if it be only to wish you both a holy, happy, new year, and to present you with a new-year's gift,—which is, a half-moon, the body of the sun, and the fourth part of a star ; which, when you have put together, you will find me, as always,

Dear Sir,

Your cordial Brother,

Friend, Cousin, Servant,

P. H.

Jan. 1, 1693-4,
the 130th day of
my dying year.†

For the Rev. Mr. Fran. Tallents, at Salop :

This, with my hearty love and respects.‡

Mar. 20, 1693-4.

DD SS. ; §

It is as long since we heard from you, as it is since you heard from us ; and we thought it long. As your's to us brings no evil tidings from the wood,|| so neither doth this to you from the oak. Your mother continues to mend, through God's goodness, and bids me tell you she is better,—God be praised,—to day, than she was yesterday, and yesterday than the day before. She is come down stairs, and that is, to her, like launching into a sea again ; for we have, at present, a troublesome house of it. Oh, that you and we may be better after late corrections ! For, *though no affliction, for the present, seemeth to be joyous, but grievous, nevertheless, afterwards,—afterwards, it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness.*

This is the 210th day of my commonly dying year. Lord, teach me to number aright. Amen !

Our love and blessing are to you both, and to all your's.

The God of love and peace be with you.

This, from

Your loving Father,

P. H. ¶

For Mrs. Savage.

* See Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, p. 259, *ut supra*.

† See post. p. 216.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ Dear Daughter, Sarah Savage.

|| Wrenbury Wood, Mrs. Savage's residence.

¶ Orig. MS.

Bor. May 14.

264, d. 1694.

Dear and Honoured Brother;

I should have answered your last sooner, but wanted opportunity of sending it. I rejoice in the continuance of your mercies, that your *bow doth yet abide in strength*, and that my dear sister also is spared to you in her usefulness. The Lord's most holy name be blessed and praised for it! It seems you have your mixtures for exercise. God will have you yet to shine brighter; the dish-clouts that he makes use of, must help to do it; their's the shame, your's the honour. *Qui volens detrahit famæ tuæ, nolens volens addit mercedi tuæ.** It is a sign we gallop in our way,† when the dogs follow us barking. Slack not your pace, though they do so. There will as certainly be a resurrection of names,‡ as of bodies, and both with advantage. Both as the sun at noon day. I know not when I shall be so happy as to see you at Salop, though I much desire it. I am like a traveller's horse that knows its stages, which, if he exceed, he tires, and is the worse for it. Hither, once a quarter, is my *non plus ultra*. I have not been at Chester, though I have many loadstones there, above these thirteen months.

Once a week, and sometimes twice, I keep my circuit of two miles, or four miles, each Wednesday, by which time I am recovered from my sabbath weariness; and, by the time I am recovered from that, the sabbath work returns again; so that I am never not weary. But why do I tell you this?—That I may boast what a labourer I am? I am a loiterer, a trifier, a slug. *Magnis conatibus nihil ago*. It is that you may know wherein to help me with your prayers. Beg for me, that I may be found faithful, and that, *while I preach to others, I myself may not be a cast-away*. I have some hope, through grace, that I shall not; but the heart is deceitful, the devil is busy, and God is just and holy. Only this I trust to,—*Christ hath died, yea, rather, is risen again*.

Dear love, and service to you both. The Lord himself be your everlasting portion. Amen.

This, from

Your affectionate obliged Brother,

Friend, Servant in our dear Lord,

For Mr. Francis Tallents,

At Salop,

These.

P. H. §

* Augustine: with *meæ* altered to *tuæ*.

† Mr. William Fenner, of Essex, that eminent servant of Jesus Christ, was so taken with the active spirit of Mr. Wilson, that he said,—“I am even ashamed of myself to see how Mr. Wilson gallopeth towards heaven, and I do but creep on at a snail's pace.” Clarke's Lives, p. 34, fol. 1688.

‡ “There shall be a resurrection, not only of bodies, but of credits.” The Bruised Reed and Smoking Flax, by Dr. Sibbs, p. 113, duod. 1808. 9th ed.

§ Orig. MS.

Aug. 13, 355 d. 1694.

Dear Cousin and Brother ;

I came from home on Saturday, not without some hopeful thoughts of seeing you two, and dear Mr. Bryan,* in his present illness, this day ; but the weather and ways are grown suddenly such, that, really, Sir, I dare not venture, for my strength will not bear it ; and I dare not tempt God. I am therefore hastening back to my nest, where the young ones are at present such, and so many, that the poor hen, though she can do as much as another, yet, alone, cannot manage them without me. If we do any good, it is well ; the Lord accept of it in Christ ; but, I am sure, it is not without a great deal of care and cumber to ourselves in our declining age. It was a special providence to gratify dear Cos. Benyon, that at first brought us into it ; and I wait upon the same providence, in what way the Lord pleases, for there are many ways, to let us fairly out again, that we may not break prison. I pray this, once more, accept of this true excuse ; and give my dear love and respects to good Mr. Bryan, and tell him, my heart is with him, and my daily prayers are to God for him. If there be more work to be done, well ; he shall recover to do it ; if not, better, (for him better, whatever for others,) *there is a rest remaining*. We serve a good Master.

Dearest love to you both. The Eternal God be your refuge ; and underneath you be his *everlasting arms*, living, dying. Amen !

For the worthy Mr. Tallents,

At Salop.

These.†]

* The Rev. John Bryan, M. A. He was Minister of St. Chad's Church, in Shrewsbury, till Aug. 24, 1662. He died Aug. 31, 1699.

“1699, Sept. 2. I heard of the death of good Mr. Bryan, of Salop : an aged non-conformist, and a bold, zealous preacher of the truth ; gone to receive his *Well done*.” Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS. A portrait, in oil, of Mr. Bryan, is in the editor's possession. See Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 161.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

CHAPTER IX.

His Sickness, Death, and Burial.

IN the time of his health, he made death very familiar to himself, by frequent and pleasing thoughts and meditations of it; and endeavoured to make it so to his friends, by speaking often of it. His letters and discourses had still something or other which spoke his constant expectations of death. Thus did he learn to *die daily*. And it is hard to say, whether it was more easy to him to speak, or uneasy to his friends to hear him speak of leaving the world. This minds me of a passage I was told by a worthy Scotch minister, Mr. Patrick Adair, that, visiting the famous Mr. Durham,* of Glasgow, in his last sickness, which was long and lingering, he said to him, Sir, I hope you have so set all in order, that you have nothing else to do but to die.† “I bless God,” said Mr. Durham, “I have not had that to do neither these many years.” Such is the comfort of dying daily, when we come to die indeed.

[Mr. Henry, some time before his last illness, had a severe attack of disease, which greatly excited the alarm of his friends. His excellent wife was then on a visit to Mrs. Savage, at Wrenbury Wood. How his own mind was affected by the apparent approach of the last enemy will be seen by the following letter:—

Dear Daughter;

This is to you because of your's to me. I am glad to see you so well so quickly, as to be able to write,—that your *your right hand hath not forgot its cunning*; neither hath mine yet. I had an ill day yesterday, and an ill night after, but ease came in the morning. I have been preaching Christ, *the door* to God, and letting a little one into him by the door of baptism, and hope for strength for the afternoon work, though in some pain, yet less than deserved. Your mother hath sometimes told me, she could not endure to see me

* He died 25th June, 1658, æt. 86. Biographia Scoticana, p. 205, 1796.

† When Dr. Gouge was visited by his friends in his sickness, he often said,—“I am willing to die; having, I bless God, nothing to do but to die.” Clarke's Lives annexed to the Martyrologie, p. 246, *ut supra*.

die, and for that reason I was glad she was away, for I thought, all night, there was *but a step*. Here are many people, and they are come to hear of Christ; and willing, I am, they should, and that they should learn what I have learned of him. I can cheerfully say,—*Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!** God increase your strength, and especially your thankfulness, and *write the name of the child in the book of the living*.

My dear love to my wife, and to yourself and husband, and all the rest. I am glad that she is acceptable to you, and am willing she should be so, while she and you please.

The Lord everlasting be your portion! †

For Mrs. Sarah Savage,
At Wrenbury Wood.]

Mr. Henry's constitution was but tender, and yet, by the blessing of God upon his great temperance, ‡ and care of his diet, and moderate exercise by walking in the air, he did for many years enjoy a good measure of health, which he used to call,—The sugar that sweetens all temporal mercies; for which, therefore, we ought to be very thankful, and of which we ought to be very careful.

He had sometimes violent fits of the colick, which would be very afflictive for the time. Towards his latter end he was distressed sometimes with a pain, which his doctor thought might arise from a stone in his kidneys. Being once upon the recovery from an ill fit of that pain, he said to one of his friends, that asked him how he did,—he hoped, by the grace of God, he should now be able to give one blow more to the devil's kingdom; and often professed, he did not desire to live a day longer than he might do God some service. He said to another, when he perceived himself recovering,—Well, I thought I had been putting into the harbour, but I find I must to sea again. §

He was sometimes suddenly taken with fainting fits, which, when he recovered from, he would say,—Dying is but a little more.

* 1669, Nov. 17. Ill of the cold, which provoked other distempers, insomuch, that, for a time, I despaired even of life. Apt to faint; and what is death, but a very little more? Lord, I bless thee, that I can look death in the face with comfort, knowing that my *redemption draweth nigh*. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ He was, all his days, a pattern of temperance in eating and drinking, above any that I have known as to time, quantity, and quality. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

He never took tobacco. If asked concerning it, he would say, he was not come to it yet; but he did not know what he might do; having known some who had vigorously resolved against it, but afterwards were persuaded to it. Ibid.

It is said of the learned Dr. Barrow, that he was very free in the use of tobacco, believing it did help to regulate his thinking. Life, prefixed to his Works, vol. 2, fol. 1683.

§ Sir Henry Wotton, being visited in his latter days by his learned friend, the celebrated Mr. Hales, of Eton, said to him,—“I now see that I draw near my *harbour* of death; that *harbour* that will secure me from all the future *storms and waves* of this restless world; and, I praise God, I am willing to leave it, and expect a better.” Walton's Lives, by Dr. Zouch, v. 1, p. 284. See, also, Clarke's Lives annexed to the Martyrologie, *ut supra*, p. 171.

When he was in the sixty-third year of his age, which is commonly called the grand climacterick, and hath been to many the dying year, and was so to his father, he numbered the days of it, from August 24, 1693, to August 24, 1694, when he finished it. And when he concluded it, he thus wrote in his Diary;—*This day finisheth my commonly dying year, which I have numbered the days of; and should now apply my heart, more than ever, to heavenly wisdom.*

He was much pleased with that expression of our English Liturgy in the office of burial, and frequently used it;—"In the midst of life we are in death."

The infirmities of age, when they grew upon him, did very little abate his vigour and liveliness in preaching, but he seemed even to *renew his youth as the eagles*; as those that are *planted in the house of the Lord, who still bring forth fruit in old age*; not so much to show that they are upright, as to *show that the Lord is upright*. Psalm, xcii. 14, 15. But, in his latter years, travelling was very troublesome to him; and he would say, as Mr. Dod used to do, that, when he thought *to shake himself as at other times*, he found his *hair was cut*;* his sense of this led him to preach an occasional sermon not long before he died, on John, xxi. 18;—*When thou wast young, thou girdest thyself, &c.* Another occasional sermon he preached when he was old,† for his own comfort, and the comfort of his aged friends, on Psalm, lxxi. 17, 18;—*O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, &c.* He observed there, —That it is a blessed thing to be taught of God from our youth; and those that have been taught of God from their youth, ought to *declare his wondrous works* all their days after. And those that have been taught of God from their youth, and have all their days declared his wondrous works, may comfortably expect, that when they are old he will not forsake them. Christ is a Master that doth not use to cast off his old servants.‡

[On another occasion, he writes;—It was David's prayer;—*O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared all thy wondrous works. Now, also, when I am old and grey-headed, O God, forsake me not!* And we should thus pray. For, when God forsakes, it is like as when the soul forsakes the body. There is nothing left but a carcase. It is as when the sun forsakes the earth, which causes night and winter. It is as when the fountain forsakes the cistern, for God alone is the Fountain. It is as when the father forsakes the children. It is as when the pilot forsakes the ship, then she is in great danger of rocks and quicksands. It is as when the physician forsakes the patient, which

* See Judges, xvi. 19, 20; and the Account of the Rev. John Dod, in Fuller's Church History, *ut supra*, B. xi. p. 220.

† April 28, 1692.

‡ Appendix, No. XXIV.

is not till the case is desperate. It is as when the guide forsakes the traveller, and then he is exposed to many dangers.*]

For some years before he died, he used to complain of an habitual weariness, contracted, he thought, by his standing to preach, sometimes very uneasily, and in inconvenient places, immediately after riding. He would say, every minister was not cut out for an itinerant; and sometimes the manifest attention and affection of people in hearing, enlarged him both in length and fervency, somewhat more than his strength could well bear. It was not many months before he died, that he wrote thus to a dear relation, who inquired solicitously concerning his health;—I am always habitually weary, and expect no other till I lie down in the bed of spices. And, blessed be God, so the grave is to all the saints,† since he lay in it, who is *the Rose of Sharon*, and the *Lily of the Vallies*. When some of his friends persuaded him to spare himself, he would say;—It is time enough to rest when I am in the grave.‡ What were candles made for, but to burn?†

[One of the last letters he wrote to Mrs. Savage is thus expressed; and it manifests the enlightened and calm anticipation he indulged as to his final change;—

May 28, 1695.

Dear Daughter ;

You are loath to part with your sister, but you know this is not the world we are to be together in ; and, besides, it is to a father and mother, that are to be but a while, either for her or you to come to. These short partings should mind us of the long one, which will be shortly, but then the meeting again, to be together *for ever*, and *with the Lord*, is very comfortable in the hope ; and much more will it be so in the fruition. Two that awhile ago were of us, Ann D. and Susan, are gone before ; and, as sure as they are gone, we are also going, in the time and order appointed.

Our dear love and blessing are to all, and each. Farewell.

Your loving father,

P. H. §]

* P. Henry. From Mrs. Savage's MSS.

† The body of him who hath, in truth, given his name to Christ and his gainfull service, shall goe into the grave, as into a chamber of rest, and bed of downe, sweetly perfumed unto it by the sacred body of the sonne of God lying in the grave. Directions for a comfortable Walking with God, by Robert Bolton, B. D. 4to, 1638, Ep. Ded.

‡ "You are as a candle, the better part burnt out."

Shakspeare. Second Part of Henry IV. Act 1, Scene 2.

See Matt. v. 15 ; Mark, iv. 21, 22 ; Luke, viii. 16, 17 ; xi. 33.

We are wasted as candles. What matter so we may light our people to heaven ? fr. Steele, at an Ordination, Nov. 15, 1659. Philip Henry's MS.

§ Orig. MS.

It doth not appear that he had any particular presages of his death; but many instances there were of his actual gracious expectation of it, somewhat more than ordinary for some time before. The last visit he made to his children in Chester, was in July, 1695, almost a year before he died, when he spent a Lord's-day there, and preached on the last verse of the Epistle to Philemon;—*The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.* By grace, he understood not so much the *good will* of God towards us, as the *good work* of God in us; called the *grace of Christ*, both because he is the Author and Finisher of it, and because he is the Pattern and Samplar of it. Now the choicest gift we can ask of God for our friends, is, that this *grace of our Lord Jesus Christ* may be with *their spirit*. This is the *one thing needful*, the *better part*, the *root of the matter*, the *whole man*, the *principal thing*, the *more excellent way*, a *blessing indeed*, and the *thing that accompanies salvation*. The grace of Christ in the spirit *enlightens* and *enlivens* the spirit, softens and subdues the spirit, purifies and preserves the spirit, greatens and guides the spirit, sweetens and strengthens the spirit; and, therefore, what can be more desirable? A spirit without the grace of Christ, is a field without a fence, a *fool without understanding*; it is a *horse without a bridle*, and a house without furniture; it is a ship without tackle, and a soldier without armour; it is a *cloud without rain*, and a carcase without a soul; it is a tree without fruit, and a traveller without a guide. How earnest, therefore, should we be in praying to God for grace, both for ourselves and for our relations. He had intended to preach upon that text when he was at Chester the year before, but was then prevented by a particular sad occasion, which obliged him to a funeral sermon, Divine Providence reserving that benediction, which his heart was much upon, for his valediction. The Thursday following, being kept as a fast in his son's congregation at Chester, he preached on Luke, xix. 41;—*He beheld the city, and wept over it*;—which proved his farewell to the town, as the former was his farewell to his friends and relations in it.

It was not many weeks before he died, that he wrote thus to one of his children. "We are well here, thanks be to God, and are glad to hear that you and your's are well also; God, in mercy, continue it! But why should we be well always? Do we deserve it? Are there no mixtures in our obedience? Are there any persons or families, at whose door sickness and death never knocked? Must the *earth be forsaken* for us, or the *rock removed out of its place*? Is it not enough that we be dealt with *according to the manner of men*? And that we have a promise, that it shall end well, everlastingly well."

To another of his children, about the same time, he writes;—"We are sensible that we decline apace, but the best of it is, that as time goes, eternity comes; and we are in *good hope, through grace*, that it will be a comfortable eternity."

It was in April, 1696, a few weeks before he died, that his sons

father-in-law, Robert Warburton, Esq.* was *gathered to his grave in peace, in a good old age*. Upon the tidings of whose death, Mr. Henry wrote thus to his son:—*Your fathers, where are they? Your father-in-law gone, and your own father going; but you have a God-Father that lives for ever. He was wont, sometimes, to subscribe his letters,—Your ever-loving, but not ever-living father.*

It was not a month before he died, that, in a letter to his very dear and worthy friend and brother, Mr. Tallents,† of Shrewsbury, he had this passage:—"Methinks it is strange, that it should be your lot and mine, to abide so long on earth *by the stuff*,‡ when so many of our friends are dividing the spoil above, but God will have it so; and to be willing to live in obedience to his holy will, is as true an act of grace, as to be willing to die when he calls, especially when life is *labour and sorrow*. But when it is labour and joy, service to his name, and some measure of success and comfort in serving him; when it is to stop a gap, and stem a tide, it is to be rejoiced in; it is heaven upon earth; nay, one would think, by the psalmist's oft repeated plea, Psalms, vi. xxx. lxxxviii. cxv. cxviii. that it were better than to be in heaven itself. And, can that be?

[In a manuscript, showing wherein the happiness of heaven consists, he has thus expressed his views. *We shall see God*, Matthew, v. 8, Job, xix. 26. This will be a clear sight, 1 Corinthians, xiii. 12. 1 John, iii. 2; transforming. Psalm, xvii. 15; and satisfying; John, xiv. 8. We shall enjoy the presence of Jesus Christ, John, xvii. 24. Philippians, i. 23. §—and have society with glorified saints, Matthew, viii. 11. There will be freedom from sin and sorrow, Revelations, vii. 17. It will be a heavenly sabbath, Hebrews, iv. 9, which will differ from sabbaths now,—in the exercises to be performed. There will be all praise; no mourning for sin.—In the frame of our hearts for the performance: our affections will be raised.—In the *place*,—it will be our Father's house.—In the *continuance*. There will be no intermissions, no parting, no night.—*Now*, while we are sanctifying the sabbath, others are profaning it; but then all shall join.||]

* Of Hefferston Grange in Cheshire. See Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, *ut supra*, p. 108. Nichol's Lit. Anecd. v. 5, pp. 529, 530. Mr. Matthew Henry married his daughter, Mrs. Mary Warburton, July 8, 1690. See also Mr. Tong's Sermon on the Death of Matthew Henry, 4to, 1714. Dedication.

† Nat. Nov. 1619; ob. April 11, 1708. See his Life in Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, p. 782, *ut supra*.

He was an intimate acquaintance of the Hon. Robert Boyle. Biog. Brit. v. 3, p. 496, n. F.

‡ 1 Sam. xxx. 24.

§ The happiness of heaven consists in being with Christ;—*That they may be with me*. Thoughts of this are reviving, and should be improved, as a cordial to keep from fainting under any trouble; as a spur, to put us forward in duty; as a bridle, to restrain from sin; and as a loadstone, to draw our affections upward. P. Henry. Mem. of Mrs. Savage, p. 218. *ut supra*.

|| P. Henry. Orig. MS.

A little before his sickness and death, being summer time, he had several of his children, and his children's children about him, at Broad Oak, with whom he was much refreshed, and very cheerful; but ever and anon spoke of the fashion he was in, as passing away; and often told them, he should be there but a while to bid them welcome. And he was observed frequently in prayer, to beg of God, that he would make us ready for that which would come certainly, and might come suddenly. One asking him how he did, he answered,—I find the chips fly off apace, the tree will be down shortly.*

The last time he administered the Lord's Supper, a fortnight before he died, he closed the administration with that scripture, 1 John, iii. 2. *It doth not yet appear what we shall be; not yet, but it will shortly.*

The Sabbath but one before he died, being, in the course of his exposition, come to that difficult part of scripture, the 40th of Ezekiel, and the following chapters, he said he would endeavour to explain those prophecies to them; and added,—If I do not do it now, I never shall. And he observed, that the only prophetic sermon which our Lord Jesus preached, was but a few days before he died. This many of his hearers not only reflected upon afterwards, but took notice of at that time with a concern, as having something in it more than ordinary.

On the Lord's-day, June 21, 1696, he went through the work of the day with his usual vigour and liveliness. He was then preaching over the first chapter of St. Peter's second Epistle, and was that day on those words, *Add to your faith virtue*,† verse 5. He took virtue for christian courage and resolution in the exercise of faith; and the last thing he mentioned, in which Christians have need of courage, is in dying; for, as he was often used to say, it is a serious thing to die, and to die is a work by itself.‡

[He that would not die when he must,§ and he that would die when he must not, are both alike cowards.¶]

"A Christian's desire of life, he sometimes remarked, should proceed from a desire of honouring God with his life, as it was with Paul. Philippians, i. 23, 24.¶¶]

* When King James the First was informed of the death of his favourite, James, Marquis of Hamilton, he said, *If the branches be thus cut down, the stock cannot continue long.* Walton's *Lives* by Dr. Zouch, v. 2, pp. 50, 51.

† This was his last subject. See the discourse among "Eighteen Sermons," by Philip Henry, p. 350, *ut supra*.

‡ My dear father's prayer for such usually was,—When they come to do a work they never did, let them have that strength and grace they never had.—This *once* to die.—What emphasis has it! Mrs. Savage's *Diary*. Orig. MS.

§ Moses and Aaron, like well nurtured children, went to bed when they were bidden, though great provision was making ready for others. P. Henry. *Com. Place Book*. Orig. MS. See also Dr. Sibb's *Soules Conflict*, p. 362, duod. 1651.

¶ P. Henry. Orig. MS. It was the speech of dying Julian. See Swinnoek's *Christian Man's Calling*, part iii. p. 648. 4to. 1665.

¶¶ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

That day he gave notice, both morning and afternoon, with much affection and enlargement, of the publick fast, which was appointed by authority the Friday following, June 26, pressing his hearers, as he used to do upon such occasions, to come in a prepared frame, to the solemn services of that day.

The Tuesday following, June 23, he rose at six o'clock, according to his custom, after a better night's sleep than ordinary, and in wonted health. Between seven and eight o'clock he performed family worship, according to the usual manner; he expounded very largely the former half of the 104th Psalm, and sung it; but he was somewhat shorter in prayer than he used to be, being then, as it was thought, taken ill. *Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing.* Immediately after prayer he retired to his chamber, not saying any thing of his illness, but was soon after found upon his bed in great extremity of pain in his back, breast, and bowels; it seemed to be a complicated fit of the stone and colick together in very great extremity. The means that had been used to give him relief in his illness were altogether ineffectual. He had not the least intermission or remission of pain, neither up nor in bed, but [was] in a continual toss. He had said sometimes, that God's Israel may find Jordan rough; but there is no remedy, they must through it to Canaan; and would tell of a good man who used to say,—he was not so much afraid of death as of dying.* We know they are not the godly people, part of the description of whose condition it is, that there are no bands in their death, and yet [it is of the godly alone that we can say†] their end is peace, and their death gain, and they have hope in it.

In this extremity he was still looking up to God, and calling upon him, who is a present help in the needful hour.

[He had been accustomed to remark when in usual health,—Prayer is never out of season, but it is in a special manner seasonable when we are sick and come to die,—Christ's last breath was praying breath,—then we take our leave of prayer for ever. Those that do not pray while they live, cannot expect to be heard and accepted when they come to die.‡]

When the exquisiteness of his pain forced groans and complaints from him, he would presently correct himself with a patient and quiet submission to the hand of his heavenly Father, and a cheerful acquiescence in his heavenly will. I am ashamed, saith he, of these groans, I want virtue, O for virtue now when I have need of it, referring to his subject the Lord's-day before. Forgive me that I groan thus, and I will endeavour to silence them. But, indeed, my

* Would you be above the fear of death,—get an interest in Christ,—labour to know thy interest in Christ, 2 Cor. v. 1, 2, &c.—Live in the fear of God, Luke, xii. 4, 5.—Learn to die daily, 1 Cor. xv. 31; in meditation; in expectation; Job, xiv. 14; Ps. xlv. 22.—Sit loose from the world; keep a good conscience; live by faith; 2 Cor. iv. 18; v. 1, &c. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Life of P. Henry. Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, *ut supra*, p. 60.

‡ P. Henry. Mr. Matthew Henry's MS.

stroke is heavier than my groaning. It is true what Mr. Baxter said in his pain, there is no disputing against sense. It was his trouble, as it was Mr. Baxter's, that by reason of his bodily pain, he could not express his inward comfort; however, that was it with which God graciously strengthened him in his soul. He said to those about him, they must remember what instructions and counsels he had given them when he was in health, for now he could say but little to them, [he could] only refer them to what he had said, as that which he would live and die by.

It was two or three hours after he was taken ill, before he would suffer a messenger to be sent to Chester for his son, and for the doctor, saying,—he should either be better, or dead before they could come; but at last he said, as the prophet did to his importunate friends,—Send.* About eight o'clock that evening they came, and found him in the same extremity of pain, which he had been in all day. And nature being before spent with his constant and indefatigable labours in the work of the Lord, now sunk, and did perfectly succumb under its burden, and was quite disabled to grapple with so many hours incessant pain. What further means were then used, proved fruitless, and did not answer the intention. He apprehended himself going apace, and said to his son when he came in,—Oh son, you are welcome to a dying father. *I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.* His pain continued very acute, but he had peace within. *I am tormented*, said he once, but, blessed be God, *not in this flame*;† and soon after, *I am all on fire*, (when at the same time his extreme parts were cold,) but he presently added,—Blessed be God it is not the fire of hell. To some of his next neighbours who came in to see him, for those at a distance had not notice of his illness, he said,—Oh, make sure work for your souls, by getting an interest in Christ while you are in health, for if I had that work to do now, what would become of me? But I bless God I am satisfied. It was a caution he was often wont to give,—See to it, that your work be not undone, when your time is done, lest you be undone for ever.

Towards ten or eleven o'clock that night, his pulse and sight began to fail; of the latter he himself took notice, and inferred from it the near approach of his dissolution. He took an affectionate farewell of his dear yoke-fellow, with a thousand thanks for all her love, and care, and tenderness, left a blessing for all his dear children, and their dear yoke-fellows, and little ones, that were absent. He said to his son who sat under his head,—Son, the Lord bless you, and grant that you may do worthily in your generation, and be more serviceable to the church of God than I have been; such was his great humility to the last. And when his son replied, Oh, Sir, pray for me that I may but tread in your steps; he an-

* See 2 Kings, ii. 17.

† See Luke, xvi. 24.

swered,—Yea, follow peace and holiness, and let them say what they will.—More he would have said to bear his dying testimony to the way in which he had walked, but nature was spent, and he had not strength to express it.

His understanding and speech continued almost to the last breath, and he was still in his dying agonies calling upon God, and committing himself to him. One of the last words he said, when he found himself just ready to depart, was,—O death, where is thy — ;* with that his speech faltered, and within a few minutes, after about sixteen hours' illness, he quietly breathed out his precious soul into the embraces of his dear Redeemer, whom he had trusted, and faithfully served in the work of the ministry, about forty-three years.† He departed between twelve and one o'clock in the morning of June 24, Midsummer-day, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Happy, thrice happy he, to whom such a sudden change was no surprise, and who could triumph over death, as an unstung, disarmed enemy, even when he made so fierce an onset. He had often spoke of it as his desire, that if it were the will of God, he might not outlive his usefulness; and it pleased God to grant him his desire, and give him a short passage from the pulpit to the kingdom, from the height of his usefulness, to receive the recompence of reward. So was it ordered by him, in whose hands our times are.

[The afflicting dispensation was communicated to Mr. Tallents, in the following interesting letter.

Broad Oke, June 24, 96.

Honoured Sir ;

Here is an opportunity that offers itself soon enough to bring you the evil tidings of this place and day. My dear and honoured father was this time yesterday as usual, worshipping God with his family, and in wonted health; but, presently after, was seized with violent pain and sickness. It was in great extremity, and without any intermission; means used gave him no relief. Doctor Tylston and I had speedy notice of his illness sent us to Chester, and came hither last night, and found him very ill. Nature, being decayed with his great labours in the work of the Lord, was not able to bear up under it, but sunk away apace under the heavy load of pain; and a little after midnight he quietly breathed out his dear soul into the hands of the Lord Jesus, in whom he now *sleeps*. Oh, Sir, this is a sad providence, and so sudden, that I am as one stunned. I cannot express my loss. I have many things to write to you

* See Matthew Henry's Sermons on these words, July 8, 1696. Eighteen Sermons, by P. Henry, p. 371, *ut supra*.

† See Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, p. 131, &c. *ut supra*.

concerning it, but I am in haste, and much confused. We intend, if the Lord will, to lay up the mantle of this translated prophet in the wardrobe of the grave, upon Saturday next, not doubting but our friends that hear will, as far as they can, let us have their company. My poor mother's and my respects to yourself, and Mrs. Tallents, and Mr. Bryan, and Mr. Jones.

I rest your's *totus in lachrymis*,

M. HENRY.

I know you will pray for us, and mourn with us.*

For the Rev. Mr. Tallents.

In reply to a letter written by Mr. Tallents, expressive of the greatness of his sorrow on this melancholy occasion, the bereaved widow writes thus.

Jul 24, 96.

Dear Ser ;

It is my coumfort and joy that the people of God do sympathis† with me in this my great loss, and truly I have reason to acknowleg the goodnes of God that did spar him so long, and dus suport§ and send reuiuing in the midst of trubel. Pray for me that I may be a widdou inded, trusting in God ; that my children may, in all things, carry themselves like the children of such a fathar, and that wee may get the good and learne what our heavenly Fathar is teching us by this sad strok. Good Sir, giue my loue and saruis to my ould good friend and sistar, for so I wil make bould to cale her, your dear yoak-fellow, and except of the same, with many thanks to you both for past and present favors,

From Sir, your's,

My sister presents her
sarvis to you both.

Much obliged,

KAT. HENRY. ||

* Orig. MS.

† Supposed to be July. Mr. Tallents has written at the top, "In answer to one of mine."

‡ The wives of many painful ministers, while their husbands lived, were made account of, and invited, that, when God bath taken their husbands from them, (when they had most need of comfort,) have found cold friendship, not of strangers only, but even of those that professed greater love to the parties deceased. This is but carnal, or, at least, but cold love, that is then farthest off, when there is most need of it. A Treatise of Love, by Jo. Rogers, p. 220, dnod. 1632.

§ We went to Broad Oak to visit dear mother: found her in health. I cannot but own the goodness of God in supporting her under this heavy stroke. It is to me the answer of my dear father's prayer, which he, thus, frequently expressed;—"Fit us to leave, or to be left according to the will of God." Dr. Preston hath an expression to this purpose,—that the children of God receive no prejudice by affliction, no more than the sun by an eclipse. We think it darkened, but it really is not so. Mrs. Savage. Diary. July 29, 1696. Orig. MS.

After dear father's death, my dear mother thus comforted herself. She was especially thankful to God. 1. That she ever knew Mr. Henry. 2. That she had him so long. 3. For the good hope she had of being eternally with him in glory. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS. Nov. 1743.

|| Orig. MS.

After the account we have given of his great usefulness, it is easy to imagine what sorrow and mourning there was among his friends, when they heard that the Lord had taken away their master from their head. One that lived so much desired, could not but die as much lamented. The surprize of the stroke put people into a perfect astonishment; and many said,—the Lord removed him so suddenly, because he would not deny the many prayers that would have been put up for his recovery, had it been known that he was in peril. One thing that aggravated this severe dispensation, and made it, in the apprehension of many, look the more dismal, was,—that this powerful intercessor was taken away just before a fast-day, when he would have been wrestling mightily with God for mercy for the land. However, it proved a fast-day indeed, and a day of humiliation to that congregation, to whom an empty pulpit was an awakening sermon. The Broad Oak was then like that under which Rebekah's nurse was buried, Genesis, xxxv. 8. *Allon-bacuth*,—the oak of weeping. They who had many a time sat with dry eyes, under melting ordinances, could not sit so under such a melting providence, by which the Lord God called so loudly to *weeping, and to mourning, and to girding with sackcloth*. But because Mr. Henry had been wont to give it for a rule,—that weeping must not hinder sowing, a mite was cast into the treasury of the nation's prayers, and a word spoken to bring the work of the day, and the event of the day together, from 2 Kings, xiii. 20.

The day following, being Saturday, June 27, the earthen vessel, in which this treasure had been lodged, was laid up in the grave in Whitchurch church, attended thither with a very great company of true mourners, all the country round. Many from Chester and Shrewsbury, and the towns about, came to do him honour at his death. And, besides the floods of tears that were shed, there were abundance of testimonies given to him by persons of all sorts, like that to Jehoiada, 2 Chronicles, xxiv. 16. That he was one *that had done good in Israel*. And there were those who said,—He was a man that nobody did or could speak evil of, except for his nonconformity. He was used to say to his relations, when I am dead, make little ado about me, a few will serve to bring me to my grave; but his mind could not be observed in that; it was impossible such a burning and shining light could be extinguished, but there must be a universal notice taken of it. Multitudes came unsought unto, not to fill their eyes, as Mr. Vines expresseth it, but to empty* them; nor was there any other noise there, but that of general lamentation.

* See the Hearse of the renowned, the Right Hon. Robert Earl of Essex, &c., in a Sermon preached at his Funerall, Oct. 22, 1646, by Richard Vines, p. 6. 4to. 1646.

Mr. Vines was born about 1600, and died in 1655. See *Enoch's Walk and Change*; a Sermon at his Funeral, by Thomas Jacomb, (afterwards D. D.) 4to. 1656, 2d edit.

That morning, before the removal of the corpse, a most affectionate sermon was preached in Mr. Henry's meeting-place, by his dear and worthy friend, Mr. Tallents, of Shrewsbury, who was eleven years older than he, and, through God's goodness, still survives him. He was willing to take that opportunity, to testify the great love and honour that he had for Mr. Henry, whom he called a friend that is nearer than a brother. His text* was, Romans, viii. 23. *And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.* In his application he showed excellently, and with much affection, how "the consideration of the spirit and life of this eminent servant of God, would greatly lead us to believe on Christ, and to have the Spirit of Christ and live after it;" and to suffer with Christ, and to groan for our adoption. Several things were hinted concerning him, which have been mentioned already in this narrative, and a very honourable testimony borne to him. From a long acquaintance with him, he witnessed concerning him, to those who knew his record to be true, that "he was humble and meek, kind and peaceable, wise and charitable, and one in whom the fruits of the Spirit were eminently: that he was a friend and a counsellor and a father to many; that his expounding and preaching was plain and pleasant, warm and savoury, full, and such as few could reach, and greatly blessed by God; and that in it he laboured more abundantly than any." And after a great encomium of him, it was excellently observed, and must be mentioned here, as that which was highly agreeable to Mr. Henry's spirit, and his expressions upon all occasions,—"That it was not his own righteousness that saved him, nor his own strength that quickened and upheld him, but Christ's righteousness and Christ's strength; for to him to *live was Christ*. And in all his discourses, sermons, and letters,† he was very careful to ascribe the honour of all to Christ, and to make Christ his all in all. He concluded with some words of seasonable advice to those of that society, and neighbourhood.

* See the Sermon at large, prefixed to Eighteen Sermons, by Mr. P. Henry, p. 1, *ut supra*.

† Thus, not long before his death, he wrote to Mr. Tallents:—

Nov. 1, 1695.

My dear Brother Tallents;

You do, in all your letters, *spirare Christum*, which, I thank God, besides your love to me, unworthy me, declared in them, is the thing, that I can truly say, makes them sweet to me; to see, that, when I myself am so poor and low in my knowledge of him, desires after him, delight in him, there are you and others that do so abound therein. He is truly worthy, altogether worthy, that it should be so. To learn him, and love him, and to live him, is *All in all*. He is *Foundation, Food, Root, Raiment, Refuge, Righteousness, Head, Hope, Light, Life, Peace, Propitiation*,—what not, that we have need of, to make us holy and happy. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

"1. Give thanks to God that ever you had him or saw him, and that you had him so long, above thirty years in this place. Do not many of you owe even your very souls to him under God? While you mourn, give thanks to God that you ever knew him. Old and great mercies must be thankfully remembered."

"2. Rejoice in the glory that he now enjoys. *Weep not for him, but weep for yourselves.* It was the text on which he preached, not much above a year ago, at the funeral of that intelligent, holy, useful man, Mr. William Lawrence, of Wem.* The primitive Christians buried their saints with hymns and psalms of joy. Chrysostom on the Hebrews, saith, we are to glorify God, and give thanks to him, that he hath crowned the deceased, and freed them from their labours; and chides those that mourned and howled. And the days of their death were called *Natalitia Martyrum et Sanctorum*, the birth-days of the saints and martyrs. And Hierom, in his epitaph on holy Paula, (and in the lives of other holy persons, wrote by him,) saith, that at her funeral no shrieks were heard, but multitudes of psalms and hymns were sung in divers languages.

"3. Bewail the loss, the general loss, and your's in particular, yet so as to have hope in God. I need not tell you how great your loss is, you feel it more than I am able to express. If any rejoice that he is gone, because he tormented them; say as the church, Micah, vii. 8, 9.

"4. Seek out for a supply; do not mourn and sit still, but up and be doing in your places. You have had a cheap gospel hitherto. God sent you one that could preach freely, and which is more, that would do so too; one that sought not your's, but you; and now God will see what you will do for yourselves, that now the Shepherd is smitten, the sheep may not be scattered. Pray to God to raise up others like him, and graciously to give you one.

"5. Take heed of liking no preacher, now he is gone. This is a usual fault among many that have had excellent preachers; nobody can please them. But God may bless weaker means, and make your souls live, and thrive under them.

"6. Hold fast that which you have; it is the advice given to Philadelphia, the best of the churches, Revelations, iii. 11. Keep that good thing which is committed to you, that savouriness of heart, that love to Christ and to saints, to all saints, that knowledge of the truth. Keep to his sober principles. Remember his dying counsel,—*Follow peace and holiness.* Have these things always in remembrance. Take heed of falling off; take heed of falling away. The world will draw you, and Satan will tempt you, and your own busy hearts will be apt to betray you, but go on

* The father of the Rev. S. Lawrence. See Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, p. 800, 801, *ut supra*, where his character is delineated by Philip Henry.

humbly and honestly in the strength of Christ, and fear not. Be not like those Jews that turned aside, when John Baptist was dead, John, v. 35. The Lord keep you from being such, and give you to go on to his heavenly kingdom."

It would have swelled this book too much, if we had inserted the sermon at large, and therefore we forbear it.

The next day, being Lord's-day, Mr. Owen, of Oswestry, preached a most excellent sermon in the morning, agreeable to that sad occasion, upon that pathetical farewell which Elisha gave to Elijah, 2 Kings, ii. 12. *My Father, my Father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof, and he saw him no more; and he took hold of his own clothes and rent them.* He observed, "1. That faithful ministers are the fathers of a people, and their chariots and horsemen; the former a metaphor taken for a family, a peaceable society; the latter from an army, a warlike body. Fathers,—to provide good things. Chariots and horsemen,—to protect from evil things. 2. There is a time when we shall see these fathers, these chariots and horsemen of Israel no more. Their time is appointed, their work cut out for them, and when those are finished they are removed. 3. When God takes away our fathers, the chariots of our Israel, and the horsemen thereof, it is a proper season for mourning and lamentation.* Under this, he did most affectionately excite us. 1. To be sensible of our loss, which is better felt than expressed. It is the loss of one that was a father; a father to his family, to whom he was constant, in unfolding the holy oracles; a father to the prophets, for counsel, and conduct, and example; the sons of the prophets never conversed with him, but they were, or might have been, the better for him; a father to his congregation, now left orphans. It is the loss of one of the chariots and horsemen of our Israel; so eminent was he for prevalency in prayer, courage in duty, conduct in affairs, constancy in religion, and a firm adherence to his ministerial vows, and lastly, a contempt of the world, in which, as he that warreth, he did not entangle himself. 2. To be sensible of those sins, which have provoked God to deprive us of him. Barrenness and unfruitfulness under his ministry; it is for this that God hath a controversy with us. 3. To bless God that we enjoyed him so long; eaten bread must not be forgotten. 4. To be followers of him, as he was of Christ.† He was a pattern for ministers, excelling in the knowledge of the scriptures, which made this man of God perfect, and industrious

* It is not only no sin, but our duty to mourn for our departed friends. Tears are a tribute which we owe them. *Jesus wept*, John, xi. 35. And, this, though they were godly, and, therefore, gainers by death, for our own loss. God complains when it is not so, Isaiah, lvii. 1. The sin lies in the *excess*. We must not *sorrow as those that have no hope*, 1 Thessalonians, iv. 13, either concerning them, or concerning ourselves, who are left behind. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† If we copy the example of Christ, it will be an evidence that we are his now, in the kingdom of grace, and an earnest that we shall follow him, hereafter, into the kingdom of glory. P. Henry. Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, p. 217. *ut supra*.

to advance the honour of Jesus Christ, whom he made the *Alpha* and *Omega* of his religion; not addicted to controversies, but walking in the good old way; unwearied in the work of God; it was the delight of his heart, to be laying out himself for the good of souls. Exemplary for humility and low thoughts of himself, and his own performances, for meekness and readiness to forgive injuries, for candour in speaking of others, and their words and actions, on which he ever put the best construction,* and was never apt to speak evil of any man. Eminent for family religion, and in that an excellent copy to all masters of families. Those things, therefore, which you have heard and seen him do, and the God of peace shall be with you." These were the heads which were copiously and excellently enlarged upon in that sermon.

In the afternoon of that sabbath, another sermon was preached by a near relation† of Mr. Henry's, on Hebrews, xi. 4. *And by it he being dead yet speaketh*, *ἡτι καλιῦται*, is yet spoken of by us, and yet speaketh to us.

The Wednesday following, July 1, being the lecture in course at Danford, in Whitechurch parish, Mr. Samuel Lawrence,‡ of Nantwich, whose turn it was to preach that lecture, brought up the long train of mourners, as he expressed it, in a most savoury and pertinent discourse, on Hebrews, xiii. 7. *Remember them which have (or have had) the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.* "Bishops, no doubt," saith he, "are here meant, scripture primitive bishops, the pastors of particular congregations, for they were such as had spoken to them the word of God, and watched for their souls; verse 17. Such a one Mr. Henry was, that great man, who is fallen this day in Israel, removed from us, but hath left behind him a good name to be remembered; a good example to be imitated; many a good word spoken to us, and many a good prayer put up for us. Remember him with thankfulness, that God has given such power, such gifts and graces unto men; (I never knew a man," said he, "in all my acquaintance, in whom I have seen so much of God as in good Mr. Henry, whose holy, humble, heavenly, gracious conversation hath been to me no small confirmation of the truth of the christian religion;) that God gave him to you, and continued him so long, to see the church in a better state than he had sometimes seen it; that God crowned his labours with such great success. Many souls in heaven and some on earth blessing

* A wise man hath a court of chancery in his breast, to which appeals are made when the letter of the law will admit of no apology. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Mr. Matthew Henry. See the Sermon, Post.

‡ Nat. 1661; ob. April 24, 1712. See Mr. Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, p. 800, *ut supra*. There was much in him that resembled old Mr. Henry, both in temper, conversation, and preaching. Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, p. 290, *ut supra*.

God that ever they saw his face, and that God continued him in his usefulness to the last. Remember him with a quiet submission to the hand of God in his removal from us. Sensible we must be of the stroke; it is a publick loss, a loss to the ministry; our hands are this day weak; a loss to the nation, for which he was a powerful intercessor; a loss to this country, in which he was a burning and shining light; but yet we must acquiesce in the divine will. The treasure was an earthen vessel, and God will bring us to depend more upon himself; and he is teaching us to live, and live to Christ without good Mr. Henry, though we have sometimes said, we did not know how we could live without him. Remember him to pay all honour and respect to his name and memory; rise up, and call him blessed. That is a foul tongue, as well as a lying one, that can say any thing of him unbecoming a disciple, servant, and minister of Jesus Christ. Remember him, to imitate his good example. Many of you will be called Mr. Henry's followers. Be so indeed. He was a pattern to ministers of diligence, zeal, humility, and great meekness in dealing with all people, which contributed abundantly to his success; his preaching affectionate without affectation. To all people he was a pattern of faith and charity, and contempt of the world, of zeal and moderation, patience in suffering, and of constancy and perseverance to the end. Remember him, and remember your sins which have provoked God to take him away. Have not we grieved this good man's spirit? &c. Remember him, and remember Christ's fulness, who is the same, verse 8, and hath the residue of the Spirit. Instruments shifted, cisterns emptied, but there is the same in the fountain. Remember him, and remember your own death, and heaven where he is. We may think the worse of this world, which is much impoverished, and the better of heaven, which is somewhat enriched by the removal of this good man."

Thus we have gleaned a little out of the sermons, which very well deserved to have been published at large, some of the testimonies that were borne to him, by such as had had long and intimate acquaintance with him, that knew his excellencies very much, and knew as little to give flattering titles. Nor was it any invidious piece of service, to speak thus honourably of one, who, like Demetrius,* had a good report of all men, and of the truth itself.

Nor was it there only, but from abroad, that very honourable testimonies were given of him: Sir Henry Ashurst, (whose great worth and usefulness the world hath been made to know, by some of the best pens of the age,) besides the personal acquaintance he had with Mr. Henry, both at Boreatton, and in London, had kept up a constant correspondence with him, by letter, for many years. Read the character he gave of him, in a letter to a near relation of

* See 3 John, 12.

Mr. Henry's, upon the tidings of his death. "I need not tell you how sadly I received the doleful news of Mr. Henry's translation, who, I do think, lived the greatest example of sincere godliness, with prudence and sweetness of temper, of any I ever knew." And in another letter, not only proposing, but pressing the publication of an account of his life, he professeth, he thought there was "none like him in his day," at least of his acquaintance, which is known to be both of the largest and of the best. "And," saith he, "if Sir Fulke Greville* would have it inscribed upon his tombstone, that he was a friend to Sir Philip Sidney,† I may well be pleased to have it told to the world, that I loved, and honoured, blessed Mr. Henry; a man of so much prudence, and withal so much sincerity, of so good a temper, so much a gentleman, and yet of such strict piety and devotedness to God, that I scarce ever knew his fellow."

The Rev. Mr. William Turner, now Vicar of Walburton in Sussex, of whom mention was made before, lately sent to me a very kind letter, *Ex mero motu*, with his free consent to have it inserted in this account; some hints whereof I think fit to subjoin.

"Worthy Sir;

"I am glad to hear that you have been prevailed with to set upon so good a work, as recording the most remarkable passages of Mr. Henry's life. I doubt not but you will meet with some, that will give such a history but a cold reception. All that part of the world that lies in darkness, will be offended, when beams of clear light and sunshine first dart into their faces. *Virtutem præsentem odimus*.

"A little before I went to the University, I was, upon the commendation of my worthy school-master, Mr. E. yet living, and with my father's consent, half a year a domestick with him; partly as a tutor to his young ones, and partly as a pupil to himself; and in some little degree as a companion; where I had the opportunity of informing myself more fully concerning the humour and principles and conversation of a sort of people, and especially him and his family, whom I had heard aspersed very freely in former companies, and represented to the world, as very hypocritical, and disloyal people. At my first going, I resolved to stand upon my guard, and pry into the cause, which was then the great subject of difference and dispute; and, upon the whole do say, that Mr. Henry was a man of so clear a brain, so gentle a behaviour, so steady a conversation, so regular a devotion, was so courteous and condescending to inferiors, so respectful and dutiful to superiors, so sweet and obliging to all; was so careful to improve his time well, to do as much good as possible to every body, so

* Afterwards Lord Brooke. Nat. 1554; ob. Sept. 30, 1628. Mr. Chalmers's Biog. Dict. v. 16, p. 305.

† Nat. 29th Nov. 1554; ob. 1586. See Dr. Zouch's Memoirs of Sir P. Sidney, 4to. 1808.

constantly affectionate in his prayers for the king and government, so desirous to keep up a fair correspondence and communion with his conformable brethren,* so very indifferent in making proselytes to his particular opinions; and withal, so zealous to promote substantial goodness and true Christianity, so mighty inoffensive and peaceable in all his expressions and actions; so prudent, pure, pious, just, sober, charitable, cheerful and pleasant, that I profess I am almost afraid to give him his due character without some correctives, lest they that knew him not should suspect my veracity, and imagine my pen to be managed by some mercenary hand. I remember the worshipful Rowland Hunt, of Boreatton, Esq. speaking of Mr. Henry, thus expressed himself to me, and if I mistake not, the Lord Ambassador Paget was present. I was, said he, near seven years resident in the Universities, and seven more at the Inns of Court in London, and had opportunity of knowing and acquainting myself with the most eminent divines and preachers in both those places; yet I never found any every way so accomplished, for clearness and quickness of apprehension, solidity of judgment, and roundness of style, as Mr. Henry is. I have noted in my *Book of Providences*,† the remark I made upon the temporal blessings God hath rewarded him with; viz. a good and virtuous consort, who brought him a good estate, gave him a due reverence, loved him with an entire affection, an ingenious and hopeful offspring, well affected, well educated, and well disposed in the world, the favour of men, and a quiet undisturbed habitation upon earth, in great measure, &c.

*Sic testatus, sic monet, sic precatur,
Amicus mærens, anhelus, superstes.*

W. Turner, A. M."

Another very worthy conformist, formerly of his acquaintance,

* The remark, applied to an eminent nonconformist, may be fitly quoted in connection with Mr. Henry:—"As he chose to leave his living rather than stain his conscience, so his nonconformity was no way tinctured, either with spleen to the established church, or disloyalty to his prince." *Life of Richard Allein*. *Biog. Brit.* v. 1, p. 143.

† "Mr. Philip Henry, of whom I have made mention before, was a man of a very sedate even temper, a calm spirit, a great peace-maker in his neighbourhood; and, accordingly, he lived, loved, and died, with the universal lamentation of people of all sorts; and which, perhaps, ought not to be omitted in the consideration, after the enjoyment of a kind and loving wife, who brought him a good and plentiful estate; and, seeing his children all disposed of with his consent, and to the content of all persons concerned, and they walking in the truth, and in mutual love one with another, and his children's children, to his great joy and comfort. I say, after all these blessings poured plentifully upon his head, with great assurance and satisfaction about his spiritual and eternal estate, he, quietly, with a short sickness of about twelve hours continuance, or not much more, resigned up his spirit into the hands of the God of peace." *Turner's History of Remarkable Providences*, ch. lxxvii. p. 100, *ut supra*.

but now living at a great distance, having occasion to mention him in a letter to a friend, calls him,—The great, good, and now glorious Mr. Henry, whose memory, saith he, shall ever be precious, and even sacred to me.

Such as these were the honourable testimonies which all that knew him, and knew how to value true excellency, attended him with. It is part of the recompence of charity and moderation in this world, that it obtains a *good report of all men*. *The kingdom of God*, saith the blessed apostle, Romans, xiv. 17, 18, *is not meat and drink*, which were then the matters of doubtful disputation, *but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*; and he that in these things serveth Christ, is not only acceptable to God, but approved of men; as, on the contrary, they that judge will be judged, and with what *measure we meet, it will be measured to us again*. And this is the excellency of a good name, that it is out of the reach of death, and is not buried in the grave, but rather grows up from it. It is not for nothing that Solomon hath joined this good name, which is better *than precious ointment*, with the *day of one's death*, which, upon that account, is *better than the day of one's birth*, that it completes the character of those that finish their course well, and are faithful unto death; whereas a *great name*, like the names of the great ones of the earth, is often withered and blemished by death. We read of those that *bear their shame when they go down to the pit*, though *they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living*. Ezekiel, xxxii. 35.

At a meeting of the Dissenting Ministers of Cheshire, at Knutsford, in May, 1696, a few weeks before Mr. Henry died, it was agreed, that their next meeting should be at Chester,* though inconvenient to many of them, upon condition that he would meet them there, and give them a sermon. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed with to promise it, but his Master called for him before the time appointed came. Mr. Flavel, of Devonshire,† died when he was under a like appointment. But happy they that are come to the *general assembly, and church of the first-born, and to the spirits of just men made perfect*.

As to his bodily presence, he was of a middle stature, his complexion not approaching to any extreme, of a very pleasant aspect, and an unusual mixture of gravity and sweetness in the air of his countenance, which was the true index of the mind. [He would never be persuaded to wear a perriwig or border, though he had but very little hair, and was like Elisha for a bald-head. He sometimes said,—As long as I have three hairs of my own, I will never wear any body's else.‡] When some of his friends have solicited

* See Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, pp. 51, 52, *ut supra*.

† See his Life, prefixed to his Works, vol. 1. He died the 26th of June, 1691, æt. 64.

‡ Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*. See Walton's Lives by Dr. Zouch, v. 2, p. 417.

Mr. Matthew Henry, in his Diary, writes thus :—

him to have his picture drawn, he would put them off* with this, that the best picture of a minister is in the hearts of his people.

"1707-8, January 22. This day I was quite over-ruled by Brother H. and some of my friends, to cut off my hair, I having of late been very uneasy with coldness in my head, tooth-ache, and at present a deafness. I had purposed not to have done it, but feared, lest persisting in my refusal against the most earnest advice of my physician and friends, should arise from a secret pride in my own hair, and an affectation of singularity." Orig. MS.

* See Heywood's *Life of Angier*, p. 62, *ut supra*; and Dr. Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, v. 2, p. 98.

CHAPTER X.

A Miscellaneous Collection of some of his Sayings, Observations, Counsels, and Comforts, out of his Sermons, Letters, and Discourses.

MR. HENRY, through the excess of his modesty and self-diffidence, never published any of his labours to the world, nor ever fitted or prepared any of them for the press; and yet none more valued the labours of others, or rejoiced more in them; nor have I heard any complain less of the multitude of good books, concerning which he often said, that store is no sore,* and he was very forward to persuade others to publish; and always expressed a particular pleasure in reading the lives, actions, and sayings of eminent men, ancient and modern, which he thought the most useful and instructive kind of writings. He was also a very candid reader† of books, not apt to pick quarrels with what he read, especially when the design appeared to be honest; and when others would find fault and say, this was wanting, and the other amiss, his usual excuse was,—There is nothing perfect under the sun.

It will be but a small repair of this want of the publishing of some of his works, but I doubt it will prove the best we can make, to glean up some few of many of his sayings, observations, and good instructions, as his remains, which we shall not marshal in any order, but give them as they occur, besides those which have been already inserted into this narrative.

It was a saying he frequently used, which hath been mentioned already,—That every creature is that to us, and only that which God makes it to be: and another was,—Duty is our's, events are

* “Store is no sore, young mistress,
My mother is wont to say.”

Ben Jonson. Works. vol. 6, p. 34, *ut supra*.

† Appendix, No XXV.

God's: * and another was,—The soul is the man,† and, therefore, that is always best for us, which is best for our souls: and another was,—The devil cozens us of all our time, by cozening us of the present time.

[Referring to the death of a friend who had often expressed his intention of leaving the substance of his estate to pious uses, but had not done so, he remarked,—Many good purposes lie in the church-yard. ‡]

In his thanksgivings for temporal mercies, he often said,—If the end of one mercy were not the beginning of another, we were undone: and to encourage to the work of thanksgiving he would say,—That new mercies call for new returns of praise, and then those new returns will fetch in new mercies.

[Sometimes he would say,—Former mercies are a support to faith in expectation of future mercies: at other times,—Praise is our rent-penny, which we pay to our great landlord. We are God's tenants for his creatures, and we are tenants at will. Three-pence of rent he looks for; a penny of thankfulness, of obedience, of charity. We must relieve to our power proportionable to what we hold.

Of all the blessings we enjoy, saving, spiritual blessings cry loudest on us for returns of praise. They are the best blessings, the most excellent in themselves, the most costly to the Father, the most advantageous to us. §]

From Psalm, l. 23. *He that offers praise || glorifies me, and to him that orders his conversation aright*, he observed, that thanksgiving is good, but thanks-living is better.

[O what a mercy, he would say, is health. If the least wheel in our watch (the most menial servant) be out of order, what trouble is it to all the family. ¶]

When he spoke of a good name, he usually described it to be a name for good things with good people.

* See also a Letter from Philip to Matthew Henry, where this and others of Mr. Henry's sayings are introduced. Prot. Diss. Mag. v. 2, p. 454.

† Duties are our's, and events are God's." Mr. Rutherford. See *Joshua Redivivus*, or 352 Religious Letters, by the "eminently pious and learned Mr. S. Rutherford." Lett. xci. to the Rev. D. Dickson, Mar. 7, 1637, oct. 1809, p. 111, 13th ed.

‡ "The soul," saith a Heathen, "is the man; that which is seen is not the man: "

Οὐκ ἴστίς ἀνδρὸς τὸ ὁρῶμεν.

Plato.

See Flavel's *Husbandry Spiritualized*, ch. vi. Works, at *supra*, v. 6, p. 60.

Mens cujusque est quisque.

Cicero. *Somnium Scipionis*. Fragmenta. p. 64, op. tom. 8. duod. 1642.

And see 2 Cor. iv. 16, where the soul is called the *inward man*.

‡ Diary. Orig. MS.

§ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

¶ Christians are to give God the praise, Ps. cxv. 1, of all they have; gifts, graces; —of all they do; duties;—of all they get; success. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

¶ Diary. Orig. MS.

When he spoke of contentment, he used to say — When the mind and the condition meet, there is contentment.* Now in order to that, either the condition must be brought up to the mind, and that is not only unreasonable but impossible, — for as the condition riseth, the mind riseth with it, — or else the mind must be brought down to the condition, and that is both possible and reasonable. And he observed, — That no condition of life will of itself make a man content, without the grace of God; for we find Haman discontented in the court, Ahab discontented on the throne, Adam discontented in paradise; nay, and higher we cannot go, the angels that fell discontented in heaven itself.

[It pleases God to divide and dispense his gifts severally to the children of men; not all to one: but some to one, and some to another. There is no man so happy but hath something that is an alloy to his happiness, some trouble, or cross, or other, which should make us humble. And no man is so miserable, but he hath something that is an alloy to his misery; if he be poor, yet he hath health. This, if well considered, might help to quiet our hearts, and teach us, in whatsoever state we are, therewith to be content.†

You that have estates, he advised, — be sober in the use of them. You that have none, be sober in your desires.‡

With a view to check inordinate desires, he would sometimes say, — Consider what are those things towards which thy desires are, — they are earthly, vanity. This I can assure thee, thou wilt not find that in them which thou lookest for. The Holy Ghost hath caused a whole book of scripture to be written about this argument; it is the Book of Ecclesiastes, — *Delight thyself in the Lord*. Creature-comforts ebb and flow, but God is always the same. Mortify inordinate affections. Let that of Jacob be our rule, Genesis, xxviii. 20, 21, 22; or that of Agur, Proverbs, xxx. 7, &c. or that of Christ, *daily bread*. Nature is contented with little; grace with less; lust with nothing at all.§

Earthly-minded men, he remarks, are like moles: they live in the earth; they see no beauty in holiness, no comeliness in Jesus Christ.||

The three questions which he advised people to put to them-

* "Though a man cannot bring his condition to be as big as his heart, yet, if he can bring his heart to be as little as his condition, to bring them even; — from thence is contentment. The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment, by Jer. Burroughs, p. 30, 4to. 1685. So, Plato; — "The man, who would be truly happy, should not study to enlarge his estate, but to contract his desires." Plutarch, vol. 5, p. 365, *et supra*.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. A little will satisfy nature, less will satisfy grace, but nothing will satisfy a proud man's lusts. Galen. See Brooks's Unsearchable Riches of Christ, p. 19, 4to. 1671.

|| P. Henry. Orig. MS.

selves in self-examination before the sacrament, were, What am I? What have I done? and what do I want?*

[Noticing hypocrisy, he has remarked;—Though, to live in the least sin cannot consist with the *power* of godliness, yet, to live in the greatest, may with the *form*. Moses took a veil, when he spoke to Israel; put it off, when to God. Hypocrites do quite contrary; they show their best face to men, their worst to God. But he sees through the veil. Vipers speckled without, are poisonous within.†]

He used to recommend to his friends these four scripture arguments against sin, expressed, for memory sake, in four verses, to be ready in an hour of temptation.

Is this thy kindness to thy friend?‡
It will be bitterness in the end.§
The vows of God upon me lie;||
Should such a man as I am fly?¶

[Pressing upon professors the wrong done by their sin to others, he would say;—Your sin brings an evil report upon the ways of God, and grieves the hearts of your brethren, while it is the enemy's joy and triumph. Your example doth mischief; others will think they may safely venture to do as they see you do.** There is not the least sin allowed of, and affected, but will end in the eternal separation of the soul from God. Guilty of one, guilty of all. James, ii. 10.††]

If I sin, he remarked, I must repent of it, and repentance is made up of shame and sorrow, and hath much bitterness in it. Sin is against God. And, how shall I do *this great wickedness, and sin against the great God, and a great King above all gods?* Sin is pleasing to the devil; and shall I do that which gratifies him who doth all he can to destroy me? Consider the reflection of sin upon Jesus Christ; how it grieves, pierces, and openly shames him, my dear Redeemer, who shed his blood to redeem and ransom my soul from sin. Of this, it may be said, as of Goliath's sword, *There is none like it*. Consider the vows of God, which are upon us, especially the great vow of our baptism. Consider, though I may not be damned for this sin hereafter, yet I may be sorely chastened for it here, as David. The consideration of death and judgment, and the account that must be rendered *when every secret thing shall be*

* Appendix, No. XXVI.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ 2 Sam. xvi. 17.

§ 2 Sam. ii. 26.

|| Ps. lvi. 13.

¶ Neh. vi. 11.

** P. Henry. Orig. MS.

†† Ibid.

revealed, is a weighty argument against sin. If it be a publick sin, consider the scandal of it to religion, besides the harm it may do as a bad example.*

Watch against the beginnings and occasions of sin. This was Joseph's remedy.† *Set the Lord always before thee*. How can I do this, not only *against God*, but in his very face? *Put on the whole armour of God*; especially the *shield of faith*. Faith realizes invisible things; threatenings, promises, hell, heaven, and, above all, *Christ crucified*. Pray much. The best way to fight against sin, is to fight upon our knees. Remember your end. Death is at hand, and, *after death*, comes *judgment*. Do but suppose the next sin should be the determining sin, as perhaps it may.‡

When God pardons sin, he would say, he takes it off as a burden; removes it away, as filthiness; and blots it out as a debt.

Saving grace takes off the affections from sin; but, most of all, from that which was formerly best beloved.§

Sanctification is the resurrection of the soul from the death of sin to the life of grace; the *first resurrection*. Revelations, xx. 6.¶]

He said there were four things which he would not for all the world have against him,—The word of God, his own conscience, the prayers of the poor, and the account of godly ministers,

[There are four things, he would say, we must not make a mock of,—Sin, Proverbs, xiv. 9. People's natural infirmities,—the word of God,—and good people.¶]

Tria sunt difficilia,—to believe things impossible to reason,—to hope against hope when the thing hoped for is deferred,—and to cleave to God as to a friend, when he appears against us as an enemy.**

There are two things, he remarked, we should greatly beware of,—That we may never be ashamed of the gospel,—and, that we may never be a shame to it. Proverbs, xxx. 9. ††]

“He that hath a blind conscience, which sees nothing; a *dead* conscience, which feels nothing; and a *dumb* conscience, which saith nothing; is in as miserable a condition as a man can be in on this side hell.”

[He remarked,—There are three things, which, if Christians do, they will prove mistaken;

1. If they look for that in themselves, which is to be had in another; viz. *righteousness*.

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See a Sermon, by P. Henry, on Gen. xxxix. 9. Eighteen Sermons, p. 49, *ut supra*.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

** Ibid.

†† Ibid.

2. If they look for that in the *law*, which is to be had only in the gospel, viz. *mercy*.

3. If they look for that on earth which is to be had only in heaven; viz. *perfection*.

Seriousness in trifles; trifling in the most serious things, he would observe, undoes thousands.*]

Preaching on 1 Peter, i. 6. *If need be, ye are in heaviness,—* He showed what need the people of God have of afflictions. "The same that our bodies have of physick, that our trees have of pruning,† that gold and silver have of the furnace, that liquors have of being emptied from vessel to vessel, that the iron hath of a file, that the fields have of a hedge, that the child has of the rod.

[The evil of an affliction, he would say,—is the wrath of God in it.

The pilot is wise though the sea is rough.‡

"Afflictions are enlightening; they open the eyes. *Schola crucis est schola lucis*.§—humbling; they help to lay us low,—softening; as the rain to the parched earth, as fire that melts the metals,—composing: they help to make people sober and serious, opening the ear to discipline."||

When outward afflictions are upon the Lord's people, their chief endeavours should be after spiritual, inward mercies; to get sin pardoned, peace established, Psalm, xxv. 18. It is usual with Satan, at such times, to disquiet God's people with the remembrance of old miscarriages. He is a great enemy to our peace. When he doth so, our best course is to sue out a fresh pardon.¶

We are *born to trouble* as men, Job, xiv. 1, and *born again* to it as Christians. 2 Timothy, iii. 12.**

The graces of God's children are like fire in a flint, the flint must be struck before the fire will appear.

The way to make a burden light, he writes, is to poise it equally, that it may not hang all on one side. So afflictions are made easy by parting our care, so as to take upon us only the care of duty, and leave events to God.††

Great affections prove great afflictions.‡‡

* Diary. Orig. MS.

† God's vine bears better for bleeding. Israel went but seventy into Egypt, but returned six hundred thousand,—being increased by their bondage. P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

‡ Mr. Henry. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 490; said to be printed from his Diary.

§ Cyprian.

|| P. Henry. Orig. MS.

¶ Ibid.

** P. Henry. Skeleton of a Sermon on Matt. xvii. 14, taken from his own MS. Theol. Mag. and Review, v. 2, p. 422. A. D. 1802.

†† P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

‡‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

Thus he would pray,—When the flail* of affliction, O Lord, is upon me, let me not be as the chaff that flies in thy face, but as the corn that lies at thy feet.†]

Preaching on that prayer of Christ for his disciples, John, xvii. 21;—*That they all may be one*; which, no doubt, is an answered prayer; for the Father heard him always.—He shewed, “That, notwithstanding the many sad divisions that are in the church, yet all the saints, as far as they are sanctified, are *one*; one in *relation*, one *flock*, one *family*, one *building*, one *body*, one *bread*; one by *representation*, one in *image* and *likeness*, of one *inclination* and *disposition*; one in their *aims*, one in their *askings*, one in *amity* and *friendship*, one in *interest*, and one in their *inheritance*; nay, they are one in *judgment* and *opinion*; though in some things they differ, yet those things in which they are agreed are many more, and much more considerable than those things wherein they differ. They are all of a mind concerning sin, that it is the worst thing in the world; concerning Christ, that he is *All in all*; concerning the favour of God, that it is *better than life*; concerning the world, that it is *vanity*; concerning the word of God, that it is *very precious*,” &c.

Preaching on Galatians, i. 16, concerning the conversion of Paul, he began his sermon with this remark, to raise attention;—Much is said in story concerning the seven wonders of the world, the Temple of Ephesus, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Tomb of Mausolus, &c. all which are now no more; but I have been sometimes thinking, whether I could not name seven things which I would call the seven wonders of the church. And what do you think of these seven? Are they not wonderful? 1. Our redemption by Jesus Christ, who is called *Wonderful*. 2. The salvation of Noah in the ark. 3. The faith of Abraham in offering up Isaac. 4. The patience of Job. 5. The providences of God towards the nation and people of the Jews. 6. The pouring out of the Spirit upon the apostles. 7. The conversion of Paul.

[Preaching on Romans, v. 12.—*And death by sin, and so death passed upon all men*; he observed,—That eternal death is meant, or the death of both body and soul in hell. This is part of the *wages of sin*; in Romans, vi. 23, opposed to *eternal life*. It is a living death, or a dying life. It is, therefore, death, because separation from God. *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. Depart:—now, the Spirit saith, Come; and the Bride saith, Come; but then, Depart from*

* The flayle, or the winde, hurtithe not the wheat, but clensthyt yt from the chaffe. And ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat; feare not the fanning wind. An Epistle sent by Mr. Latimer to all the unfayned lovers of God's trewth, owte of a prison in Oxenford, called Bocardo; where the said Latimer was emprisonned for the testimony of Criste, the 15th of May, 1555. Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 3, p. 308. *ut supra*.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

me,—the Fountain of Life;—from my presence, in which is *fulness of joy*. This is the punishment of loss;—the very hell of hell. Lord, if we must go from thee, let us part friends! No;—*Depart, ye cursed*; and those whom he curses, are cursed indeed. Then let it be to some other place, where we may be quiet. No;—*into fire*. Such fire as our's is but a poor shadow of. Let us stay there but a while. No;—*into everlasting fire*. Let us have good company. No;—*the devil, and his angels*. The same by whom thou didst choose to be ruled, shall now torment thee.*

Preaching on Hebrews, vi. 9;—*But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation,† though we thus speak*; he said, in the close;—Do these things. See sin to be the worst of evils, and depart from it. See Christ to be the best of goods, and choose him, and cleave to him. See the world passing away, and set not thy heart upon it. See the ways of God to be the best ways, and his people the best people; and walk in those ways, and with those people. See heaven and hell before you, and carry it accordingly. Love the word of God; make it your guide, your food.‡

In an exposition of Genesis, iii. after analysing the awful sentence upon our first parents, he thus beautifully remarked;—In the midst of all the wrath denounced and executed in this chapter, what a sweet mixture there was of mercy: alluding to Psalm, ci. 1. There is a promise of Christ, verse 15. *In sorrow thou shalt bring forth*. There is wrath; but then it shall be *children*; there is mercy. *Thy desire shall be subject*, but it shall be *to thy husband*. Thy face shall sweat; but *in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread*. Mercy is seen in making garments for them, verse 15. §

Preaching on Matthew, vii. 24, &c. — *Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him*, &c. he observed, that he who hears sermons, and doth not do them, is a monster in religion. He is all head and ears, having neither hands to work with, nor feet to walk with. There is a disease, which children have, called the rickets, wherein their heads swell as large as two heads, and their legs are crooked, which hinder their going. We have many ricketty Christians; they hear much, and their heads swell with empty notions, and indigested opinions, but their legs are crooked, their walking is perverse. Every such person is a mocker of God, a deceiver of himself, a discourager of ministers,

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† The things that accompany salvation, are,—*repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ*. Where these are, there is salvation, Acts, iii. 19.—xvi. 31. Without these, we cannot be saved, Luke, xiii. 3. John, viii. 24. A holy heart, and a holy life, John, iii. 3. Heb. xii. 14. Matt. xviii. 3. Sincerity, truth, and uprightness, Gen. xvii. 1. Ps. li. 6. Isa. xxxviii. 3. 2 Cor. i. 12. Habitual preparation of soul to part with all for the sake of Christ and his gospel, if God shall call us thereunto. Luke, ix. 23. Matt. x. 37. Matt. vi. 24. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ Ibid.

barren soil, a bad servant, a *beholder of his natural face in a glass, a builder of his house upon the sand.**

Preaching on Christ, as the redemption of his people, from 1 Corinthians, i. 30;—*But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us redemption*; he thus concluded;—Live as the redeemed of the Lord; live with your eye upon the redemption; viewing it often; aiming at it as your scope; 2 Corinthians, iv. 18. Live with your hand upon the plough, *abounding always in the work of the Lord*. Live with your feet upon the world, despising its glories, bearing patiently its frowns. Live with your heart upon the Redeemer, in love and thankfulness.†

Preaching on Ephesians, ii. 12;—*That at that time ye were without Christ, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel*; he thus described the miserable condition of those who are without Christ;—They are children without a father, orphans; sheep, without a shepherd, none to lead them, to feed them, to guard them; they are in the dark, and no sun to enlighten them; they are in a friendless condition, Christ is their enemy; they are under a debt, and have no surety; they are in the midst of enemies, and have no Saviour; they have a cause to plead, but have no Advocate;—they are sinners, but have no Prophet, Priest, or King, to appear for them. They are out of the way, for *Christ is the only way*; they are mortally diseased, but have no Physician; they are naked, and have no clothing, for Christ's righteousness is the only clothing; they are foodless, breadless, for he only is bread to the soul; they are without wisdom; and, therefore, fools. A Christless condition is a *miserable condition*.‡]

But it would be endless to gather up such passages as these out of his sermons, which were full of them, and we mention these only because they occur first.

He used to observe concerning the nation of the Jews, that, before the captivity in Babylon, no people could be more strongly addicted to idols and idolatry than they were,—to admiration, considering what clear warnings they had against it. But after that captivity, never was any people more averse to idols and idolatry than they, that the promise might be fulfilled, *Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols?* And he looked upon it, that the idolatry of the papists was one of the greatest obstructions to the Jews' conversion, which he did expect and look for, as not apprehending how the promises, Romans, xi. have yet had their full accomplishment; not that they shall again be incorporated into a people, but *shall join themselves to the churches of Christ, in the several nations whither they be scattered*.

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Ibid. A heart to be truly thankful for the Redeemer, is a good sign of an interest in the redemption. P. Henry. Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, p. 217. *ut supra*.

‡ Mrs. Savage's MS.

The great thing that he condemned and witnessed against in the Church of Rome, was their monopolizing of the church, and condemning all that are not in with their interests, which is so directly contrary to the spirit of the gospel, as nothing can be more. He sometimes said,—I am too much a catholick to be a Roman Catholick.

He often expressed himself well pleased with that healing rule,* which, if duly observed, would put an end to all our divisions ;—*Sit in necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in omnibus charitas*. Let there be in necessary things unity, in every thing charity, and then there need not be, in every punctilio, uniformity.

By the institutions of the gospel, he said, he knew of no holy place, one holy day,† two holy sacraments, and four holy canons. Let all things be done *in charity*. Let all things be done *to edifying*. Let all things be done *decently*, and in order. Let all things be done *to the glory of God*.

When his opinion was asked about any doubtful matter, as playing at cards, the marriage of cousin-germans, or the like, he was very cautious in determining such things to be sinful; but he would say ;—It is good keeping on the safer side ; and a man would not choose to go upon a precipice, when he might go upon even ground, Proverbs, x. 5. *He that walks uprightly, walks surely*, in opposition to walking at all adventures.

[There are excellent rules to guide us in doubtful cases. What would Peter, or Paul, or Christ himself do in this case, if they were here? What would I do myself if I were dying now, and going to judgment?‡ What is the first dictate of my own conscience ; I say, the *first*,—before interest, profit, hath bribed it? Usually, that is the right.§

On another occasion, in reference to the sacred injunction,—*Commune with thine own heart, and be still*, he said,—When the question hath been put to conscience,—Do I do well to live in the

* Of St. Augustine.

† About the one-and-thirtieth yeare of Henry the Eighth, holydays were growne to such an unreasonable number, as that men had almost no time to worke and attend the businesse of their callings ; servants had so many play days, and poore people so few working dayes, as began to breed much inconvenience, by reason of much idleness. Wherefore there came forth injunctions from the king by the convocation, for the restraint thereof. God's Holy House and Service, by Foulke Roberts, pp. 22, 23, 4to. 1639. See a copy of "Thacte made for Thabrogacion of certayne holydayes," in Bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c. 4to. 1675, p. 167.

One of the injunctions of King Edward the Sixth, in 1547, was, that—"All parsons, vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save the thing which God hath sent." Ibid. p. 7. This was repeated by Queen Elizabeth, in 1559. Ibid. p. 73.

Mr. Henry probably had these things in view.

‡ See the Sermon preached before the interment of Mr. John Sympson, pp. 39, 40, 4to. 1663.

§ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

practice of such and such a thing?—Stay, and hearken to the answer.*

Noticing the common objection urged against the strictness of a holy life;—It is more than needs. I have a good heart towards God; I go to church, and give to every man his own; and what do the best more?—I will tell thee, saith he.—They do more; they watch against the *occasions* of sin, and pray, and endeavour, that the wicked one may not touch them. When he hath touched them, and they have sinned, it is the great grief of their souls, causes them to *mourn* bitterly. They take hold, by *faith*, on the blood of Christ, and receive remission through him. This they improve as the greatest, and most prevailing argument to all manner of gospel obedience after. This they do, and these are *the things that accompany salvation*.†

On christian joyfulness we have the following remarks:—

Whosoever takes his full, though lawful, pleasure in the things of the world,‡ to such God commonly denies the extraordinary delights of his Spirit.

Men may be in a state of joy, and yet not apprehend it, as Hagar, who had a well by her, and yet complained for thirst. Genesis, xxi. 17.

Joy must not always be judged of by the outward expressions; for a man will laugh more at a jest than he will at news of a pardon.

If we let the reins loose to sin and folly; if we suffer the world, and vanities of it, to incroach upon us, and to steal away our thoughts and affections, that will quickly spoil Christ's being our song. Hosea, ix. 1. Joy is forbidden fruit to a backslider. Such have other work to do. It is they only who keep a *conscience void of offence*, that *walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise*, that keep close to God and duty.—I say it is they only, that can *rejoice in Christ Jesus*. And, therefore, see to it all ye that desire to make Christ your song, and to rejoice always in him. Mind your way; mend your pace; ply your work.

Rest not, he would say, in having life, but press after liveliness. Revelations, iii. 1, 2. A lively frame in our walking, is an excellent frame; it rids work; brings something to pass in religion.§

Usually, after continued deadness, rested in, comes some notable affliction, or other cross.—‘Is it so, indeed? Can you afford me no better duties?’ Withdraw, Comforter! Smite, sickness! Vex him, Satan! Persecute him, enemies! Hosea, v. 15; vi. 1.||

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Ibid.

‡ And, for pleasures and delights of the world, we must deal with it as men who buy, and taste honey, only touch it with the tip of the finger, not with our whole hand, for feare of surfeit. Venerable Bede. *The Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, p. 516, 4to. 1640.

§ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

|| Ibid.

Writing upon worldliness, he observed, that, although the affections may not be *only* upon earthly things, they may be so *principally*; as when we affect earthly things in the first place; when we affect them for their own sakes, and not in subordination to a higher end; when heavenly things must give way to them; and when we can be content to forfeit a good conscience, that we may gratify our regard to them.

The root of a tree lies out of sight; so the affections. When they are set upon the world, what they do, they do slyly. The soul is lost without noise.

One of the most dreadful expressions of wrath in all the scripture is denounced against a *root of bitterness*. Deuteronomy, xxix. 18, 20, 21. Such a root is earthly-mindedness; and the fruit it brings forth is bitter fruit.

A child of God may be master of the world, but he cannot be a slave to it.*

If the affections of a Christian be towards earthly things, the soul will be wronged. It will engage him in a multitude of temptations and snares. 1 Timothy, vi. 9. It will exceedingly hinder communion with God. Earthly things are as bird-lime to the soul. When the heart is mounting up towards heaven, then will come in a wandering thought, as a bullet, or as an arrow out of a bow, and on the sudden fetch it down again. It is the very root of apostacy; and it unfits us for death. None are so unwilling to die as those whose affections are towards earthly things.†

Earthly riches are *uncertain riches*; 1 Timothy, vi. 17; but spiritual mercies are *sure mercies*. Isaiah, lv. 3.‡

In the observations he made of God's providences,§ he frequently took notice, in discourse with his friends, of the fulfilling of the scripture in them; for, saith he,—The scripture hath many accomplishments, and is in the fulfilling every day. Speaking of a wicked son in the neighbourhood, that was very undutiful to his mother, he charged some of his children to observe the providence of God concerning him; perhaps, saith he, I may not live to see it, but do you take notice, whether God do not come upon him with some remarkable judgment in this life, according to the threatening implied in the reason annexed to the Fifth Commandment. But he himself lived to see it fulfilled not long after, in a very signal providence. ||

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ One of these observations was noticed by Mr. Turner in proof of, "great effects being wrought by weak means." A woman near Haumer, going over a hedge, was hung to death with her head-string catching accidentally in the sticks; as was related to me by Mr. Henry of Broad Oak, in Flintshire. Remark. Provid. ch. cxli. p. 69, *ut supra*.

|| A striking illustration of a similar nature is recorded by Bishop Hopkins, in his "Exposition on the Commandments." Works, v. 1, p. 452, *ut supra*.

[On the subject of declensions in religion he remarked ;—It was never said of any one that fell away,* that he was either *justified*, or *begotten again*; whereas, many other glorious things are spoken of them. Hebrews, vi. 4, 5, &c.†]

Many men begin well in the profession of religion, and hold on a while, and yet break off at last, and come to nothing. What is the matter? Want of a single eye. They did not choose religion for religion's sake, nor the ways of God for God's sake, but for some secular advantage, or bye-respect; and, when the weight is off, the clock stands.‡]

He observed from scripture instances, as well as from some providences, which he had taken notice of in his own day,—That, if any began well in the ways of religion and godliness, and afterwards *cast off* their *profession*, and returned to profaneness again, usually God sets a mark of his displeasure upon them, by some visible judgment in this world; their estates ruined, their reputation blasted, their families sunk, or themselves brought to misery; so that all who passed by might say,—‘This was an apostate.’ *If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.*

He observed, from Numbers, x. 12,—That all our removes in this world, are but from one wilderness to another. Upon any change that is before us, we are apt to promise ourselves a Canaan, but we shall be deceived, it will prove a wilderness.

Once, pressing the study of the scriptures, he advised to take a verse of Psalm cxix. § every morning to meditate upon, and so go over the psalm twice in the year; and that, saith he, will bring you to be in love with all the rest of the scripture; and he often said ;—All grace grows, || as love to the word of God grows.

* They that voluntarily fall off from God's truth, are, of all men, the most given to railing and bitterness. 1 Timothy, i. 20. Julian, the apostate, was the bitterest railer against Christians. There are various reasons for this. The desire they have to justify themselves; because they know they have made themselves odious to God's people; (as nations take up arms against those they have no hope to be reconciled to;) to give assurance to that side they have given themselves to, 2 Sam. xvi. 21. A fury of spirit follows the worst cause. Let us hold fast the truth, and take heed of falling away; for then we shall fall into the *gall of bitterness*. Mr. D. Burgess on 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. Sept. 21, 1619. From a MS. of the Rev. Arthur Hildersham. *Penes me.*

† P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS. Brit. Mus. Fol. 4275. Plut. iii. E. Bibl. Birch. They that are acted only by an outward law, are all the while moved artificially, and not by any principle of motion from themselves within; or, like clocks and watches, that go pretty regularly for a while, but are moved by weights and plummets, or some other artificial springs, that must be ever now and then wound up, or else they cease. Dr. Cudworth's Sermon before the House of Commons, March 31, 1647, appended to the True Intellectual System of the Universe, v. 2, p. 64, 4to. 1743.

§ 1687-8, March 9. Friday morn. I have been, of late, taking some pains to learn by heart Psalm cxix. and have made some progress therein. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

|| A man cannot continue long at a stand in godliness. If we do not find an increase of grace, we may justly suspect a decay in grace. 2 Pet. iii. 17, 18. The regenerate part in a believer is styled, in scripture, the *new man*; or, as it may be rendered, the *young man*. Col. iii. 10. Youth is on the growing hand; so is grace in the heart. Mal. iv. 2. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

[Mentioning that passage;—*And turned my feet unto thy testimonies*;—he observed, that the great turn to be made in heart and life, is *from all other things to the word of God*. Conversion turns us to the word of God, as our touch-stone, to examine ourselves, our state, our ways, spirits, doctrines, worships, customs; as our glass, to dress by, James, i.; as our rule to walk and work by, Galatians. vi. 16.; as our water, to wash us, Psalm, cxix. 9.; as our fire, to warm us, Luke, xxiv.; as our food, to nourish us, Job, xxiii. 12.; as our sword to fight with, Ephesians, vi.; as our counsellor, in all our doubts, Psalm, cxix. 24; as our cordial, to comfort us; as our heritage, to enrich us.*

Noticing the *exceeding great and precious promises* of the divine word, he would say;—Those good things, which are only convenient for us, are not absolutely promised; as degrees of grace, comforts, externals.

To every command there is a promise; Deuteronomy, x. 16; compare xxx. 6; Ezekiel, xviii. 31.; compare xxxvi. 26; the command finds us work; the promise finds us strength. The purposes of God are his concealed promises; the promises, his revealed purposes. A believer, though he may have little in possession, he has treasures in reversion. The promises of God to us are greater helps for mortifying sin, than our promises to God."†]

One, asking his advice, what to do when, as often unavoidably, we are in the sight and hearing of the wickedness of the wicked, and whether we are to reprove them;—Why, saith he, you know what an angry countenance doth, and we may sometimes give a reproof by our looks, when we have not opportunity of giving it otherwise.

[He would remark, that it is strange to see sometimes what an awe arises upon the spirits of wicked men from the very company and presence of one eminent in holiness; they dare not do then as they dare and do at other times. One having dined with Mr. John Dod, said, afterwards, that he did not think it could have been possible to have forborne swearing so long.‡]

On the duty of christian reproof, he observes;—When we reprove our brother, we must be careful we violate not his credit. So Christ *looked* only upon Peter, lest, if he had spoken to him, the Jews, over-hearing, might have reviled and upbraided him with his treachery to his Master. So, also, at supper, when he reproved Judas, he speaks in general terms;—*One of you.*§

Again;—To reprove a brother, is like as, when he is fallen, to help him up again; when he is wounded, to help to cure him; when he hath broken a bone, to help to set it; when he is out of his way,

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

to put him in it; when he is fallen into the fire, to pluck him out; when he hath contracted defilement, to help to cleanse him.*

In reproving, temper zeal with charity. In the ark, as there was Aaron's rod, so there was also the pot of manna; *virga severitatis manna dulcedinis*; bitter pills must be gilded over with love and meekness. †]

He would not bear that any should be evil spoken of in his hearing; it was to him as vinegar to the teeth. He would mind those who reflected upon people behind their backs, of that law, Leviticus, xix. 14; *Thou shalt not curse the deaf*. Those that are absent are deaf, they cannot right themselves, and therefore say no ill of them. A friend of his inquiring of him concerning a matter which tended to reflect upon some people; he began to give him an account of the story, but immediately broke off, and checked himself with these words, but our rule is, *to speak evil of no man*, and would proceed no further in the story. It was but the week before he died, that one desired him to lend him such a book. Truly, saith he, I would lend it you, but that it rakes in the faults of some, which should rather be covered with a mantle of love. It were easy to multiply instances of this.

[Speaking of anger, he would say,—Wise anger is like fire in a flint: these is much ado to get it out, and when it is out, it is gone again presently. ‡]

To quicken people to diligence and liveliness in the worship of God, he would sometimes observe, that the temple was built upon a threshing-floor, a place of labour. He would also urge *that* in answer to those who turned it to his reproach, that his meeting-place had been a barn; no new thing, would he say, to turn a threshing-floor into a temple.

[The following counsel is connected with the same subject,—Beware of such things as deaden the heart. Avoid guilt, for it it mars all our boldness of access. Guard against the cares of the world, for they are as clogs and fetters. They are to the soul as bird-lime. A bird so caught, cannot fly as before.

Study things above, that ye may be wise about them. *Mind* them, Romans, viii. 5. Philippians, iii. 19.—*Savour* them: the word is so translated, Matthew, xvi. 23.—Keep up your *relish* of them. The whole man is to be exercised, and set on work in heavenly things, but chiefly the affections. Affect things above.

Spiritual things, graces and duties, &c. are termed things above, because they are so to the natural man, above his reach to understand, above his power to perform, 1 Corinthians, ii. 14,—because they elevate and advance the soul that hath them, and is exercised about them. (There is not a duty in religion, but an angel might be seen performing it without disparagement,)—because they are

* P. Henry. From Mrs. Savage's MS.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ Ibid.

so in regard of their original. (Duties were enjoined from above: we are enabled to perform them from above,)—and because they are so in regard of their tendency,—upwards, towards heaven.*

Inquire,—which do we usually reckon the happier man,—he who is poor in the world, and hath true grace, or he who is rich in the world and hath none? In which of these two men's condition would we choose to be? What is it we are most solicitous to make sure to ourselves,—things on earth, or things above? What is it you desire most to leave your children? Have you spent as many thoughts, and cast as many ways how you might bring them to Christ, as how you might raise them, and provide for them in the world? These queries, impartially answered, will evidence what esteem we have of things above, and our esteem will evidence what affections we have towards them.†]

When some zealous people in the country would have him to preach against top-knots, and other vanities in apparel, he would say, that was none of his business; if he could but persuade people to Christ, the pride, and vanity, and excess of those things would fall of course; and yet he had a dislike to vanity and gaiety of dress;‡ and allowed it not in those that he had influence upon. His rule was, that in such things we must neither be owls nor apes; not affect singularity, nor affect modishness; nor, as he used to observe from 1 Peter, iii. 3, make *the putting on of apparel our adorning*, because Christians have better things to adorn themselves with.§ When some complained to him of a relation of their's, that would not let them dress his children with ribbons, and other fine things; why truly, saith Mr. Henry, those things are fit for children; thereby reproofing both him that would not allow them to his children, and them that perhaps minded them too much themselves.

[On first wearing a new suit of clothes, he wrote,—Lord, clothe me with thy righteousness, which is a comely, costly, lasting, everlasting garment.¶]

Four sorts of zeal, he would remark, are to be condemned. Blind zeal. Romans, x. 2.; Bitter zeal. James, iii. 14.; Proud zeal. 2 Kings, x.; Partial zeal. Matthew, xxiii. 23.¶¶

On one occasion, he writes,—None should despair, because God can help them; none should presume, because God can cross them.**

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Ibid.

‡ See Strutt's Manners and Customs of the English, v. 3, p. 93, &c. 4th. 1776.

§ In 1551, the King [Edward the Sixth] drew up for the Parliament a bill for restraining and directing of apparel, but it took not effect. See the Rough Draft, in Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 2, p. 555, &c. *ut supra*.

¶ Christ is a Christian's glory. Ps. lxxiii. 3. No such ornament as true godliness. Be not ashamed of your ornaments. Phil. iii. 3. 2 Cor. i. 12. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

¶¶ Diary. Orig. MS.

¶ Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

** P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

Referring to the fundamentals of the Christian religion, they consist, he observes, in matters of *faith*. John, xvii. 3.—viii. 24. Acts, iv. 11. 1 Corinthians, i. 23. *ib.* ii. 2. *ib.* iii. 11.; of *practice*. Matthew, iv. 17. Luke, ix. 23. John, xiii. 34.—xv. 14.; and of *worship*. John, iv. 24.—xvi. 23. Philippians, iii. 3. Colossians, iii. 17.—ii. 18, 19.*

True godliness is scripture godliness. Godliness according to what is written. Psalm, cxix. 133. Galatians, vi. 16. †

Speaking of pride, he would say,—The worst sin, pride, comes out of our graces, and the best grace, which is humility, comes out of our sins. ‡

At other times,—We should be troubled as much at unjust praises as at unjust slanders.§

What the soul is to the body, he would remark, that the saints are to the world; the balsam and life of it; yet as the body abuses the soul, so doth this world the saints. ||

The study of history, he notes, is pleasant. I find afflictions and persecutions have been always the lot of the people of God, but God hath still upheld his church, and will do it to the end. ¶

To one complaining of weakness in duty he said;—Remember two things; *that you are not under the law, but under grace*; that you are on earth, and not in heaven.**

If you would pray fervently, walk watchfully. Rest not in forms. Artificial breath, such as that which comes from a pair of bellows, is cold; but natural breath, which comes from the mouth of a living man, is warm. Stir thyself up with quickening meditations, Psalm, xxxix. 3. Beg assistance from the spirit. ††

We must not go a step out of our way, neither to meet the cross nor to miss it. ‡‡]

He often, both in sermons and discourses, would press people to fix to themselves some good principles, and to come off from the corrupt and carnal principles that worldly people go by. He took all occasions to recommend such principles as these. That God who is the first and best, should have the first and best. §§—That a part in Christ is a good part.—That soul prosperity is the best prosperity, and that it is well or ill with us, according as it is well or ill with our souls.—That honesty is the best policy.—That those that would

* P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

** Ibid.

†† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡‡ P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

§§ *Seek first the kingdom of God*; first in time; not only chiefly, but early. It is best to begin with him who is best. Caryl on Job, v. 1, p. 688, fol. 1676.

have the comfort of relations, must be careful to do the duty of them.—That all is well that ends everlastingly well.*—That time, and the things of time, are nothing compared with eternity and the things of eternity.—That it is better to suffer the greatest affliction, than to commit the least sin.—That it highly concerns us to do that now, which we shall most wish we had done when we come to die.—That work for God is its own wages.—That it is folly for a man to do that which he must certainly undo again by repentance, or be undone to all eternity. Such as these were the principles he would have Christians to govern themselves by.

[Contrasting the superior principles under which Christians act with those which influence others, he writes;—A man may be strong to do much, and suffer much, from external weights, pulling and drawing, that is, from motives from without; to please men, or to gain applause; but that is another thing from what is done by an inward principle; grace in the heart, the love of God shed abroad there, the love of Christ constraining; as the bias in the bowl, the spring in a watch.†

Illustrating the future blessedness of Christians by comparison, he remarked;—Eternal life is the life of heaven: this and spiritual life are for substance the same; they differ in degree only. Life spiritual, the life of grace, is life eternal, the life of glory, begun; and life eternal, the life of glory, is life spiritual, the life of grace perfected.‡ They differ as the child's life and the man's life, 1 Corinthians, xiii. 11, 12. As the morning-sun from the noon-sun, Proverbs, iv. 18. As the spring from the summer; the budding-rose from the blown rose.§]

Speaking of the causes of atheism, he had this observation;—That a head full of vain and unprofitable notions, meeting with a heart full of pride and self-conceitedness, dispose a man directly to be an atheist.

A gentlewoman, that upon some unkindness between her and her husband, was parted from him, and lived separately near a twelvemonth, grew melancholy, and complained of sin, and the withdrawing of the light of God's countenance, and the want of assurance; he told her she must rectify what was amiss between her and her husband, and return into the way of duty, else it was in vain to expect peace. Her friends were against it; but he said, he was confident it would prove so.

[Noticing the causes of God's hiding his face from his people, he remarks;—That most commonly sin in us is the cause. Sin is a

* Mr. Dod would frequently say,—That was well which ended everlastingly well; and that was ill which ended everlastingly ill. *Life*, by Clarke, *ut supra*, p. 174. See the *Life* of Mrs. Margaret Corbet, *ib.* p. 417.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ The estate of grace, and that of glory, are like one to the other; grace being glory begun, and glory grace completed. Archbishop Leighton, on 1 Peter, i. 13. *Works*, *ut supra*, vol. 1. p. 104.

§ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

separating, darkening thing, Isaiah, lix. 2. Ephesians, v. 11. Particularly, security: carnal confidence, Psalm, xxx. 6, 7; neglect of opportunities, Solomon's Song, v. 2, 3, &c.; worldly-mindedness, Isaiah, lvii. 17. 1 Timothy, vi. 10.; cowardice in God's cause and service, Jonah, ii. 4. Yet, sometimes he adds, pure love in himself is the reason, Isaiah, l. 10. He has, hereby, several holy ends in view. To convince us of our dependence upon him for all the comfort we have; to quicken our desires after him. See Matthew, xv. 22, &c.; to discover to us the worth of the light of his countenance; to prevent our being puffed up, 2 Corinthians, xii.; to stir up our longings after heaven.*

With reference to the Divine Being, he sometimes observed,—That God reserves three things to himself; the revenge of injuries, Romans, xii. 19.; the glory of deeds, Isaiah, xlii. 8.; the knowledge of secrets, Deuteronomy, xxix. 29.

The will of God's purpose is the rule of all his actions; the will of his precept is the rule of all our actions. -

God can provide for us without us; so cannot we for ourselves without God.†]

[Mr. Henry] said he had observed concerning himself, that he was sometimes the worse for eating, but never for abstinence; sometimes the worse for wearing too few clothes, but never for wearing too many; sometimes the worse for speaking, but never for keeping silence.‡

As to his letters, he was very free in writing to his friends. A good letter, he would say, may perhaps do more good than a good sermon, because the address is more particular, and that which is written remains. His language and expressions in his letters were always pious and heavenly, and seasoned with the salt of grace; and when there was occasion, he would excellently administer counsels, reproofs, or comforts by letter. He kept no copies of his letters, and it is impossible, if we should attempt it, to retrieve them from the hands into which they were scattered. Mr. Rutherford's § and Mr. Allen's|| letters, that, like some of the most excellent of Paul's Epistles, bore date out of a prison, have a mighty tincture of their peculiar prison-comforts and enlargements. We have none such to produce of Mr. Henry's, no pastoral letters, or prison letters. He was himself, in his whole conversation, *an epistle of Christ*.

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

‡ Xenocrates, holding his peace at some detraction discourse, was asked, why he spoke not?—"Because," said he, "I have sometimes repented of speaking, but never of holding my peace." Stanley's History of Philosophy, p. 222, 4to. 1743.

§ Mr. Rutherford died in March, 1661. See his Life in the Biog. Scotc. p. 206, oct. 1796.

|| See *ante*. p. 150.

But we shall only glean up some passages out of such of his letters as are in our hands, which may be affecting and edifying.

To his son, when he was abroad, for improvement at London, in the year 1685, and 1686, with the common business of his letters, which was always written with a savour of religion, he would intermix such lines as these. "We are all well here, thanks be to God, the Divine Providence watching about our tabernacle, and compassing us about *with favour, as with a shield*. Our great inquiry is, What shall we render? Alas! our renderings are nothing to our receivings; we are like the barren field, on which much cost is bestowed, but the crop is not accordingly. Our heavenly Father is *loading us with his benefits*, and we are loading him with our sins, grieving him that comforts us. And how long, how long shall it be so? Oh, that it might be otherwise! that our mercies might be as oil to the wheels, to make us so much the more active and lively in our Master's work, especially considering how it is with our fellow-servants; they empty and we full; they *Marah*, and we *Naomi*. There may a day come when it may cost dear to be honest, but after all,—*To fear God and keep his commandments is the whole of man*. I therefore, commend it to you, and you to God, who is *a shield and buckler to them that fear him*.

"We are well, but in daily expectation of that which we are born, and *born again* to, and that is trouble* in this world, yet rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, which we are reaching after, and pressing towards, as we trust you are also. Where you are, you see more of the glittering vanities of this world in a day, than we here do in an age; and are you more and more in love with them, or dead and dying to them? I hope dead and dying to them, for they are poor things, and perish in the using; make many worse that enjoy them, but none better. What is translated *vexation of spirit*, Ecclesiastes, i. 2, may be read feeding upon wind, compare Hosea, xii. 1. And can wind satisfy? The Lord preserve and keep you from all evil; the Lord preserve and keep your soul. We both send you our love, and bless you together and apart, every day, in the name of the Lord. Amen and Amen.

"Be sincere, and humble, and choice in your company, always either getting good or doing good, gathering in or laying out. Remember to *keep the heart† with all diligence* and above all keepings, for there the fountain is, and if that be well kept and clean, the streams will be accordingly.

* As God hath hedged up our way with strict commands, so he hath strewed it likewise with thorns of afflictions. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

"A narrow way,
Scatt'ed with bushy thornes, and ragged breares."

Spenser.

The Faerie Queene, Canto x. xxxv. Works. Mr. Todd's edition, v. 3, p. 127.

† A Christian may have blows upon his back, but God will keep his heart. *My son, give me thine heart*; I will keep it for thee. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

"It is some short refreshment to friends and relations, to see and hear from one another, but it passeth away, and we have here no continuing city, no abiding delights in this world; our rest remains elsewhere; those we have, lose much of their sweetness, from the thoughts of parting with them while we enjoy them, but the happiness to come is eternal: after millions of millions of ages, if we may so speak of eternity, as far from an end as the first moment; and the last of glory will be glory,* so some read Proverbs, xxv. 27: keep that in your eye, my dear child, and it will, as much as any thing, dazzle your eyes, to all the fading, deceiving vanities of this lower world; and will be a quickening motive to you, to abound always in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. The Lord bless you, who blesseth indeed.

"See that you walk circumspectly, not as the fools, but as the wise; many eyes are upon you, his especially, who is all eye. *Cave Deus videt. Memento hoc agere*; our blessing with 1 Chronicles, xxviii. 9.

"The same which is yet the prologue of your's, is of our's also. *Omnia bene, laus Deo!* but he that *girdeth on the harness, must not boast as he that puts it off*. While the world we live in is under the moon,—constant in nothing but inconstancy,—and such changes are made in other families, why should we alone promise ourselves immunity from the common lot? There would be no need of faith and patience, which are winter graces, if it should be always summer time with us. We have three unchangeables to oppose to all other mutabilities; an unchangeable covenant, an unchangeable God, and an unchangeable heaven.† And while these three remain the same yesterday, to day, and for ever, welcome the will of our heavenly Father in all events that may happen to us; come what will, nothing can come amiss to us.

"Keep the invisible things of the other world always in your eye. He that ventures the loss of an eternal crown and kingdom, for a cup or two of puddle water, such as all terrene pleasures in comparison are, makes a bargain, which no less a space than that which is everlasting will be sufficient to bewail and repent of. How much better is it to lay up in store now a *good foundation for time to come*, and to *lay hold on eternal life!* Doing those works which we would be willing should hereafter follow us, yet still making the blessed Jesus our all in all.

"The further progress you make in your studies, you will find them the easier; it is so with religion, the worst is at first. It is like the picture that frowned at first entrance, but afterwards smiles

* See Dr. Goodwin's Works, v. 5, part iii. p. 117, *ut supra*.

† So,—There are three things that are unsearchable; the nature of God, the love of Christ, and the heart of man. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

and looks pleasant.* They that walk in sinful ways, meet with some difficulties at first, which custom conquers, and they become as nothing. It is good accustoming ourselves to that which is good. The more we do the more we may do in religion. Your acquaintance, I doubt not, increaseth abroad, and accordingly your watch must be ; for by that oftentimes, ere we are aware, we are ensnared. *He that walketh with wise men shall be wise.*

"The return of the spring invites our thanksgiving for the mercy of it. The birds are singing early and late, according to their capacity, the praises of their Creator ; but man only that hath most cause, finds something else to do. It is redeeming love that is the most admirable love ; less than an eternity will not suffice to adore it in. *Lord, how is it ! Lord, what is man ?* As the streams lead to the fountain, so should all our mercies lead us to that. We both of us send you our most affectionate love and blessing. Blessing ! that is, we pray and beseech the most blessed God, even *our own God*, to give you *his* blessing, for he only can command the blessing ; and those whom he blesseth are blessed indeed. Let us still hear to our comfort, that you *walk in the truth*, living above the things of the world, as dead to them. The Lord in mercy fit us for his will in the next providence, publick and personal, for time is always coming.

"Your improvement is our joy. Be sincere and serious, clothed with humility, abounding always in the work† of the Lord ; and when you have done all, saying, *I am an unprofitable servant*. It was the good advice of the moral philosopher, in your converse with men, *Μίμνησο ἀπιστεῖν*,—Distrust ; but I must add, in every thing towards God, *Μίμνησο πιστεύειν*,—Believe ; expect temptation and a snare at every turn, and walk accordingly. We have a good cause,—a vanquished enemy,—a good second,—an extraordinary pay ; for he that overcomes, needs not desire to be more happy than the second and third of the Revelation speaks him to be. The God of all mercy and grace compass you about always with his *favour as with a shield*.

"I would have you redeem time for hearing the word in season and out of season ; your other studies will prosper never the worse, especially if you could return immediately from it to the closet again, without cooling diversitements by the way.

* The beginnings of a strict and serious Christianity are not without much difficulty, *The worst is the first*: Bishop Hall. Works. v. 6. p. 296. *ut supra*. The excellent Mr. Richard Rogers, urging to a daily course of watchful piety, remarks, —The beginning is the hardest. *Seven Treatises*. p. 359, fol. 1604.

So Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*. Canto x. VI.

Each goodly thing is hardest to begin.

Works. *ut supra*. v. 3. p. 109.

The way to heaven is most difficult to young beginners in godliness: the image of Pallas seemed to frown as one came in at the temple door, but afterwards seemed smiling and pleasant. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† The life of a Christian is a life of action. It is not talking that will win the crown. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

"See your need of Christ more and more, and live upon him; no life like it, so sweet, * so safe. *Christus meus mihi in omnia*. We cannot be discharged from the guilt of any evil we do, without his merit to satisfy; we cannot move in the performance of any good required, without his spirit and grace to assist and enable for it; and when we have done all, that all is nothing, without his mediation and intercession to make it acceptable; so that every day, in every thing, he is *All in all*. Though you are at a distance from us now, we rejoice in the good hope we have, through grace, of meeting again in the *land of the living*; that is, on earth, if God see good; however, in heaven, which is the true land of the truly living, and is best of all. The Lord God everlasting be your *Sun* and *Shield* in all your ways. See time hasting away apace towards eternity, and the Judge even at the door, and work accordingly; wherever you are, alone or in company, be always either doing or getting good, *sowing or reaping*. As for me, I make no other reckoning, but that the *time of my departure is at hand*; and, what trouble I may meet with before, I know not; the will of the Lord be done. One of my chief cares is, that no iniquity of mine may be laid up for you; which, God grant, for his mercy's sake, in Christ Jesus. Amen.

"Be careful of your health. Remember the rule,—*Venienti occurrere*; but especially neglect not the main matter. The soul is the man; if that do well, all is well. *Worship God in the Spirit; rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh*. God be gracious unto thee, my son; redeem time, especially for your soul. Expect trouble in this world, and prepare for it.† Expect happiness in the other world, and walk worthy of it, *unto all pleasing*.

"A good book is a good companion at any time, but especially a good God, who is always ready to hold communion with those that desire and seek communion with him. Keep low and humble in your thoughts and opinion of yourself; but aim high‡ in your

* He is sweet food, 1 Pet. ii. 3. Cant. ii. 3. He is sweet in his pardons, his promises, his ordinances, his offices, his comforts, his communion. Those who have fed upon Christ are lively in the ways of God; their appetites are dead to the world; they are solicitous to bring in others; and they are desirous after more. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

In looking over a diary of Mr. Philip Henry, in manuscript, that was lately put into my hand, I met with this passage;—The Christian's life is in Christ, on Christ, by Christ, to Christ, for Christ, with Christ. Mr. English. See *Memoirs of the Rev. Thomas English*, by John Griffin, p. 167.

† Mr. Greenham said,—“He never looked for a better estate than that wherein he was, but often prepared himself for a worse.” *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*. Works, p. 4, *ut supra*.

‡ Covet grace earnestly, but beware of coveting any creature earnestly, John, vi. 27. Col. iii. 2. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

“Pitch thy behaviour low, thy projects high;
So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be;
Sink not in spirit. Who aimeth at the sky,
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.”

The Church Porch. Herbert's Poems, *ut supra*, p. 12.

desires and expectations, even as high as the kingdom of heaven itself, and resolve to take up with nothing short of it. The Lord guide you in all your ways, and go in and out before you, and preserve you blameless to his heavenly kingdom!"

Immediately after his son was ordained to the work of the ministry at London, in the year 1687, he thus wrote to him;—

"Are you now a minister of Jesus Christ? Hath he counted you faithful, putting you into the ministry? Then, be faithful. Out of love to him *feed his lambs*. Make it your *τὸ ἔργον*, as a workman that needs not to be ashamed, *rightly dividing the word of truth*. I hope what you experienced of the presence of God with you in the solemnity, hath left upon you a truly indelible character, and such impressions, as neither time, nor any thing else, shall be able to wear out. Remember Psalm lxxi. xvi.* It is, in the eye of sense, a bad time to set out in; but, in sowing and reaping, clouds and wind must not be heeded. The work is both comfortable and honourable, and the reward rich and sure; and, if God be pleased to give opportunity and a heart, though there may be trouble attending it, it will be easily borne. *If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him*. I am, and shall be, according to my duty and promise, earnest at the throne of grace, on your behalf, that the Lord will pour out upon you of his Holy Spirit, that what he calls you to, he would fit you for; especially, that he would take you off your own bottom, and lay you low in the sense of your own unworthiness, inability, and insufficiency, that you may say, with the evangelical prophet,—*Woe is me, I am undone!* And, with Jeremiah, *I am a child*; and with Paul, *I am nothing*. Where this is not, the main thing is wanting; for God *resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble*. Now the Lord give you that grace to be humble; and then, according to his promise, he will make you rich in every other grace."

It were easy to transcribe many more such lines as these out of his letters to his son, but these shall suffice.

We shall next gather up some passages out of his letters to his children, after they were married and gone from him.

To one of his daughters with child of her first child, he thus writes;—"You have now one kind of burden more than ever you had before to *cast upon God*; and, if you do so, *he will sustain you*, according to his promise."

* *I will go in the strength of the Lord God: I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only.*

And when the time of travail was near, thus;—"You know whom you *have trusted*, even him who is *true* and *faithful*, and never yet did, nor ever will, *forsake* the soul that *seeks* him. Though he be almighty, and can do every thing, yet this he cannot do, *he cannot deny himself*, nor be worse than his word. But what is his word? Hath he promised that there shall be always a safe and speedy delivery? That there shall be no Jabez, no Benoni? No; but, if there be, he hath promised, it shall *work together for good*; hath promised, if he doth not save *from*, he will save *through*. If he call to go, even through the *valley of the shadow of death*, (And what less is child-bearing?) he will be with you; his *rod* and his *staff* shall comfort you; and that is well. Therefore, your faith must be in those things as the promise is, either so, or so, and which way soever it be; *God is good, and doth good*. Therefore, my dear daughter, *lift up the hands that hang down*; cast your burden upon him; trust also in him, and let your thoughts be established. We are mindful of you in our daily prayers; but you have a better Intercessor than we, who is heard *always*."

To another of them, in the same circumstances, he thus writes;—"Your last letter speaks you in a good frame, which rejoiced my heart, that you were *fixed, fixed, waiting upon God*; that your faith was uppermost, above your fears; that you could say,—*Behold, the handmaid of the Lord, let him do with me as seemeth good in his eyes!* We are never fitter for a mercy, nor is it more likely to be a mercy indeed, than when it is so with us.* Now the Lord keep it always in the imagination of the thoughts of your heart." And, he concludes;—Forget not 1 Timothy, ii. last verse.†

When one of his daughters was safely delivered, in a letter to another of them that was drawing near to that needful hour, he observed, that, when David said, Psalm, cxvi. 12,—*What shall I render?* He presently adds, verse 13,—*I will call upon the name of the Lord*.—As if, saith he, calling upon the name of the Lord for mercy for you, were one way of rendering unto the Lord, for the great benefit done to your sister.

On occasion of affliction in their families by the sickness or death of children, or otherwise, he always wrote some word in season.

* Mark it, while you live, we are never nearer a mercy than when we can most freely resign up ourselves to the will of God, and say,—*Lord, here I am, do with me as seemeth good in thy sight!*

But you will say,—'If my heart be dead to it, what good will it do me?'

I answer, most good of all. Thus: the goodness of any mercy lies in the enjoyment of the God of the mercy; the Giver, more than the gift; in heaven, God is, instead of all, to glorified saints; and it is their happiness. Now the more our affections are mortified to the thing itself, the more quick and keen they will be towards God; and, if so, the better. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† *Notwithstanding, she shall be saved in child-bearing, if they continue in faith and charity, and holiness, with sobriety.*

"In the furnace again," saith he, "but a good Friend sits by; and it is only to take away more of the dross. If less fire would do, we should not have it so much, and so often. Oh, for faith to trust the Refiner, and to refer all to his will and wisdom, and to wait the issue;—for, I have been young, and now am old, but I never yet saw it *in vain to seek God, and to hope in him.*"

At another time he thus writes;—"Tough and knotty blocks must have more and more wedges; our heavenly Father, when he judgeth, will overcome. We hear of the death of dear S. T. and chide ourselves for being so often pleased with his little pretty fashions, lest we offended therein, by being too much so. No rival must sit with him in his throne, who deserves all our love and joy, and hath too little of it."

At another time, upon the death of another little one;—"The dear little one," saith he, "made but a short passage through this to another world, where it is to be for ever a living member of the great body, whereof Jesus Christ is the ever-living Head; but for which hope, there were cause for sorrow indeed. If he that gives takes, and it is but his own, why should we say, *What dost thou?*"

At another time, upon the like occasion;—"Our quiver of children's children is not so *full*, but God can soon empty it. Oh, for grace, grace, at such a time, which will do that, that nature cannot! *The God of all grace supply your need*, and our's, *according to his riches in glory!* The Lord is still training you up in his good school; and though no affliction, for the present, be *joyous*, but *grievous*, nevertheless, *afterwards*, it yields well. Your work is, in every thing, to bring your will to the will of God."

To one of his daughters, concerning her little ones, he thus writes;—"They are but bubbles.* We have many warnings to sit loose. The less we rely upon them in our joys and hopes, the more likely to have them continued to us. Our God is a jealous God; nor will he suffer the creature to usurp his throne in our affections.

Upon the death of a little child but a few days old, he thus writes;—"The tidings of the death of your little one were afflicting to us, but the *clay* must not say to the *potter*, *What dost thou?* If he that took, be the same that gave, and what he gave and took

- * "Like to the falling of a star,
Or as the flights of eagles are;
Or like the fresh spring's gaudy hue;
Or silver drops of morning dew;
Or like a wind that chafes the flood;
Or *bubbles* which on water stood:
Even such is man, whose borrowed light
Is strait called in, and paid to-night.
The wind blows out; the *bubble* dies;
The spring entomb'd in autumn lies;
The dew dries up; the star is shot;
The flight is past, and man forgot."

was his own, by our own consent, it becomes us to say, *Blessed be the name of the Lord*. I hope you have been learning to acknowledge God in all events, and to take all as from his hand, who hath given us to *know*;—I say, to *know*, for Paul saith so,—that all things *do* work together,—not only shall, but *do*,—for our good, that we may be more and more *partakers of his holiness*. He can make the two left as comfortable to you as all the three, as all your five could have been. However, if all the cisterns were drawn dry, while you have your *fountain** to go to, you are well. You may also, by faith, look forward, and say, It was a covenant-child, and, through mercy, we shall see it again in a better world."

Upon the sickness of a dear child, he thus writes to the parent;—"You and we are taught to say, *It is the Lord*. Upon his will must we wait; and to it must we submit in every thing; not upon *constraint*, but of *choice*; not only because he is the *Potter*, and we the *clay*, and, therefore, in a way of sovereignty he may do what he pleaseth with us and our's, but because he is our Father, and will do nothing but what shall be for *good* to us. The more you can be satisfied in this, and the more willing to resign, the more likely to have. *Be strong, therefore, in the grace which is in Christ Jesus*, it is given for such a time of need as this. I hope your fears and our's will be prevented, and pray they may; but, thanks be to God, we know the worst of it, and that worst hath no harm in it, while the *better part* is our's, which *cannot be taken away from us*."

To one of his children in affliction he writes thus;—"It is a time of trial with you, according to the will of your and our heavenly Father. Though you see not yet what he means by it, you shall see. He means you good, and not hurt; he is showing you the vanity of all things under the sun, that your happiness lies not in them, but in himself only; that they and we are passing away, withering flowers, that, therefore, we may learn to die to them, and live above them, placing our hope and happiness in better things; trusting in him alone, who is the *Rock of Ages*, who fails not, neither can fail, nor will fail those that fly to him. I pray you, think not a *hard thought* of him, no not one hard thought, for he is good, and doth good in all he doth, and therefore all shall work for good. But, then, as you *are called according to his purpose*, blessed be his name for it, so you must *love him*; and love, you know, *thinks no evil*, but puts the best construction upon all that the person loved saith, or doth; and so must you, *though now, for a season, if need be, you are in heaviness*.

* A saying of my dear father in a letter to one under weakness, was,—The cordial, which I give and take is this,—*The blood of Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin*: blessed be God for this fountain, and that it is open. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

You have seene the comforts of the world, you see how all cisternes fail you, goe to the fountain. Dr. Harris. Works, p. 77, fol. 1635. See Jer. ii. 13.

And, at another time ;—" Your *times*, and the *times* of your's, are in the Lord's good hand ; whose will* is his wisdom. It is one thing, as we read and observed this morning, out of Ezekiel, xxii., to be put into a furnace, and left there as dross, to be consumed ; and another thing to be put in as gold, or silver, to be melted for use, and to have the Refiner sit by. You know whom you have believed ; keep your hold of the everlasting covenant. *He is faithful that hath promised.* We pray for you ; and we give thanks for you daily, for the *cup is mixed* ; therefore, *trust in the Lord for ever*, and *rejoice in the Lord always ; again, I say, Rejoice.*"

To one of his sons-in-law, that was a little engaged in building, he thus writes ;—" Be sure to take God along with you in this, as in all other your affairs ; for, *except he build the house, they labour in vain that build it.* Count upon troublesome occurrences in it, and keep the spirit quiet within. And let not God's time nor dues be entrenched upon ; and then all will be well.

It was a little before he died that he wrote thus to one of his children ;—" We rejoice in God's goodness to you, that your distemper hath been a rod shaken only, and not laid on. He is good, and doth good. And should not we love him, and *rest in our love* to him ? He saith, he doth in his to us, and *rejoiceth over us with singing*, Zephaniah, iii. 17. And have not we much more cause ? What loveliness in us ? What not in him ? I pray, let me recommend him to your love. Love him, love him with all the powers of your soul, and out of love to please him. He is pleased with honest endeavours to please him ; though, after all, in many things we come short, for we *are not under the law, but under grace.*"

To one of his children, recovered from sickness, he gives this hint ;—" Remember, that a new life must be a new life indeed. Reprieves extraordinary call for returns extraordinary."

The last journey he made to London was in August, 1690. Before he went, he sent this farewell letter to his son at Chester ;—" I am going forth this morning towards the great city, not knowing but it may be Mount Nebo to me. Therefore, I send you this as full of blessings as it can hold, to yourself, my daughter, your wife, all the rest of my daughters, their husbands, and all the little ones, together and severally. If I could command the blessings, I would ; but I pray to him that *hath, and doth, and, I trust, will.* The Lord *bless you, and keep you, and lift up the light of his countenance upon you.* As you have *received*, and you, for your part, preached *Christ Jesus the Lord*, so *walk in him* ; keeping conscience always void of offence, both towards God, and towards all men. Love your mother, and be dutiful to her ; and live in love

* Sir Robert Harley, in "his sharpest pains," would mollify them with this consideration,—that is best which God doth. He would often say,—the will of the Lord be done, above all, and in all, for that is best of all." A sermon, at the funeral of the Hon. Sir Robert Harley, Knt. Dec. 10, 1656, by Tho. Froyssell, duod. 1658, p. 116.

and peace among yourselves ; and the God of love and peace, that hath been, will be with you. Amen."

To one who desired his direction for the attaining the gift of prayer he wrote the following letter of advice.

If you would be able in words and expressions of your own, without the help of a form, to offer up prayers to God, observe these following rules of direction, in the use whereof, by God's blessing, you may, in time, attain thereunto.

1. You must be thoroughly convinced, that, where such a gift is, it is of great use to a Christian, both very comfortable, and very profitable, and therefore very desirable, and worth your serious endeavours. This must first be, or else all that follows will signify nothing. For, it is as the wise man saith, Proverbs, xviii. 1,—*Through desire, a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom* ; that is, till we are brought, in some good measure, to desire the end, we shall never, in good earnest, apply ourselves to the use of means for the obtaining of it. It is a gift that fits a person to be of use to others in the duty of prayer, according as there is occasion, either in a family, or in christian communion.* It is also of great advantage to ourselves. For, how can any form, though never so exact, be possibly contrived, so as to reach all the circumstances of my particular case? And yet it is my duty, *in every thing, to make my requests known to God.*

2. As you should be persuaded of the excellent use of it, where it is attained, so also you should believe, that, where it is not, it may be attained, and that without any great difficulty. No doubt but many are discouraged from endeavouring after it by an opinion they have that it is to no purpose : they think it a thing so far above their abilities, that they were as good sit still, and never attempt it. This is of very bad consequence, as in other matters of religion, so particularly in this ; and, therefore, watch against this suggestion, and conclude, that, though it may be harder to some than to others, yet it is impossible to none. Nay, *this wisdom is easy to him that understandeth*, where means are used in the fear of God.

3. You must rightly understand and consider who it is,† with

* An ingenuous man would be ashamed to pretend unto any art or faculty, wherein he is grossly ignorant : so may that man be to profess religion, who neglects to attain this gift. A christian that cannot pray, is like an orator that cannot speak, or a traveller that cannot go. Bishop Wilkins on Prayer, p. 23, *ut supra*.

† By prayer we honour God in the acknowledgment of our *dependance* upon him, and in the owning of him as *all-sufficient*, able to supply *all* our needs ; also an all-seeing, and all-knowing God. Therefore, to restrain prayer, is to deny him that service and homage which are his due. But then prayer is an inward thing. 'Tis *heart-work*. It must be done in the spirit, Ephesians, vi. 18. He regards not what words, but what desires. Desires without words are prayers ; but words without desires are but babbling. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

whom you have to do in prayer, for your encouragement to come to him, though in the midst of many infirmities and imperfections. He is your Father, your loving, tender-hearted Father, who *knows your frame, and remembers you are but dust*; who is not extreme to mark what we do amiss in manner and expression, where the heart is upright with him. You may judge a little concerning his love, by the disposition that is in you towards your children, when they come to ask things needful of you. And, believe him to be infinitely more merciful and compassionate than the most merciful and compassionate of fathers and mothers are or can be; especially remembering that *we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous*, who is the great *High Priest of our profession*, and whom he *heareth always*.

4. You must pray that you may pray.* Beg of God, the *Father of lights*, from whom every good and perfect gift comes, to bestow this gift upon you. We read, Luke, xi. 1, that one of the disciples came to Jesus Christ upon this errand; *Lord, teach us to pray!* And he had his request granted presently. Go you to him on the same errand. You may plead the relation of a child, from that scripture, Galatians, iv. 6,—*And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father!* And the promise also from that scripture, Zechariah, xii. 10, *I will pour upon the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplication*; which two, relation and a promise, if they be not sufficient to encourage your faith and hope in this address, what is, or can be?

5. It is good, before you address yourself to the duty, to read a portion of Holy Scripture, which will be of great use to furnish you both with matter and words for prayer, especially David's Psalms and Paul's Epistles. The Holy Spirit hath provided for us a treasury, or store-house, of what is suitable for all occasions, and where both the word and the matter are his own, and of his own framing and inditing; if affections be stirring in us accordingly, we have great reason to believe he will accept of us. In divers places he hath himself put words into our mouths for the purpose; as, Hosea, xiv. 2, *Take with you words*; Matthew, vi. 9, *After this manner, therefore, pray ye*; and often elsewhere.

6. There must be some acquaintance with our own hearts, with our spiritual state and condition, our wants and ways, or else no good will be done in this matter. It is sense of need, hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, that supplies the poor beggar at your door with pertinent expressions and arguments; he needs not the help of any friend or book to furnish him. So if we know ourselves, and feel our condition, and set God before us as our God, able and

* Do but think how a poor condemned creature would carry it, if he might but find so much favour as to be admitted into the King's presence, to speak for himself. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

ready to help us, words will easily follow wherewith to offer up our desires to him, who understands the language even of sighs, and tears, and *groanings which cannot be uttered*. Romans, viii. 26.*

7. It is of use in stated prayer ordinarily to observe a method, according to the several parts of prayer, which are these four.

1. Compellation, or adoration, which is the giving of due titles to God in our addresses to him, and therein ascribing to him *the glory due unto his name*. With this we are to begin our prayers, both for the working of a holy awe and dread upon our hearts towards him on the account of his greatness and majesty; as also for the strengthening of our faith and hope in him, upon the account of his goodness and mercy.

2. Confession. Sin is to be confessed in every prayer; original sin as the root, spring-head, and fountain; and actual sin as the fruit and stream proceeding from it. Herein you must not rest in generals, as the most do, but especially when you are in secret before the Lord, you must descend to particulars, opening the whole wound, hiding nothing from him, also aggravating the fault from the circumstances of it, judging and condemning yourself for it in the sight of God. And, for your help herein, you must acquaint yourself with the divine law, the precepts and prohibitions of it, especially their extent and spiritual nature, as the rule, and then bring your own thoughts, words, and actions to it daily, to be tried by it.

3. Petition, for such good things as God hath promised, and you have need of, both concerning this life and *that which is to come*. As to the latter, you are to pray for mercy to *pardon*,† and *grace to help in time of need*. As to the former, for *bread to eat*, and *raiment to put on*, and a heart to be therewith contented. You are to pray for others also, the church of God, the land of your nativity, magistrates, ministers, relations, and friends, not forgetting the afflictions of the afflicted.

4. Thanksgiving,‡ which should have a considerable share in every prayer; for, our duty is, *in every thing to give thanks* for mercies received, publick and personal, which is *the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning us*.

This rule of method is not so necessary to be observed in prayer,

* Prayers not felt by us, are seldom heard by God. P. Henry. Com. P. Book. Orig. MS.

† Pardon of sin is set forth in scripture by various expressions. Covering, concealing, as the nakedness and blemishes of the body by a garment, Ps. xxxii. 1. Prov. xxv. ii. — Easing, as from a burden, Matt. xi. 28. Ps. ii. 1. — forgiving, Hebr. — lifted off, — healing as a disease, Ps. ciii. 3. Hos. xiv. 4. — *Blotting out*, as a debt, Isa. xliii. 25. Acts, iii. 19. — Casting behind his back, Isa. xxxviii. 17. — *Yea, into the depths of the sea*. Mic. vii. 18, 19. — *Cleansing, as from filthiness*, Jer. xxxiii. 8. Ps. li. 2, 7. 10. Zech. xiii. 1, &c. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

‡ When our hearts and mouths are enlarged in praise to God, God's heart and hand will be enlarged in mercy to us. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

as in no case to be varied from; but it is certainly very useful and expedient, and a great help to young beginners in that duty.

8. My advice is, that you would delay no longer, but forthwith apply yourself, in the strength of Jesus Christ, to this sweet and excellent way of praying; and, I dare say, in a short time, you will find, through the aids and supplies of divine grace, what is at first hard and difficult, will, by degrees, be easy and delightful. The promise* is, that, *to him that hath*, i. e. *that hath*, and useth what he hath, more shall be given. Though you cannot do what you would, yet fail not to do what you can, wherein the Lord will accept of you, according to his everlasting covenant in Christ Jesus, for *we are not under the law, but under grace*.

* Prayer is the echo of a promise. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

CHAPTER XI.

A short Account of some of his Friends, especially his Brethren in the Ministry, that died before him.

WE think ourselves obliged to add this account out of his own papers, partly as an evidence of the great esteem he had of the gifts and graces of others, to whom he delighted to do honour; (an instance of that humility which he was in all respects a great example of;) and partly that we may preserve the remembrance of some in that country, whose names ought not to be buried in oblivion. It is part of that honour which we owe to *them that fear the Lord*: to mention them with respect when they are dead and gone, that we may contribute something to the fulfilling of the promise,—That the righteous, and especially they who *turn many to righteousness, shall be had in everlasting remembrance*. While their glorified souls shine as *the stars in the firmament of our Father*, it is fit that their embalmed memories should, in these lower regions, go forth as *a lamp that burneth*. The Jewish Rabbins read, Proverbs, x. 7, as a precept,—*Let the memory of the just be blessed*. We will take them in the order wherein we find them in his Diary, according to the time of their death, premising only this note of his, occasioned by a particular instance,—“Such a day I read the life of old Mr. Bruen,* of Stapleford, in which I met with some things that shame me, some things that confirm me, and some things that quicken me. Blessed be God for that cloud of witnesses we are compassed about with.

[1661, January 14. At Wrexham, died my friend Captain Gerard Barber, he was a pious, prudent Christian, and had the good word of all, even the vilest.

On the 17th I went to Wrexham, where I performed the last office of my love to my dear deceased friend, Captain Barber, the *saint of the Lord*, accompanying him to his grave, where he rests, as in a bed of spices, till the day of the *restitution of all things*. I hope to see him again, and so we shall *be together for ever with the Lord*.

* Dnod. 1641.

Mr. R. W. said he could better have parted with his youngest son, than with his Captain; the week after, it pleased God, his youngest son died suddenly.*]

Mr. John Machin was buried at Newcastle, September 8, 1664, a worthy instrument in gospel work. Laborious, faithful, and successful above his fellows; taken away in the midst of his days. The first candle I have heard of put out by God, among the many hundreds put under a bushel by men.† An account of his holy, exemplary life, was printed many years after, drawn up, I think, by Mr. Newcome.‡

Mr. Heath, late minister of [St.] Alkmond's Church, in Salop, was buried, May 28, 1666. He was of Christ's College, in Cambridge, where he was much valued for his great learning, especially in the Oriental tongues,§ in which he was one of the greatest masters of his age. He was employed to correct the Syriac and Arabick of the Polyglot Bible, which was sent down to him in sheets for that purpose, for which Bishop Walton gave him a copy. He read the liturgy till August 24, 1662, and then was silenced, because he could not come up to the imposed terms of conformity. When the Five Mile Act commenced, March 25, 1666, he removed to Wellington, and there, within a few weeks, died, and was buried. When he lay upon his death-bed, Mr. Lawrence asked him what reflections he had upon his nonconformity. Truly, said he, I would not but have done as I did for a thousand worlds. He had great confidence, that God would provide for his widow and children, according to promise. The character Mr. Baxter gives of him is, that he was moderate, serious, quiet, and religious.||

Much about the same time, Mr. York died in Salop, a holy good man, and well approved in the ministry, who wasted his own candle in giving light to others,¶ even after he was removed out of the candlestick. Lord! Is this the meaning of Revelations, xi. 12, concerning the witnesses?

Mr. Thomas Porter,** late minister of Whitchurch, died at

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† See Job, xviii. 6. Matt. v. 15.

‡ See Tong's Life of Matt. Henry, pp. 108. 273, *ut supra*. Mr. Newcome published Mr. Machin's Mem. in 1671. dnod. It was reprinted by the Rev. George Burder. See also Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 81, *ut supra*.

§ Especially by his fellow-collegiate, Mr. Shelton, who sent him down the Biblia Polyglotta, in sheets. He was *trium linguarum peritissimus*, the best Hebrician in these parts of England. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

Qu. In what capacity did Mr. Shelton act?

|| Reliq. Baxter. Part iii. p. 94, *ut supra*.

¶ He was a burning and a shining lampe, spending himself like a candle, and making tapers of his owne marrow to give others light. Hieron's Works, p. 425, *ut supra*.

Another worthy drily remarks;—There are multitudes that grumble at the expense of a penny for the maintenance of those divine candles that waste themselves to give light to them. Brooks's Unsearchable Riches, p. 322, *ut supra*.

** See Reliq. Baxter, part iii. p. 94, *ut supra*.

Salop in a good old age, June 19, 1667. He was born in Northamptonshire, bred in Cambridge. He was settled minister of Hanmer, in Flintshire, long before the wars, by the means of Sir John Hanmer, the patron, who was a very worthy pious gentleman, and a great promoter of religion in that parish, but died in the midst of his days. Here Mr. Porter's ministry was blessed with wonderful acceptance and success, both in that and the neighbouring parishes, and a great harvest of souls was there gathered in to Christ. After the wars were over, during the heat of which he was forced to withdraw, he procured Mr. Steel for Hanmer, and he removed to Whitchurch, where he continued an instrument of much good, till the King came in, and then he gave way to Dr. Bernard, a worthy, moderate man. He preached his farewell sermon at Whitchurch, August 28, 1660, on Colossians, i. 24, and spent the rest of his days in silence and affliction. He was exercised long with pain upon his bed, and the multitude of his bones with strong pain. If this be done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry? His dying counsel to the Lord's people, was to stick to Christ, and not to let him go, come life, come death.

The worthy Colonel Thomas Hunt, died at his house in Shrewsbury, April 12, 1669, a true Nathanael, an *Israelite indeed*, in whom was no guile. One that, like, Caleb, followed the Lord fully in difficult trying times. He was a member of the long parliament for Shrewsbury, and very active for God in his generation, abounding in good works, and his memory is blessed. I was going to Shrewsbury upon an appointment of his, and by the way met the sad news of his death, which was sudden, but not surprising to one that was always ready. He was twice at publick ordinances the day before, being Lord's day; worshipped God with his family in the evening; went to bed well as at other times; but, about two or three o'clock in the morning, waked very ill, and before five, fell asleep in the Lord. *Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth.*

[15. He was buried. Mr. Roberts preached. Text, Numbers, xxiii. 10. *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.* Amen.

16. Fast kept in his house, now he is no more. The Lord fill up his place to all his relations, and to thy poor church in these parts, that hath lost a pillar.*]

Mr. George Mainwaring, a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and my worthy friend, died in a good old age, March 14, 1669-70, gathered as a shock of corn in his season. He was born in Wrenbury parish, in Cheshire, supported at the University, by Mr. Cotton, of Combermere,† where he had the reputation of a good scholar; he was brought acquainted with the ways of religion by means of Mr. Buckley, his uncle, a strict puritan. He was first

* P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† See Ormerod's Hist. *ut supra*, v. 3. pp. 211, 212.

chaplain to Sir Henry Delves, afterwards rector of Baddely, and chaplain to Sir Thomas Manwaring. After the wars, he was removed to Malpas, whence he was ejected upon the King's coming in. His conversation was exemplary, especially for plainness and integrity; he was eminent for expounding Scripture. While he was at Malpas, he constantly gave all the milk which his dairy yielded, on the Lord's day, to the poor.*

Mr. John Adams, of Northwood, was buried at Ellesmere, April 4, 1670; he was a faithful minister of the gospel.

Mr. Zechariah Thomas, my worthy friend, died of a consumption, at Nantwich, November 14, 1670, in the forty-first year of his age. He was bred up for a tradesman in Suffolk, but always addicted to his book, and was ordained a minister after the King came in, and entertained curate at Tylstock, under Dr. Bernard, but by reason of his nonconformity, could not continue there long. On the Monday before he died, he said to those about him, that towards Wednesday he should take his leave of them, and did so. He was buried at Acton, Mr. Kirkes, Vicar of Acton, preached, and gave him a worthy character, and such as he deserved, for uprightness, humility, moderation, prayer, faithfulness in reproof, patience under affliction. And in saying he was an *Israelite indeed* without guile, he said all. The Lord make me a follower of him, and of all the rest, *who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises.*

[1671, May 15. This day died Cousin John Madocks, of Llynbedith, in a good old age. I prayed with him, and about an hour or two after, he composed himself into a posture wherein, about five o'clock, he sweetly gave up the ghost, and fell asleep in Jesus. I hope heaven grows rich by it; by it, I am sure, Hanmer parish grows poor in men of piety and integrity. *Help, Lord, Psalm, xii. 1.* On the 18th I accompanied him to his grave. Mr. Green preached. Text, Colossians, iii. 4.†]

Mr. Joshua Richardson, my truly worthy friend and brother, died at Alkington in Whitchurch parish, September 1, 1671. Blessed be God for his holy life, and happy death. He was several years minister of Middle, in Shropshire, and was turned out thence for nonconformity. He was a holy, loving, serious man. Dr. Fowler preached his funeral sermon at Whitchurch, on Daniel, xii. 3, highly praising him, as he deserved, for wisdom, piety, and peaceableness.

Mr. Samuel Hildersham died near Birmingham, in April, 1674;

* The learned historian of Cheshire, quoting this account from Calamy, insinuates that it is incorrect. He adds, however, "The question of its accuracy is only hinted at, from its being strongly opposed by local tradition." *Hist. ut supra.* v. 2, p. 340. It may be remarked, that Mr. Henry, who was a near neighbour and an intimate friend, mentions it as a fact.

† P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

the only son of Mr. Arthur Hildersham,* of Ashby, whose works praise him in the gates: Fellow of Emanuel College, in Cambridge; Batchelor of Divinity, 1623; settled Rector of West-Felton, in Shropshire, in the year 1628; and continued there till silenced by the Act of Uniformity. He was one of the Assembly of Divines; a father to the sons of the prophets in and about Shropshire. He was learned, loving, and charitable, an excellent preacher, an eminent expositor, and very much a gentleman. He was about fourscore years of age when he died. He ordered by his will this inscription upon his grave-stone;—Samuel Hildersham, B. D. Rector of West-Felton, in the County of Salop, 34 years, till August 24, 1662.

Mr. Richard Sadler, my worthy friend and fellow-labourer, died at Whixhall, in Prees parish, April —, 1675. He was born in Worcester; went when young, with his father into New England; after the wars he returned into England; was ordained at Whixhall-chapel, May 16, 1648, and was removed thence to Ludlow. Being turned out there upon the King's coming in, he spent the rest of his days in privacy, at Whixhall. A man of great piety and moderation.

Mr. Rowland Nevet died at his house near Oswestry, December 8, 1675, and was buried at Morton Chapel. I preached his funeral sermon at Swinny, on 2 Peter, i. 14, Knowing that I must shortly put off *this my tabernacle*. Thence showing that the ministers of Christ must certainly and shortly die. He was born in Hodnet parish, *ann. Dom.* 1609, brought up at Shrewsbury School, was afterwards of Edmund Hall, in Oxford, commenced Master of Arts in the year 1634. He was episcopally ordained; and *anno* 1635, he was presented to the vicarage of Stanton, in Shropshire, where he continued many years, with great success in his ministry. While he was single, he kept house, judging that more for the furtherance of his work among his people, than to table. After the war, he removed to Oswestry, where he laboured abundantly in the work of the Lord; and even after he was silenced for nonconformity, he continued among his people there to his dying day, doing what he could when he might not do what he would. He would say, he thought most of his converting work was done at Oswestry, the first seven years of his being there. He loved to preach, and to hear others preach, concerning the great things of religion, redemption, reconciliation, regeneration, &c.; for these, said he, are the main matter. When the plague was at Oswestry, he continued with his people, and preached to them, and it was an opportunity of doing much good.

His conversation from his youth was not only blameless, but holy

* A divine of great worth, and of royal descent;—"Yet he was not," says Fuller, "like the proud nobles of Tecoa, who counted themselves too proud to put their hands to God's Work." Worthies. Cambridgeshire, p. 158, fol. *ut supra*. Nat. Oct. 6, 1563. Ob. Mar. 4, 1631. See Clarke's Lives annexed to Martyrologie. 114, *ut supra*.

and pious; he was exemplary for family religion, and great care and industry in the education of his children. He was looked upon as congregational in judgment and practice, and was not satisfied to join in the Common Prayer; but he was free to communicate with those that did. It was his judgment, that ministers should be ordained by ministers; and that a minister is not only a minister of the particular congregation in which he labours. He greatly bewailed the divisions of the church, and the intemperate heats of some of all persuasions. He was exceeding kind and loving to his friends; very frequent in pious ejaculations to God. Being often distempered in body, he would say, he was never better than in the pulpit, and that it was the best place he could wish to die* in. He often blessed God for a fit of sickness which he had, which he said he would not have been without for a world, the foundation of his comfort, and hope of heaven being laid then. When he was sometimes much spent with his labours, he would appeal to God, that though he might be wearied in his service, he would never be weary of it. His dying prayer for his children, after many sweet exhortations, was, That the Mediator's blessing might be the portion of every one of them; adding, I charge you all see to it, that you meet me on the right hand of Christ at the great day. A little before he died, he had this expression, Go forth, my soul, go forth to meet thy God; adding by and by,—It is now done. *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.* One present saying to him, that he was now going to receive his reward, he replied,—*It is free grace.* Mr. Henry was much importuned to print his sermon at Mr. Nevet's funeral, with some account of his life and death, which he was somewhat inclined to do, but was discouraged by the difficulties of the times, and it was never done. But some materials he had for it, out of which we have collected these hints.†

[1676, January 30. This day died at London suddenly, Mr. Edward West,‡ my very worthy good friend, pupil to Mr. Cole, at Christ Church, and tutor to Mr. Thomas Puleston, at St. Mary Hall. It was sabbath-day, and he had preached twice at his meeting-place. He was a person of great ability for learning, and of great prudence in conduct of affairs.§]

Mr. Robert Fogg, my old dear friend,|| was buried at Acton, near Nantwich, April 21, 1676. He died in a good old age,—about eighty. He was minister of Bangor, in Flintshire, till after the King came in, and thenceforward to his death, was a poor silent

* Dr. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, "one of the brightest ornaments of the reformed religion," said,—It best became a Bishop to die preaching in a pulpit,—alluding to that of Vespasian,—*Oportet Imperatorem stantem mori*: and thinking upon that of his master,—Happy art thou my servant, if when I come I find thee so doing. Clark's Marrow of Eccl. Hist. p. 700, *ut supra*.

† Appendix, No. XXVII.

‡ See Wood's Ath. Oxon. v. 3. p. 1059, *ut supra*.

§ P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS. And see the Noncon. Mem. v. 1. p. 296, *ut supra*.

|| See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3. p. 480.

nonconformist, but of a bold and zealous spirit; giving good counsel to those about him a little before he died, he had this weighty saying, among others;—Assure yourselves, the Spirit of God will be underling to no sin.*

Mr. Andrew Parsons, sometime minister of Wem, died at London, October 1, 1684. He was born in Devonshire, and was minister there some years before the war; being driven thence to London, he became well known to Mr. Pym,† who sent him down to Wem, when that town was garrisoned for the Parliament: there he continued in the exercise of his ministry, till the year 1660. He was an active, friendly, generous man, and a moving affecting preacher. Mr. Baxter, in his *Life*, Part iii. page 94, commends him for a moderate man, and speaks of his being in trouble,‡ for seditious words sworn against him, which were these. Preaching from 2 Timothy, iii. 13, he said;—The devil was like a king, that courted the soul, and spoke fair till he was gotten into the throne, and then played pranks. The witnesses deposed contrary to the coherence of his discourse, that he said the king was like the devil.§ He was tried at Shrewsbury, before my Lord Newport, Mr. Serjeant Turner, and others, May 28, 1662. It was also charged upon him, that he had said,—There was more sin committed now in England in a month, than was heretofore in seven years: and that there had been more and better preaching in England for twenty years past, than was ever since the apostles' days. He had a counsel assigned him, who pleaded that the time limited by the statute in which he was indicted, was expired. The court yielded it was so, allowing twenty-eight days to a month; but they would understand it of thirty days to a month. So he was found guilty, and fined two hundred pounds; and ordered to be imprisoned till it should be paid.

Mr. Hugh Rogers, a worthy faithful minister of Jesus Christ, turned out for nonconformity, from Newtown in Montgomeryshire, was buried at Welshpool, March 17, 1679-80. He was looked upon as congregational; but his declared judgment was;—"That ministers ought to be ordained by ministers, and to give themselves wholly to that work; and that none but ministers have authority to preach and govern in a constituted church; and that Christ's ministers are his ministers in all places; and, that where the word of Christ is preached, and his sacraments administered, there is a

* Christ will be no underling to any base affection. Dr. Sibbs. *The bruised reed and smoking flax*. p. 121. *ut supra*.

† He died in December, 1643. See his *Funeral Sermon*, by S. Marshall, 4to. 1644.

‡ There is a full account of the transaction in the *Conformist's Fourth Plea*, 4to. *ut supra*, pp. 30-34.

§ See *Reliq. Baxter*, part iii. p. 94, *ut supra*.—I heard of one that said he would swear treason against a nonconformist: and being asked, What he said, and whether ever he heard him speak, he said, No; but he heard him *whistle* treason; and being asked, How whistling could be treason? He said, That he whistled the *same tune* that a ballad was sung in, that they said had treasonable words in it. *Baxter's Eng. Noncon.* p. 185, *ut supra*.

true church." He was a man of excellent converse, and whose peculiar felicity lay in pleasant and edifying discourse.

July 2d and 3d, 1680. These two days brought tidings of the death of Mr. Haines, sometime minister of Wem, in Shropshire, and since at New Chapel, in Westminster; and of Mr. Richard Edwards, minister at Oswestry, both worthy conformists, pious, peaceable, and good men, whom I hope, through grace, to meet shortly in heaven. The Lord raise up others in their room to be and do better!

Mr. Robert Bosier,* my dear friend and kinsman, having just completed the twenty-third year of his age, died of a fever, September 13, 1680, at Mr. Doolittle's† house in Islington, whither he was gone but a few weeks before for improvement in learning; being formerly a commoner of Edmund Hall, in Oxford; and since, having spent some years in my family, and designed himself for the service of Christ, in the work of the ministry. He was a young man of pregnant parts, great industry, and exemplary seriousness and piety, and likely to be an eminent instrument of good in his day. His friends and relations had promised themselves much comfort in him, but we know who performeth the thing that is appointed for us, and *giveth not account of any of his matters*.

Mr. John Malden, my dear and worthy friend, turned out from Newport, in Shropshire, for nonconformity, died at Alkington, near Whitchurch, May 23, 1681, a man of great learning, an excellent Hebrician, and of exemplary piety, and a solid preacher; as he lived, so he died, very low in his own eyes; esteeming himself good for nothing, though really good for every thing, which was manifestly a prejudice, both to his comfort, and to his usefulness. He said, he was far from repenting his being a sufferer against conformity. The relicks of so much learning, piety, and humility, I have not seen this great while laid in a grave. But, blessed be God, we had such a one so long.

Dr. Joshua Maddocks, a beloved physician, our very dear friend and kinsman, died of a fever at Whitchurch, in the midst of his days, July 27, 1682, a very pious man, and especially eminent for meekness; an excellent scholar, and particularly learned in the mathematicks.‡ He lived much desired, and died much lamented.

Mr. Thomas Bridge, who had been rector of the higher rectory of Malpas about fifty-seven years, being aged about eighty-two years, was buried at Malpas, October 7, 1682. In his last sickness, which was long, he had appointed Mr. Green,§ one of the curates

* See Tong's Life of Matt. Henry, *ut supra*. p. 26, &c. and *ante*, pp. 142, 143.

† See *ante*. p. 125.

‡ "The great Sir Isaac Newton's Friend." See Dr. Latham's Sermon for the Rev. D. Madock, (who was Dr. M.'s Son,) *ut supra*. p. 27. The Appendix to that Discourse, contains a letter from Sir Isaac Newton, superscribed, "For his honoured friend, Joshua Madock, Doctor of Physick, at his house in Whitchurch, in Shropshire." p. 33.

§ Mr. Green was buried at Malpas, Feb. 14, 1687-8. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

there, to preach his funeral sermon on 1 Timothy, i. 16;—*Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first, Jesus Christ might shew forth all long-suffering*; and, to say nothing in his commendation, but to give a large account of his repentance upon his death-bed, &c. He was a taking, popular preacher, preaching often, and almost to the last. When old, he could read the smallest print without spectacles.*

Mr. William Cook,† an aged, painful, faithful minister of Jesus Christ, in Chester, finished his course with joy, July 4, 1684, in the midst of the cloudy and dark day. See Mr. Baxter's character of him in his *Life*, Part iii. page 96. And an honourable account given of him by Mr. Samuel Bold, of Steeple, in Dorsetshire, in a large preface to his book of *Man's Great Duty*.‡ He was eminent for great industry, both in publick and private work; great self-denial, mortification, and contempt of the world,§ and a strict adherence to his principles in all the turns of the times. He was first minister at Wroxal, in Warwickshire; there he published two treatises against the anabaptists. From thence he was, by the advice of the London ministers, removed to Ashby, in Leicestershire, whence he was turned out for refusing the engagement, and afterward settled in Chester, where he was minister of Michael's church, till he was outed by the act of uniformity. He was an active man for Sir George Booth, when he made that attempt to bring in the king, in 1659, for which he was brought up a prisoner to London, and continued long under confinement in Lambeth-house; and, had not the times turned, had been tried for his life. During the usurpation, his frequent prayer was;—"That God would pull down all usurped power, and restore the banished to their right. After he was silenced by the Bartholomew-act, he continued to his death in a pastoral relation to a society of many worthy eminent Christians in Chester; though during the heat of the five-mile-act, he was forced to withdraw to Puddington in Wirral, where, as in Chester, till King Charles's Indulgence, he constantly attended on the publick ministry; and he himself preached in the intervals. He would say sometimes to his friends, when he was in that retirement, that he thought "what little peace and quietness there was in this world, God's people enjoyed it in their corners." Soon after he was silenced he was committed to the common goal of Chester, for preaching in his own house, by the mayor, at the instigation of the then Bishop Hall. He was very indefatigable in his ministerial labours, in which he never sought the assistance of any other minister; though, while he had liberty,

* The same is recorded of Dean Nowell. See his *Life* by the Rev. Archdeacon Churton. p. 364.

† See *Noncon. Mem.* v. 1, p. 326, *ut supra*; and Dr. Calamy's *Continuation*, v. 2, p. 119, &c. oct. 1713.

‡ *Duod.* 1693. See the *Noncon. Mem.* v. 1, p. 329, *ut supra*. note.

§ He is fit to preach a crucified Christ, who is himself crucified to the world. Mr. Steele. Philip Henry's MS.

he constantly kept a publick fast in his congregation every month, as he did also a private fast in his own closet and family every week. He usually set apart one afternoon every week to visit the families of his congregation, and to catechise their children and servants, and discourse with them personally about their souls; his visits were short and edifying, (and he managed them as one that was a great husband of his time,) and he seldom, or never, parted without prayer. He was not free to join in the common prayer, and bore his testimony against prelacy, and the ceremonies, with something of zeal; but his great piety, integrity, mortification, and charity, recommended him to the respects even of many that differed from him.* If any asked his advice to any thing which might draw suffering upon them, he would be very tender, and desire them not to depend upon his judgment; but, since it was a matter of suffering, to be *fully persuaded in their own minds*. He was a great scholar, and a hard student to the last, and was far from *entangling himself in the affairs of this life, not knowing ought he had, save the bread that he did eat*. In worldly matters he was not very conversable, but in discourse of the things of God, none more free and affable, or more ready to do good. He lived and died a great example of strict and close walking with God, and a heavenly conversation; and his memory is very precious with many. He died in the seventy-third year of his age. When he lay on his death-bed, an aged friend of his, asking him if he had not comfort in reflection upon his labours in the work of God, he presently replied;—"I have nothing to boast of." He was buried in Michael's church, in Chester; and though, for some time before he died, such was the heat of the persecution, that he durst not show his face in the city, yet many considerable persons were very forward to do him honour at his death.

Mr. Jonathan Roberts, of Llvair,† in Denbighshire, my dear and precious friend, and a faithful minister of Christ, died at Mr. Titus Thomas's house, in West Felton, and was buried there, September 26, 1684.‡ A true Nathanael, *an Israelite indeed*, for plainness and integrity; a silent sufferer for his nonconformity, for which he quitted a good living in Denbighshire. He was a learned man, a Master of Arts of Oxford; he died with comfort in his nonconformity, and with confidence of a return of mercy in God's due time. The summer before he died, he had been at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, where he heard and saw that which much confirmed him in his dissent.

* Bishop Walton would speak civilly to Mr. Cook, but told him, he must conform, or he could not help him. The Conformist's Fourth Plea, *ut supra*. p. 109.

† Llanvaier or Llanfair. See Dr. Richards's Welsh Noncon. Mem. p. 356.

‡ His brother, Timothy Roberts, a learned faithful minister of the gospel, coming from London, when the plague was raging there, was taken ill by the way, not far from Felton, and none taking him into house, he died and was buried in the highway. Philip Henry's Diary, *in loc.* from Mr. Matthew Henry's transcript. See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 354.

Mr. Zechariah Cawdrey, minister of Barthomley, in Cheshire, a learned and godly divine, was buried December 24, 1684;* a conformist, and formerly a great sufferer for the king, but in his latter times much maligned and reproached by some people for his moderation towards dissenters, for his book of Preparation for Martyrdom, and for his zeal in keeping up the monthly lectures at Nantwich, and Tarvin. But he is gone to the world of peace and love, and everlasting praises.

Mr. Titus Thomas,† minister of the Independent congregation in Salop, was buried at Felton, December 10, 1686. He was a worthy good man, and not so straight-laced as some others; we were six nonconformist ministers there at the funeral, and the seventh dead in the midst of us, saying to us,—*Therefore, be ye also ready.*

Mr. John Cartwright, my worthy friend and brother, a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, was buried at Audlem, in Cheshire, February 17, 1687-8; formerly minister of West Kerby, in Wirral; afterwards chaplain to the pious Lady Wilbraham, at Woodhey.‡

Mr. Edward Gregg,§ of Chester, a worthy gentleman, and my dear friend, died July 9, 1689, of a fever, in the midst of his days. He was one that feared God above many, of a meek and quiet spirit, and eminently active and useful in his generation. The Lord is pulling our earthen props from under us, that we might lean upon, and trust in himself alone, and might learn to *cease from man.*

Mr. Daniel Benyon, of Ash, my dear friend and kinsman, died June 25, 1690; a very serious pious gentleman, and an *Israelite indeed*, a true lover, and ready benefactor to all good men, especially good ministers. He told me a little before he died, God had made use of me, though most unworthy, as an instrument of his conversion; for which I bless his holy name. He had a long and lingering sickness, which he bore with great patience.||

Mrs. Crew, of Utkinton, in Cheshire, an aged servant of the Lord, was buried July 8, 1690. She kept her integrity, and abounded in works of piety and charity to the last, and finished well; to God be praise.

* See the History of Cheshire. v. 3, p. 163, *ut supra*.

† See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 139.

‡ See Ormerod's Hist. v. 3, p. 199, &c. Also at Weston, near Shifnall, in Shropshire, "the seat of that wise and religious lady, the Lady Wilbraham, a sincere and generous friend to all good ministers, whether conformists, or non-conformists, without any difference." Tong's Life of Matt. Henry. *ut supra*, p. 275.

§ See Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, *ut supra*. p. 99.

|| Appendix, No. XXVIII.

Mrs. Hunt, of Shrewsbury, the relict of Colonel Hunt, another rare pattern of zealous piety, abounding charity, and eminent usefulness in her place, finished her course October 23, 1690, after two days sickness.

[In the house of this excellent lady, the dissenters in Shrewsbury, then of the presbyterian denomination, assembled for worship after the Indulgence in 1673. This was continued till her death, Mr. Tallents and Mr. Bryan* officiating as co-pastors. After Mrs. Hunt's decease, the congregation met, for one year, in Mr. Tallents' house, during which period a convenient place of worship was erected in the high street.†]

The reverend, and learned, and holy Mr. Richard Baxter, ‡ died at London, December 8, 1691, aged seventy-six, and one month; as much vilified§ by some, and magnified by others, as most men that ever were. But it is a small thing to be judged of man's day. He was buried at Christ-church, London, with great honour.

Mr. John Wood, my good friend, died September 19, 1692, at Mitton, in Shropshire, aged about seventy; he was sometime Fellow of Magdalen College, in Cambridge, where he was outed for nonconformity; a learned man, but wanted the faculty of communicating; one that feared God, and walked in his integrity to the last; had no certain dwelling-place upon earth, but, I trust, hath one in heaven. *Hic tandem requiescit.*

Mr. Richard Steele, my old and dear friend and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, died at London, November 16, 1692, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. A man that had been greatly useful in his generation, both in the country, and at London.

Mr. Thomas Gilbert|| died at Oxford, July 15, 1694, formerly minister of Edgmond, in Shropshire, aged eighty-three, a learned good man.

Luke Lloyd, Esq. of the Bryn, in Hammer parish, my aged worthy friend, finished his course with joy, March 31, 1695, being Lord's day. He was in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and

* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 161. Matt. Henry's Life of the Rev. F. Tallents. Misc. Works, p. 785, 786.

† MS. of the Rev. Job. Orton. Authentick transcript.

‡ A miniature portrait in oil of this excellent man, now in the possession of Mr. Stedman, is said to have adorned Mr. Henry's study. It much resembles the best engravings of Mr. Baxter, by White.

§ Our common usage or custome was ordinary in the olde age, to wit, that they had in their secret cabinets or studyes, the perfect image and purtrait of all such as had in any sorte excelled in learning." The Forest, or Collection of Historiyes, &c. 1576, 4to. cited in the Bibliog. Decam. by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, v. 1, p. 159. See Dr. Gibbon's Memoirs of Dr. Isaac Watts, pp. 163, 164.

§ In the Biog. Brit. v. 2, p. 18. ed. 1780 fol. is preserved a specimen. It is an epitaph drawn up while Mr. Baxter lived, and published, that he might see how he was to be represented after his death. The author was Thomas Long, B. D. and Prebendary of St. Peter's, Exon.

|| See the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 145.

had been married almost sixty-nine years to his pious wife, of the same age, who still survives him.* He was the glory of our little congregation, the top branch, in all respects, of our small vine, and my friend indeed. When he made his will, under the subscription of his name he wrote, Job, xix. 25, 26, 27. On which text of scripture,—*I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c.*—Mr. Henry, at the request of some of his relations, preached a sermon at the licensed house near Hanmer, some time after his funeral; in which sermon he bore a very honourable testimony to that worthy gentleman, who, as he saith, went to heaven without a blot, held fast his integrity, and was lively and zealous in the christian profession to the end of his days. He was very exemplary for his love to the ordinances of God, and his delight in attending on them, his living upon Christ for strength and righteousness, his great humility and condescending obliging carriage in all his converse. He was a man of great courage and resolution; and yet, in prayer, tender and self-abasing, to admiration, often melting into tears in the confession of sin; and his charity and *moderation* were *known unto all men*. He lived and died a pattern of piety and primitive christianity, and *still brought forth fruit in old age*; his vigour, both of body and mind, being wonderfully preserved to the last; and, by the grace of God, he finished well, and his sun set under no cloud. Such good men are intended to be to us as the star that led the wise men to Christ; and, as far as they do so, we are to follow them. *Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.*

Mr. Samuel Taylor, an aged minister of Jesus Christ, and my true friend and fellow-labourer, died at Wem, June 26, 1695. He was turned out from Edstaston-chapel, near Wem, by the Act of Uniformity; choosing rather to beg his bread than to wrong his conscience. He continued in Wem ever since, and preached there as his strength and liberty would permit. He had his house burnt in the dreadful fire that was there in 1676, and had a child born that very night. He was a man of a very tender spirit, humble and low in his own eyes, of approved integrity, and finished well. Mr. Henry preached his funeral sermon† at Wem, on 2 Corinthians, iv. 7.—*We have this treasure in earthen vessels.*

September 21, 1695. I heard of the death of two holy and aged

* A daughter of — Whitley, of Aston. Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

† Vide Eighteen Sermons by Mr. Henry, *ut supra*. Sermon XV, and the Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 146.

1696. June 28. Friday. My dear [husband] was at Broad Oak. My dear father was gone to the funeral of a reverend aged minister, a nonconformist, Mr. Taylor, of Wem, who preached at the last fast, the 19th inst. Now, before the 20th, laid in the dust. God is making breaches on us, taking off old and young, that might (we should think) be serviceable in his church. But I would, with silence, adore his wisdom. His work shall go on in the world, notwithstanding the opposition of men and devils. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

Mr. Taylor "was a clean, nice, little, slender man." Hist. of Wem, p. 213, *ut supra*.

Bartholomew witnesses, Mr. Richard Mayo, of London, and Mr. Henry Newcome, of Manchester. Psalm, xii. 1.

Mr. Edward Lawrence, of London, my dear and worthy friend and a faithful minister and witness of the Lord Jesus, died November, 1695, about the seventieth year of his age; born at Moston, in Shropshire, of Magdalen College, in Cambridge, turned out from Baschurch, in Shropshire, by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, was driven from Whitchurch by the violent persecution of the Conventicle Act, in 1670, when he removed to London, and there spent the rest of his days.

He had many children, but great affliction in some of them, which gave occasion to his book, entitled, "Parents' Groans over their Wicked Children."* It is a very high, but just character, which Mr. Vincent† hath given of him in his sermon‡ at his funeral; of which, let me take leave to add some few instances that occur to us, which may be instructive, besides those which we have already mentioned occasionally. At his meals, he would often speak of "using God's creatures as his witnesses that he is good;" and we cannot conceive how much good our God doth every moment. An expression of his great regard to justice, was that common caution he gave his children;—"Tremble to borrow twopence;" and, of his meekness and tenderness, this;—"Make no man angry nor sad." He often said, — "I adore the wisdom of God, that hath not seen meet to trust me with riches." When he saw little children playing in the streets, he would often lift up his heart in an ejaculatory prayer to God for them, calling them "the seed of the next generation." When his friend chose to ride the back way into town, he pleasantly checked him, telling him, that his heart had been often refreshed, when he had looked out at the window, and "seen a good man go along the streets."§ He used to say, that Cromwell did more real prejudice to religion by his hypocrisy, than King Charles the Second did, that never pretended to it. As, also, that he "feared the sins of the land more than the French."||

* Duod. 1681.

† See the Noncon. Mem. v. 1, p. 304, *ut supra*.

‡ 4to. 1696. At the end are given extracts from two letters, containing some interesting particulars respecting him. Mr. Matthew Henry writing, to Mr. Tallents, Feb. 3, 1695-6, thus notices the production. "I could wish Mr. Vincent had drawn Mr. Lawrence's effigies in some proportion to the two letters, he might at least have let us know what countryman he was, and the day and year of his death. Surely so exemplary a life shall not be suffered to pass so." Orig. MS. See the Noncon Mem. v. 3, p. 139.

§ "Ipse aspectus boni viri delectat." Seneca. The very looks of a good man delight one. Brooks's Crown and Glory of Christianity, p. 618, 4to. 1662.

|| It was said of Cardinal Mazarine, that he would change his countenance whenever he heard Oliver Cromwell named; so that it passed into a proverb in France, that he was not so much afraid of the Devil as of Oliver Cromwell. Welwood, p. 109, ed. 1700.

A friend of his, in the country, writing to him not long before he died, desired his thoughts concerning the differences among the London dissenters, to which he returned this answer ;—" I can say little concerning our divisions ; which, when some men's judgments and tempers are healed, will be also healed. But when will that be ? They that have most holiness are most peaceable, and have most comfort."

Over Mr. Henry's Grave, in Whitchurch Church, is a Marble Monument, with this Inscription:—

M. S.

PHILIPPUS HENRY, de Broad Oak, in Comitatu Flint, A. M.
 Sacri Minister Evangelii; Pastor olim Worthenburiensis;
 In Aulâ Regiâ natus piis et honestis Parentibus;
 Scholæ Westmonasteriensis, indèq; Ædis Christi Oxon.
 Alumnus Regius:
 Vir priscâ Pietate et verè Christianâ,
 Judicio subacto et limato,
 Memoriâ præstanti, magno et fœcundo Ingenio,
 Eruditione perpolitâ, summo Animi Candore, Morum Venustate
 Imprimis Spectabilis, et in Exemplum natus:
 Cui Sacra semper sua Fides aliorumque Fama:
 Divini Numinis Cultor assiduus;
 Divini Verbi Interpres exquisitissimus;
 Aliorum Affectus movere non minùs pollens,
 Quàm suis moderari:
 Conscionando pariter ac Vivendo palàm exhibens
 Christi Legem et Exemplar Christum:
 Prudens peritusque rerum; Lenis, Pacificus, Hospitalis,
 Ad Pietatis omnia Charitatisque officia usque paratus;
 Suis Jucundus; Omnibus Humanus;
 Continuis Evangelii Laboribus succumbens Corpus,
 Nec tantæ jam par ampliùs Animæ,
 In Dormitorium hîc juxtâ positum demisit,
 Jun. 24°. Anno Dom. M.DC.XCVI. Ætatis LXV.

Viro opt. multùmque desiderato
 mœrens posuit Gener ejus J. T. M. D.*

* The following words were afterwards substituted.

Posuit hoc marmor in veris lachrymis
 Katharina conjux viduata.

[The following Translation is from a Copy preserved by the Family ; and was most likely written by the Author of the Epitaph, Dr. Tylston :—

To the sacred memory
 Of Philip Henry, of Broad Oak,
 In the County of Flint ;
 Master of Arts, and Minister of
 The Holy Gospel ;
 Some time Pastor of Worthenbury ;
 Born in the Royal Palace, of good
 And honest Parents ;
 Of Westminster School, and chosen
 Thence a King's Scholar
 Of Christ's College, Oxford ;
 A man, early remarkable,
 And born to be an example
 Of truly apostolick and primitive piety,
 A solid and well-polished judgment,
 Excellent memory, and fruitful invention,
 Most fine learning, candid temper,
 And graceful behaviour,
 Who always kept his own, and the
 Reputation of others, inviolable ;
 A diligent worshipper of the Divine Majesty ;
 An exquisite interpreter
 Of the Word of God,
 And no less happy in moving the affections
 Of others, than in tempering his own ;
 Who, both in preaching and living,
 Openly set forth Jesus Christ,
 And his Law, as a Pattern ;
 A prudent manager of his affairs,
 Mild, peaceable, and hospitable ;
 To offices of piety and charity, ever ready ;
 Was pleasant to his friends,
 And courteous to all ;—
 His body, wore out
 With ministerial labours,
 And so no longer a match
 For so great a soul,
 He dismissed to the adjacent repository,
 June 24, 1696.

Aged 65.

To the memory of this best
 of men, his sorrowful son-in-law
 erected this monument,
 John Tylston, M. D.*

* From Mrs. Brett's hand-writing.

It appears from Mr. Matthew Henry's diary, that the mural tablet was subsequently obnoxious:—

"1704-5. I had a letter from Mr. Travers of Lichfield, that the chancellor there designed to attempt the demolishing of my father's monument."*

And afterwards, he writes:—

"1712, March 22. Wrote to Cos. Eddow, to return him thanks for his care this week of the remains of my dear father and mother in Whitchurch church, where they are laying the foundation of a new one, and have unworthily invaded my right there."†

"When, by a good man's grave I muse alone,
Methinks an angel sits upon the stone;
Like those of old, on that thrice-hallow'd night,
Who sate and watch'd in raiment heav'nly-bright;
And, with a voice inspiring joy not fear,
Says, pointing upward,—That, *he is not here*;
That, *he is risen*.‡]

* Orig. MS.

† *Ib.*

‡ Human Life; a Poem; by Sam. Rogers, p. 65. Mr. Rogers is descended from Mr. Henry, being the great grandson of his second daughter, Eleanor, Mrs. Radford.

A
S E R M O N,
PREACHED AT
B R O A D O A K,
JUNE 28, 1696,

ON OCCASION OF THE

Death

OF

THE REV. PHILIP HENRY, M.A.

WHO FELL ASLEEP IN THE LORD, JUNE 24, 1696, IN THE 65TH YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

BY HIS SON,
THE REV. MATTHEW HENRY, V. D. M.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.



A
S E R M O N,

&c.

HEBREWS, xi. 4. LATTER PART.

And by it he being dead yet speaketh.

DEAD and yet speaketh, speaketh and yet dead! Is not this a paradox? We always took the grave for a land of silence; and they that are gone down to the congregations of the dead, are said to dwell in silence; *the dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence.* Psalm, cxv. 17. And if praising God be silenced in the grave, every thing else should. It is fit there should be silence,—for there is no knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave where we are going, Ecclesiastes, ix. 10. And yet my text tells you of one being dead, and yet he speaketh. If you ask how can this be? The answer is ready in the text: faith, which makes other paradoxes plain and easy, makes this so; for by it, *by faith, he being dead yet speaketh.* Faith is a quickening grace, a speaking grace. Faith calls things that are not, as though they were, by fastening upon the word of the eternal God, which doth so. Romans, iv. 17. The person spoken of is he who stands here in the *imprimis* of the Old Testament worthies, that did, and got such great things by faith: the first of God's witnesses called to appear to testify the excellency of the grace of faith. He was, for aught we know, the first man that died, the first that trod that darksome valley, the first begotten to the dead as Christ, the first begotten from the dead.* He died a martyr. So early did martyrdom come into the world: the first that died died for his religion. That is, the man of whom it is here said,—that, *by faith he being dead yet speaketh.* That we may give the text its full extent of usefulness.—Let us apply it to Abel himself; to all the saints; to the martyrs; and, especially, to faithful ministers; and, particularly, to him, whom the Lord hath taken from our head this day.

* The first who went to the grave, went to heaven. God would not let the devil have the first-fruits. Those were to be God's. P. Henry. From Matthew Henry's MS.

1. Let us apply it to Abel himself; *he being dead yet speaketh*. The margin reads it, *he being dead* is yet spoken of; and then it is but a particular application of that to him, which is said, in general, of all the Old Testament saints,—that by faith they *obtained a good report*. Dead men used to be forgotten, and being out of sight are out of mind, Psalm, xxxi. 12; but faith reasons from this in death. Abel, though long since dead, yet is spoken of. Our Lord Jesus spoke of him when he dated the great æra of martyrdom from the blood of righteous Abel. Matthew, xxv. 35. And it was no small honour to be spoken of by him who was the fountain of honour, to whom all judgment is committed, and from whom the decisive sentence will be received. He is yet spoken of by the universal church; for wherever this scripture is read, there shall this be told for a memorial of Abel, that, by faith, he offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain; and for it, indeed, lost his life, but by it obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts. Thus is the name of Abel made known and perpetuated as the days of heaven.—*Being dead he yet speaketh*. So we read, and so the generality of interpreters take it; he speaketh against his brother Cain: so some would make it parallel with that, Genesis, iv. 10, *The voice of thy brother's blood cries*. The cry of blood, innocent and righteous blood, is very loud, it reaches the ears of that God to whom vengeance belongeth, to whom the life and death of his saints is precious, and who will not suffer a drop of their blood to be spilt, but upon a valuable consideration. *Being dead he yet speaketh*.—The dying words of Zechariah were, 2 Chronicles, xxiv. 22; *The Lord look down upon it and require it*;—and the cry of the souls under the altar was, Revelations, vi. 10; *How long, O Lord, holy and true*. Thus he yet speaketh. The cry of blood is a continual cry, and will not cease till the Lord cometh to make inquisition for it at the great day, and to complete the recompense for the controversy of Sion. Abel's blood yet crieth against all that have gone in the way of Cain, as persecutors. Abel, as the foreman of that great inquest of suffering saints, speaks to you all, to convict the bloody generation that have eaten God's people as they eat bread. Or, he speaketh *to us*. There are many excellent lessons that are taught us by the life and death of Abel. He speaketh for our instruction and consolation. Scripture stories speak a great deal, and particularly this concerning Abel, who, being dead in the beginning of the world, yet speaketh, *for our learning, upon whom the ends of the world are come*, 1 Corinthians. x. 14,—*that we, through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope*, Romans, xv. 4.

2. Apply it to other martyrs, who being dead for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and for their constant adherence to the word of his patience, do yet speak for the comfort and encouragement of those that follow after them, in that narrow, afflictive way, which tends to life. What is here said of Abel, who led the van, may be

said of all the rest, even of those that bring up the rear in that noble army of martyrs, who, *being dead, yet speak*;—speak to us, who are exhorted to follow them, and take them for our example. The martyrs of Jesus speak to us that the truths of God are precious and valuable things, and worth suffering for; and that there is a reality in future unseen things; for the prospect of them hath administered solid comfort to them when they have been *pressed above measure*. They tell us that Christ is a good Master, and his cause a good cause; and that, as *affliction* for Christ hath *abounded*, *consolation* from him hath *much more abounded*. The gospel of Christ being thus handed down to us, *sealed with the blood of the martyrs*, hath been, upon that account, so much the more cheerfully embraced. How many were *baptized for the dead*, 1 Corinthians, xv. 29; that is, took upon them the profession of the christian faith for the sake of the dead martyrs,* and upon the inducement of their patience and constancy in suffering for the truth. If there be no resurrection from the dead, nor a future state, that argument, which hath been cogent with so many, falls to the ground, and deceives them. This is the sense that a late learned interpreter gives of that difficult scripture. It were easy to give instances out of church history of those that were converted to the faith of Christ by the death of the martyrs; and the things which happened to them, though hard things, fell out to the furtherance of the gospel. Hence the *blood of the martyrs* became the *seed of the church*; and they *overcame the old serpent* by *not loving their lives unto the death, in defence of the word of their testimony*. *Being dead*, they *speak* to others, to expect sufferings, and yet not to fear them; to count upon them; to count them but *light*, and *for a moment*. For our own parts, we *have not yet resisted unto blood*; but, if we should live to see such a day, when we could not buy the truth at any cheaper rate, than the laying down of that, for which a man would part with skin for skin, that is, his life; if it ever should come to this dilemma, that we must either die for Christ, or deny him, (as who knows what event may be in the womb of time?—*let not him that girdeth on the harness boast as he that puts it off*,) then let us hear what the martyrs, *being dead, yet speak*, and take encouragement from them to choose affliction rather than iniquity; the greatest sufferings, rather than the least sin; for this yet speaks, and it is a *faithful saying*,—*If we suffer with Christ we shall reign with him*. 2 Timothy, ii. 11, 12. And, though we be losers for Christ, we shall not, we cannot, be losers by him in the end. Cruel persecutors sometimes, for politick ends, even then, when they thirst after the blood of the saints, think it enough to silence them, and not kill them. It was the course Julian, † the Apostate, took for the extirpating of Christianity: and the martyrs that were put to death in Queen Mary's days, in

* See the works of the learned Joshua Bingham, vol. 1, p. 478, fol. 1726.

† A Roman emperor, born November 6, A. D. 331. Ob. 363. Mr. Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, v. 19, p. 181, &c.

England, were forbid to speak to the people when they died. Nothing tormented the world more than their witness-speaking. But, let them do their worst, they may kill, but they cannot silence them; they may stop their breath, but they cannot stop their mouths; for, *being dead, they yet speak* to the confusion of their adversaries.

3. Apply it to *all saints*;—*Being dead, they yet speak*. The death of the saints is a very usual and common dispensation of Providence;—*The godly man ceaseth, the faithful fail, and the merciful are taken away*. Such providences as these have a loud voice, which crieth in the city to the survivors. The death of the saints speaketh the evil of sin, the remainder of which is in the best. It is owing to that they die; for *the body is dead because of sin*. It speaks the vanity of life, and the delights and enjoyments of it; for, if the favourites of heaven are dying daily, and going out of the world, it is a sign the things of the world are not the best things, else those whom God loves best would not be taken soonest from them. It speaks, that all things come alike to all, and that *one event happeneth to the righteous and the wicked*, so that none knows love or hatred by all that is before him in this world. But he that would know it must look before him into the other world. For, it is true of mankind abstractedly, from the destruction of saints and sinners, *one dies in his full strength, and another in the bitterness of his soul*. It speaks to us, that,—*whatsoever our hand findeth to do, we should be doing it with all our might*; and to *work the work of him that sent us while it is day*, because *the night cometh wherein no man can work*. Being dead, they speak to us what a cordial an interest in Christ is in a dying hour; and, therefore, death being found by them to be not the king of terrors, but one of the best friends they had next to Jesus Christ; the period of all their misery, and their passage to eternal glory; we cannot but wish to *die the death of the righteous, and to have our last end* (or, as some read it, “our future state,”) *like his*. And what greater inducement can there be than this, to live the life of the righteous, and to have our present state and way like his? If the saints die, then there is no discharge in that war; and it is not the stroke, but the *sting* of death, from which righteousness delivers. And if, sometimes, they have *bands in their death*, they speak to us to prepare for the like; for, if this be done to the *green tree*, what may the *dry* expect? Lay your ears, this day, to the coffins and graves of departed saints, who, though they do not pray for us, yet preach to us, in the words of Christ, Matthew, xxiv. 44;—*Be ye, therefore, also, ready*. They are gone, and we are going; their glass is run out, and our’s is running; and, therefore, it concerns us to be always on our watch, with *our loins girt, and our lamps burning*; that, if at *midnight the cry should be made, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him*,—we may not have oil to buy when we should burn it; nor, with Saul, be hid among the stuff of this world, when we are sent for to enter upon the kingdom.

4. Let me apply it to the faithful ministers that have spoken unto us the word of God. They are God's spokesmen in the world; the *watchmen set upon your walls*, which are not to keep silence. But *we have this treasure in earthen vessels*, which are soon broken. What becomes of the treasure then? Why, the treasure is God's, and shall not be lost; the word shall be spoken though the minister be silent in the dust, for it endures for ever. Nay, *out of the eater comes forth meat*; for ministers, being dead, yet speak. Particularly, let me apply it to your minister, (or, rather, Christ's, for you,) whom God hath now, by a sad and sudden stroke, removed from you, after he hath long been speaking to you the word of God. You see, I hasten to what I principally intended, and you will not wonder why my thoughts, at this time, could not fasten upon any other subject, for, I am sure, your's cannot; and, to have spoken of any thing else to-day, would be a jar in the harmony of sorrow, wherein you and I are concerned. I confess, it may seem incongruous, that I, who stood in so near a relationship to him, should stand here to speak of him; and, truly, if his worth and honour were a matter of doubtful disputation, and were only to be found by secret search, it would seem so to me too. Were I to seek for his glory, it would look too much like seeking my own. But the matter is not so; we need not dig for it. He was one that had a *good report of all men*, yea, and of the truth itself; and, therefore, none can blame me, if I also bear record, since all of you, in this assembly, can bear witness that my record is true. Why should not I cast my mite into a common treasury? Nay, the general duty required in the fifth commandment, I think obligeth me to take this opportunity of doing him honour at his death. I am sure I have as much reason for it, if I might speak the deep impressions of my own soul, as ever any son had. Those that have any sense of justice and gratitude, cannot but honour and respect a *father* that has been the instrument of their *being*; especially, if a kind and loving one;—cannot but respect a *tutor*, that has been the instrument of their learning; especially, if a skilful and faithful one;—cannot but respect a *minister* that hath been a spiritual father, that hath been the instrument of their regeneration; especially, if continuing a tender and faithful overseer. Now, if any one of these three relations challenge such a profound regard, what may justly be expected when these meet in one and the same person? Surely, I ought to reckon such a one worthy of double, nay, treble honour. The French have a proverb to this purpose, which I have many a time thought of with application to him;—"To father, teacher, and God All-sufficient, none can render equivalent." But, I must remember, I am preaching, not *before* you, but *to* you, and must therefore speak that which is profitable for you, and may be profitable to you, rather than that which may give vent to my own passions. Many a time he hath spoken to you in this place the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,—and now he is gone. The doleful accent of your sorrow is,

—"Alas, we shall never hear good Mr. Henry more!" Yea, I am here to tell you, (Is it not good news to you?) that you may hear him again. He is dead, but not speechless; *being dead, he yet speaketh*. What would you give to hear him preaching in this pulpit this Lord's day, whom you had here but the *last*, teaching you to *add to faith virtue*, (which was his last subject, 2 Peter, i. 5;) and to hear again those gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth? Why, my brethren, *by faith*, you may yet hear him. Faith, acting upon what you have heard from him, and upon the word of God compared with the providence of the day; for, by it, *he, being dead*, that is, notwithstanding his death; nay, *he being dead*, that is, by his death, *yet speaketh*. Now, to take in what I design, the products of a few broken thoughts, I shall observe both the readings of the text, which were hinted at before, with application to him.

I. He, *being dead*, is yet *spoken of*.

II. He, *being dead*, yet *speaketh*.

You see, the preacher of so many sermons among you must be the subject of this, so that it is to *him* that your serious attention is required.

I. He, *being dead*, is yet *spoken of*.

1. I shall hint at this as his *honour*;—that, as many eyes were fastened upon him while he lived, (*a city upon a hill cannot be hid*,) so many tongues do, and will speak of him in this country, and neighbourhood, now he is gone, and shall be seen no more. All that knew him, knew very well, that he was as far from seeking, or affecting honour among men, as any could be. Humility was his master-grace, and that which he was most eminent for. Honour is like the shadow, that, as it flies from those that follow it,—follows those that fly from it. And, in the honour which his friends and neighbours have done him at his death, and the honourable testimonies which are given to him by all sorts of persons, I cannot but read the fulfilling of that scripture,—*Before honour is humility*.* A great name, like the names of the great ones in the earth, is usually very much withered by death. We read of those that bear their shame when they go down into the pit, though they were the terror of the mighty in the *land of the living*. Ezekiel, xxxii. 25. But a good name is out of the reach of death; is not buried in the grave, but rather grows up from it. It is not for nothing that Solomon hath joined, that,—*A good name is better than precious ointment*,—*with the day of one's death*, which, upon that account,

* An humble spirit inclines and enables a person to have low and mean thoughts of himself, and to carry it accordingly, both towards God and man. Mr. Henry. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

among many others, *is better than the day of one's birth*,—it completeth the character of those that finish well. The sun may be a great part of the day under a cloud, and yet is the sun still; and, perhaps, his reflected rays in the evening, after he is set, may be more illustrious than any of all the day before. It is so with humble souls, whom honour shall uphold. God hath said it, and no word of his shall fall to the ground,—*Them that honour me I will honour*. And who can conceive what *shall be done to the man* whom the King of kings *delighteth to honour*? Commonly, that man is *Mordecai*, who least expects it; not a *Haman*, who thinks, whom should it be but it himself. Those that honour God by self-denial, and self-abasement, God will honour with that good report which *the elders obtained*, though the other promises they received not. Hebrews, xi. 39.

2. I shall speak more largely to it *as your duty*. If God will honour those that honour him, it becomes us to be *workers together with him*, and to concur with his design herein. It is made one part of the character of the citizens of Zion, that he honoureth them that fear the Lord, not only while they live, but when they die. Why did the King of Babylon pay the respect of an embassy to Hezekiah upon the occasion of *his recovery*, and the wonder done in the land thereupon, but, perhaps, because the sun, which was the god the Babylonians worshipped, did him the honour to go back so many degrees for a sign to him? And shall not we, then, honour those whom our God honours; and confess them before men, whom Christ will confess before angels? That promise to the righteous,—That they *shall be had in everlasting remembrance*, doubtless speaks duty to those that survive. Take it as speaking your duty to the memory of your translated minister; and not to him *only*, (though to him especially, I shall take leave, at this time, to apply it,) but to all other faithful ministers and Christians whom we have known, that are gone before to glory; though not all of one mind, or all of your mind in little matters. Let the memories of all those be precious, whether conformists or nonconformists, in whom you have seen any thing of Christ;* for, in every nation, *he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him*, and should be so of us. While your faithful minister was with you, you know what a monitor he was to you, and a remembrancer at the throne of grace for you. I refer to that expression, Isaiah, lxii. 6, 7; he did not, he could not, forget you, any more than a woman can forget her sucking child. It will therefore be ungrateful if you forget him now he is gone. There are four things which I would particularly recommend to you as profitable to be often spoken of concerning him:—

(1.) Speak of his preaching. What that was is manifest before God and your own consciences. Though he was often driven into

* See Mr. Baxter's Penitent's Confession, pp. 87, 88, 4to. 1691.

corners, he never sought them, nor needed them. Now he is gone, you should *give the more earnest heed to the things you have heard* from him, and not *let them slip*. Speak often of the excellent subjects he preached upon; the choice and method, of which he had a peculiar facility in above any minister I ever knew. Very successful he was in seeking to find out *acceptable words*, which I hope have been as goads to quicken you, and are, and will be, *as nails fastened in a sure place*, (not to be dropt, or drawn out,) by the hand of him who is *the great Master of Assemblies*. Of all the subjects he has preached on in these last days of liberty, there was none that affected and filled him more than that concerning Christ, what he is made of God to true believers, in fourteen personal relations, and forty real benefits.* His heart was upon these things, and, in them, he was in his element; and those that heard him could not but *take knowledge of him that he had been with Jesus*. I know many of you wish that they were printed. Do you then print them upon the tables of your hearts, and that will do you more good than if they were *graven with an iron pen, and laid in the rock for ever*. Many other profitable subjects he handled; and you cannot forget how he endeavoured, in the order of them, as well as in the manner of his treating them, and his repetition-sermons at the close of them, that, after his decease, you *might have these things always in remembrance*. 1 Peter, i. 15. Let us not, therefore, *receive the grace of God, therein, in vain*. Now, one good way to preserve in your memory what you have heard, is to be frequently *speaking* of it. Let it be known by your pious and good discourse, that you were the hearers of such a minister, whose sayings you have treasured up; and bring out of that treasury, *things new and old*. My advice, therefore, to you, is,—that you make much of what you have heard, because you are never likely to have more. Speak of his expositions on the scripture, which were so very pleasant and edifying, and are easiest remembered, because they attend the text so closely. Speak of what you have heard from him in the catechizing of children. The strongest of you may have occasion for the *milk* that was provided for *babes*. Many of you have a good deal of his preaching in writing, that may be of great use to you in remembering what you have heard, and received, and learned; and, if it be preserved, and used as it might be, it may be written *for the generations to come, that the people that may be created may, for it, praise the Lord*.

* See the Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, p. 59, *ut supra*.

That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith. Thus expressed in a verse by my dear father, who is now in that full enjoyment:—

Blest Guest, dwell thou awhile on earth with me;
And let me dwell for ever, in heav'n, with Thee!

(2.) Speak of his pattern. It hath been said by many, that his life was a continued sermon; and, sure, it was both the explication, confirmation, and application, of his doctrine. Christianity, in the power and reality of it, was exemplified in his whole conversation. Those that conversed with him, (and it was no hard matter to do that, so easy he was of access,) could not but see the Spirit and grace of God in him, which, wherever it is, *like the ointment of the right hand, betrayeth itself*. It may not be so proper in *me* to instance, in *every* particular, what you have both heard and seen from him, and those did not contradict each other. How exemplary was he in his *family*! An instance, I think, scarcely to be paralleled for constancy in all the parts of family-worship. He was one who made that, as all other branches of religion, *his business*; and he was *not slothful* in it. How exemplary in his carriage to all men; and how much under the influence of that *meek and quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price*! Many of you have had occasion, one time or other, for personal converse with him, and cannot but have observed many things well worth your imitation. He being dead, let these things be spoken of. Let him be mentioned among the cloud of witnesses with which you are encompassed about, that you may be quickened, and directed to *run with patience the race which is set before you*. This is the best way to remember our guides; to follow their faith, *considering the end of their conversation*,—that is, how well they finished. Hebrews, xiii. 17. When he hath sometime been solicited to have his picture drawn, he would say,—“No; a minister’s best picture is drawn in the hearts of his people.” So a minister’s best monument is in the hearts of his people. There let each of us erect a monument of love for him, and it will furnish us,—as the historian* saith, the monument of David did those who opened it long after,—with a rich and valuable treasure, if we follow him *as he followed Christ*.

(3.) Speak of his profitableness, through grace, to you.

In other things, he used to say,—Let every man speak as he finds. When your deceased minister is to be spoken of, speak as you have found him; that is, as God hath made him to you; for, that saying, he so often used, is applicable to himself;—“Every creature is that to us, and no more, than God makes it to be.” So he was but the *earthen vessel, the excellency of the power was God’s*. By the grace of God he was to you what he was;† and, as such, we should speak of him. To speak feelingly, and experimentally, is the surest way to preserve and promote the advantage

* Josephus. See the Antiquities of the Jews, book vii. c. 15, §. 3.

† See 1 Cor. xv. 10. It was the rule of Bonaventure, whom the Romanists honour for a saint,—*Hoc piarum mentium est*, &c. This is the part of pious souls, to ascribe nothing to themselves, all to the grace of God. Bishop Hall. Works, *ut supra*, v. 5, p. 303.

we have had by him. There are some, nay, many of you, to whom he was a spiritual father. Though you have many instructors in Christ, yet have you not had many fathers, for he hath *begotten you again through the gospel*. 1 Corinthians, iv. 15. And it follows, verse 16, *Wherefore, be ye followers of me*. Not that he was the author and giver of your grace. No; it is the Spirit's prerogative to be so. What are Paul and Apollos, *but ministers by whom ye believed?* 1 Corinthians, iii. 5. But, though he was only the instrument of your grace, the shaft in the hand of the Lord, the minister by whom ye believed, yet God having honoured him, in making him so, you ought to honour him, by a grateful remembrance, as your spiritual father. And, if he could witness the bowels of a father, surely you ought to witness the respect of children towards him, and his memory. Remember how your hearts were opened by the key of David in his hand; how the strong holds were brought down by the spiritual weapons of his warfare; and the powers of darkness vanquished and subdued *by the sword of the Lord and of Gideon*. Speak of the way he took in dealing with souls, not to terrify with thunder-claps from Mount Sinai, but to allure, and invite, in a *still* and *small voice* from Mount Sion; reckoning that the most kindly work upon the soul, which is the product of gospel grace, and redeeming love, revealed there. Others of you have found him a spiritual nurse, and a very skilful, careful, tender one, who had learned of the great Shepherd of the sheep to *gather the lambs in his arms, and carry them in his bosom*. He hath fed you with *milk*, and with *strong meat* too, as you were able to bear it. Others of you have found him a faithful reprover, when at any time you had done amiss. Though it was much his temper not to make himself uneasy to any body, yet that did not hinder him from the discharge of his duty, in the rebukes of love, when there was occasion. You know how well he had learned to restore with the spirit of meekness, Galatians, vi. 1,—to set in joint again,—so he used to observe the import of the word to be; alluding to surgeons setting broken bones, in which you have heard him say,—“There is need of the eagle’s eye, the lion’s heart, and the lady’s hand;” that is, prudence, courage, and tenderness; and his practice was according to this spiritual operation. Others of you have found him a comforter in your sorrows, and a helper of your joys. Perhaps you have come to him labouring under doubts and fears; cast down, and disquieted; walking in darkness, and having no light; and have found his tongue so much *the tongue of the learned*, speaking a word in season to weary souls; that you have gone from him comforted and refreshed, and *your countenance hath been no more sad*. Well; he, being dead, let him, for this, be spoken of; and your former comforts, thus brought to remembrance, may be present cordials and support to you.*

* “I am the more large and pressing upon this head, because I have been some-

(4.) Speak of the providences of God that were concerning him. If it be our duty to look not at our own things only, but at the things of others also, then, of their's especially, who are *set over us in the Lord*. He often spoke of the comfortable events of Providence concerning him, with a thankful sense of the goodness of God to him in them, that others might join with him in his thanksgiving. You would do well to remember them now he is gone, that your praises may be continued, and even pass unmixed with your sorrows. Let it be still spoken of; for, it hath been many a time that his habitation was blessed. The adversary might suggest, with the same envious grudging as he did of *holy Job*;—Hast thou not made an hedge about him, *and about his house, and about all that he hath round about*? Thou hast blessed the works of his hands, and *his substance is increased in the land*. It was often observed, that all that he had, and all that he put his hand to, remarkably prospered, and that *the dew lay all night upon his branch*. Let this, now he is dead, be spoken of as the fulfilling of that scripture, Matthew, vi. 33;—*Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and then all these things shall be added unto you*,—as far as is for God's glory, and your own real good. *Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is*, and many times the performance of it,—if not in kind, yet in kindness. It was a maxim, which, among many that I remember, (and I fear many more that I have forgot,) as the result of his comparing his own experience with the word of God, that,—“When we are doing God's work, we may let him alone to do our's; and, while we mind our duty, we may comfortably trust God with our safety and success.” I confess, as to this, God dealt better with him than with many others of his faithful ministers. By this consideration alone no certain rules can be taken by which to judge of the divine favours; * but when, at any time, God is pleased to crown remarkable piety † with remarkable prosperity in the world, we are not to

times greatly delighted (I hope edified) in hearing the old disciples of Jesus Christ tell of their ministers that were dead before I was born, to hear them tell of their texts, and sermons, and sayings, the good counsels they gave them, the instructions and comforts they ministered unto them, and what they got while they sat under their shadow; (for commonly, the first impressions of the word in young converts, are the most lasting;) and of what use it hath been to them many a time since, one such spiritual receipt, with a *probatum est* annexed to it by one that speaks from experience, may do more good than twenty in a book. Thus you may be instrumental to comfort others, and to edify them with the same thing by which you yourselves have been comforted and edified under his ministry. And you will never have the less oil for ministering to others; nay, to him that hath, and thus useth what he hath, and what he hath had, more shall be given;—he that trades with five talents, makes them ten.” Mrs. Savage's Transcript of the Sermon. Orig. MS.

* The hypocrite builds his hope upon such a thing as outward prosperity. I prosper in this world, therefore I shall be happy in the other world; as if a beggar should say,—Because such an one gave me a farthing, he will make me his heir. See Eccl. ix. 1. P. Henry, from Matthew Henry's MS.

† For my own part, I can truly say, whenever I have set myself to form an idea of the primitive apostolick spirit, from what has appeared of it in the good men...

pass by such a dispensation of providence unregarded. *Whoso is wise, and observeth these things*, may, from thence, *understand the loving-kindness of the Lord*; and infer,—*Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord*. Surely, in him, that scripture was remarkably fulfilled, Psalm, xxxvii. 11;—*The meek shall inherit the earth*. His prosperity was likewise an instance of that truth;—That, doing good with an estate, is the only way to have the comfort of it; and there is that *scattereth* in bounty and usefulness, and yet *increaseth*. That good bond which we have under the hand and seal of the God of truth, still remains in full force, power, and virtue, and is not subject to any defeazance;—*That he who giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord, and that which is given he will pay him again with interest and rich advantage*.^{*} This scripture you have seen fulfilled in him, as in many others, who have dispersed and given to the *poor*. What good he did with that which the Lord had given him, notwithstanding his great humility in it, and care that his *left hand* should not know what his *right hand* did, you all know something of. I appeal to the poor concerning it, whose loins have blessed him, and whose hearts have blessed God for him. In this, according to the rule he was wont to give to others, he made his own hands his executors. And, when you speak of the providence of God concerning him, do not forget that measure of health and strength, that God graciously gave him, to go through such a great deal of work, at home and abroad, on sabbath-days and week-days, with so much vigour and constancy, to the sixty-fifth year of his age; and, even then, his *bow abiding in strength*, and renewed in his hands. This was *the Lord's doing*, and much beyond what all expected who knew the weakness of his body, and the liveliness of his spirit, at his first setting out. Nor will you forget the last scene of providence concerning him, (you all think now you will never forget it,)—his removal from you. Among other things, let him be spoken of as one whom *his Lord, when he came, found so doing*; who took a very short step from the pulpit to the throne; and was ravished out of your embraces, or ever you were aware. Speak of this to one another, not merely as a matter of talk, but as the *Lord's controversy* with you, which you are concerned to hear, and lay to heart. I doubt not, but you are all sensible now of the loss you sustain, as Israel was when Aaron was dead. Let not the sense wear off, but continue,—that the remaining impressions of this providence, and your fre-

our own age, none ever more readily occurred to my thoughts, than *Mr. Philip Henry* and *Mr. William Bagshawe*." Mr. Tong's Prefatory Letter to the *Life and Character of Mr. William Bagshawe*, by J. Ashe, 12mo. 1704.

^{*} I verily believe we all fare the better, even in this world, for my dear father's charity to the poor. It appears by some of his papers of accounts, that, out of his small income, he gave, in money, fifteen pounds in one year, besides all that were relieved at his door;—he *devised liberal things*. Mrs. Savage. Diary. 1732, Sept. 18. Orig. MS.

quent tender expressions may appear to be deep and sincere; and that it may be said of you, as the Jews said of Christ,—*Behold, how he loved him!* You know how free he was of his pains among you; and his ministry was not chargeable to any, but all the pay he desired for his labours was, your spiritual profit by them. In gratitude for which you are the more obliged to remember, and continue the payment, now he is gone; keeping in remembrance the truths he taught you, and the copies he set you, that, as was said in the morning,* that,—“while religion lives among you, the name of that blessed man, that is now in glory, may flourish with you.”† And, when I say, you must speak of your minister, who is dead, your doing it to *his* honour is the least that I intended. No; let him be spoken of;—

1. To the *glory of God*, whose instrument he was. I bespeak not a grain of that incense to be burned to his honour, which ought to be offered at God's altar. God forbid, I should; for, what is Paul, and what is Apollos? (Earthen vessels, while they live, and broken pitchers when they are dead;)—but what God is pleased to make them unto us. Do as Paul did, 1 Thessalonians, 1, 2, 3, that thanked his God upon every remembrance of his friends. Let not your praise terminate in your minister, but pass through him to the Lord Christ, in whose right hand he was so long a bright and shining star.

2. With application to yourselves, and for your own spiritual benefit and edification. For in all our discourse, we must study that by which we may edify one another. So speak of your minister as to increase one another's good affections, and confirm each other's resolutions for Christ and holiness; and thus you may find *meat* in the *eater*, and *sweetness* in the *strong*; the life of gospel grace by the death of gospel ministers.

I have but one hint more under this head, and it is this particular remark;—Since he came into the country, now almost forty-three years ago, you know that two places have had the benefit of his labours. The former enjoyed it about eight or nine years; and what a burning and shining light he was in that parish, we, that are young, have heard with our ears, and those of you, that are elder, do know, and remember. And yet, though he was so eminent an instrument of good there, within a few years after his removal

* By the Rev. James Owen.

† “Thus I have suggested to you some things which you should be frequently speaking of him; and, I am conscious to myself, that, could he have foreseen I should have spoken thus much in his praise, such was his great humility and self-denial, that he would rather have prohibited it than have taken any pleasure in it, but I thought myself obliged to it; and, I remember, that, when our Lord Jesus said to those that he cured,—*See thou tell no man*, and they went and *told every body*, they were not reproved for it, because as Christ, in his humility, gave them that order, so it was in their *good will* that they went counter to it.” Mrs. Savage's Transcript of the Sermon. Orig. MS.

from thence, he was, in a manner, forgotten. Those few that were his *joy and crown* were removed by death, and, as he himself observed, a new generation soon sprung up which *knew not Joseph*. You have had the happiness of his ministry above three times as long; but, if it be so soon forgotten here, and the fruits so soon withered, I doubt not you will have a sad account to give another day. But I have a great deal of reason to hope better things of you, my brethren, and you will never forget what you went into the *wilderness to see*.

II. He, *being dead, yet speaketh*; that is, as some understand it, he yet *liveth*, and they think there is no more than that in it; that Abel, not only by faith, obtained witness that he was righteous, but, by it, also, *being dead, obtained eternal life*. Cain killed his body, but he yet speaketh the praise of the Lord in heaven, with the blessed angels, those glorious *morning-stars*, which *sang together*. We are told, Revelations, vi. 9, 10, what was not only said, but *cried*, with a loud voice, by the saints under the altar, the souls which are slain; by which it is witnessed, that they live. Your deceased minister, being dead, yet liveth. If it be asked of *your fathers, where are they?* Blessed be God, we know where they are,—not lost, but gone before to glory. They are where the great Shepherd of the sheep is. They are no longer in our assemblies; they are where they longed to be, and where we, through grace, hope to be with them shortly. For, he that was our father's God, *is not the God of the dead, but the living*; and they live to him, and with him. But I shall take it more particularly. There are some that, he, being dead, speaketh *against*. There are others, nay, all, that, he, being dead, yet speaketh *to*. Surely, you will hearken; if not to *Moses and the prophets*, yet, when one speaketh to you *from the dead*.

1. Is it not a surprise to you, to hear that there are some that he, being dead, yet speaketh *against*? I will tell you, in short;—all those which sat under his ministry in their impenitency and unbelief; all who attended on his plain and powerful preaching, from time to time, with unconverted, unsanctified hearts; all the hypocrites of this congregation, who keep up secret haunts of sin under the cloak of a visible profession, and deny the power of godliness while they pride themselves in the form of it;* that have a name

* "We must not be hypocrites, nor do any thing we do in hypocrisy. Even disciples must beware of this. It is the cry of the world against us, that we are such, but let us approve ourselves to God, that we may not, and then no matter. We must not have a form of godliness without the power. Nor a name to live without being alive indeed. We must not do what we do to be seen of men. We must not draw near to God with our mouths, when our hearts are far from him. We must not make clean the outside, and be careless what is within. We must not look one way, and row

to live while they are dead in trespasses and sins; (and we have reason to fear there are such with you, even with you; it would be the happiest society on this side heaven if there were not;) *these* are they, he, being dead, yet *speaketh against*. Fair warning he gave, from the word of God, to every careless soul, and followed it with *precept upon precept, line upon line*. How often hath he called upon you to leave your sins, and turn to God, and close with Christ; and how did he order his cause before you, and choose out words to reason with you! * He hath set before you *life and death; good and evil; the blessing and the curse*. And, many a time hath he told you, if you did not return and repent, after such warning, he had *delivered his soul, and your blood would be upon your own head*. And, perhaps, your hearts have, with Felix, trembled under such reasonings as these. Whether you think it, or not, your minister is gone to give up his account, not only of himself,—that, no doubt, he hath done with joy,—but of you too. It is said, Luke xiv. 21;—that servant, who had been sent to invite to the marriage, came and shewed his Lord how he had sped in his invitation. Your minister was wont to ask you, sometimes, when he was sincerely putting to you the grand case of your eternal salvation, and earnestly pressing you to consent to the gospel offer,—what answer he should return to him that sent him? What answer you gave him you best know; but he is now gone to give up his accounts, and to make his presentments at the great tribunal, before which we must all appear shortly. Nay, let me tell you, further, he will not only be a witness against you, but he will be an assistant with Christ in the judgment, to assent and subscribe to the sentence, which, at that day, will be passed upon you; for thus the saints will judge the world, 1 Corinthians, vi. 2; especially ministers, Luke, xxii. 30. Though, while he was with you, he loved you well, and earnestly desired your welfare, yet, if you perish in

another,† as Jehu did. Suspect this evil; search for it; watch and pray against it. Contrary to all this is sincerity and truth. They differ like shadow and substance,—like the picture of a man, and a man.” P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* Consider, he would say, the *worth* of the *soul*, Matt. xvi. 26;—its original, Gen. ii. 7;—its operations, its duration, immortal;—its nature, spiritual. Consider how God the Father hath loved it, in giving Christ for it! How Jesus Christ loved it, in coming to die! How Satan knows the worth of it, else he would never seek, as he doth, to destroy it; alluding to Gen. xiv. 21. Consider the wants of the soul, blind, naked;—its dangers, likely to be lost; its capacity, capable of heaven. Beware, then, of those things that hurt and wound the soul, Proverbs, viii. 36. Ply those things that will make for its good. Prov. xi. 27; means of grace, opportunities. Be acquainted with it; discourse much with thy soul; ‘Soul, whither art thou and I going?—Seek to advance it; put it to a good service. Seek to adorn it; get on the best robe, righteousness, grace, Prov. xix. 8. Seek to enrich it; other riches are not soul-riches, Luke, xii. Seek to save it, Phil. ii. 12, 13. Provide for it; wife, children, the body, can say, ‘Here is for me;’ but the poor soul hath nothing. It is the first thing thought of in conversion, Acts, xvi. 30. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† “All Christians looke to heaven; indeed, wee are all for the earth; this taketh up our thoughts and affections, that wee are like boat-men, that looke one way, but row another.” Bayne’s Christian Letters, p. 272, *ut supra*.

impenitency, the day is coming when he will be content to see you perish, and will join with glorified saints in applauding the sentence. *Hallelujah; just and righteous are thy judgments!* Revelations, xix. 12. The dresser of the vineyard, that prayed so hard for another year's reprieve, and promised to take so much pains with the barren fig-tree, resolves, if he succeeds not, to say not another word in its favour. *If it bear fruit, well;* Luke, xiii. 9; *but, if not, then, after that, thou shalt cut it down;* so shall its doom be, the dresser himself hath decided it. When the day of patience is over, the *wrath of the Lamb* will break forth, without remedy, against his enemies, who would not have him *to reign over them*. I speak this, if it may be, at last, to alarm and awaken some sleeping souls, and to revive what you have heard from him, that it may not be brought in evidence against you at the great day; and, if the death of your minister may but awaken some impressions upon you, so as to prevail with you to leave your sins, it will be, to such, a happy providence; and may Sampson's story be again verified, that he slew more of the enemies of the Lord at his death than in his life.

2. There are those, and, indeed, all of us, that, being dead, he *yet speaketh to*. Your minister is, indeed, fallen, but the *word of the Lord endureth for ever*: even that word, which, *by the gospel, is preached unto you*, 1 Peter, i. 25. Nay, not only notwithstanding his death, but *by* his death, he speaketh; he hath but exchanged this pulpit for another; the grave is now his pulpit; and methinks, I still hear him speak to us that are of his family and relations,—to you, that are of his congregation.—*Being dead, he yet speaketh*. These are words of truth. Let us *rightly divide them* among ourselves, and each of us take a portion.

He, being dead, yet speaks to us that are his relations, and are, of all others, most nearly concerned in the stroke. Something he saith to us to comfort us under our present sorrow;—*Weep not for me!* Our loss is his great and everlasting gain. I shall especially observe what he saith to us by way of *direction* and *exhortation*. We are all here, by the providence of God, before the Lord this day,—all his children, and their yoke-fellows,—ten of us. We have observed, that, since we have been severally disposed of in the world into families of our own, we were never altogether here till yesterday; and a sad meeting it was; but, by this sadness, the heart will be made better, if we can but hear what our dear father, being dead, *yet speaketh to us*. And, therefore, because the word of the day sounds best in its day, and, perhaps, we may be never all together again, (for death seldom strikes single in a family,) give me leave to preach a little to myself, and my dear relations, in your hearing, that, if, at any time, we, or any of us, walk unworthy of the relation we stand in to such a father, this place may be a witness *against us*, that it was not for want of knowing our duty. While he was yet with us, he was often speak-

ing for us at the throne of grace,* *making mention of us*, and others, *always in his prayers*. And this is now not the least part of our grief,—that we shall have such an intercessor to pray for us no more. Yea, Lord, help us to pray so much the more, and so much the better, for ourselves! But, in reference to this part of our loss, I am comforted, not only with this thought,—that our Lord Jesus Christ *ever liveth to make intercession for us*, and he is *the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*,—but with this thought also, that the prayers of our dear father, who is gone, are upon the file, in heaven,† and, through the mediation of the great Redeemer, will receive an answer of peace. When the *prayers of David, the son of Jesse*, were ended, yet he and his views were remembered, and his seed had the benefit of them, Psalm, cxxxii. 1, 2. *The vision, in answer to prayer, is for an appointed time, and at the end it shall speak, and not lie*. Though we cannot say, now he is gone to heaven, he there prays for us.—No; Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledgeth us not, yet, we have reason, to think, the many prayers of faith he put up for us while he was in the world of prayer, may be heard for us now he is gone, and we and our's may fare the better for them long after; and shall do so, if we do not, by our unworthy walking, forfeit our interest in them. And, shall the children of so many prayers miscarry? While he was yet with us, he did also speak to us, both by word and writing, as a faithful monitor, comforter, and instructor; but, we shall, in that way, hear from him no more. However, there are three things which, he, being dead, yet speaketh to us.

(1.) He speaks to us to be followers of him in the way of holiness, because we *must* follow him to the grave, and that we *may* follow him to heaven. It is of great use to us, both for our direction and encouragement in our christian course, to set before us the good example of the saints; for, blessed be God, as there is an old way, which wicked men have trodden, Job, xxii. 15, so there is an old way, which godly men have trodden, Jeremiah, vi. 16. But the nearer these examples are to us, the greater influence they should have upon us. If a *vain conversation* can, by this, recommend itself to some, as being *received by tradition*, 1 Peter, i. 18,—compare

* When I hear repeated prayers on my poor daughter's account, [near her confinement,] I cannot but think of what my dear father once wrote to me when I was in her circumstances;—We are daily mindful of you, so that sometimes we are ready to fear our heavenly Father should be displeased, as if we doubted his audience and acceptance,—as we should, if so frequently minded of the same business;—but, we well know, his ways and thoughts are as far above our's as the heaven is high above the earth. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

† “Children of many prayers, which are all upon *the file in heaven*.” Mr. Case's Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Scott, p. 68, duod. 1659. And see Oliver Heywood's Closet Prayer, p. 29, duod. 1671.

Dr. Owen, noticing Genesis, iii. 15, says;—“This promise hung longest *on the file* before its accomplishment.” Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. v. p. 52, oct. ed.

Jeremiah, xlv. 17;—should not a holy and heavenly conversation, transmitted to us, be, with resolution, held fast by us? Let the life of such a father, especially, seeing the *end of his conversation*, recommend religion, in the power of it, to us, and engage us in the steady practice of it. We, who had the happiness of free and frequent converse with him, could not but see a great deal that was excellent and exemplary, and which our own consciences subscribed to the goodness of. Let us, then, set ourselves, in the strength of divine grace, to transcribe it in our hearts and lives. Sure, never any one that professed religion did more recommend it to others, as lovely and amiable, than he did. We saw in him, not only the power of holiness, but the *beauty* of it. I have thought it the unhappiness of some that, otherwise, I had reason to think were good in the main, that, by the moroseness or melancholy of their temper, and converse, have greatly hindered the success of the good instruction they have given to their children; and have, thereby, rendered religion a dull, melancholy thing, and thus has religion been wounded in the house of her friends. But it was the felicity of our education, that we had a father, whose spirit and converse recommended a life of serious godliness to us, as the most sweet and easy, the most cheerful and charming life, that could be; which demonstrated to us that *wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths paths of peace*. Let us not, then, be slothful, but the willing, constant, followers of him, who is now, *through faith and patience, inheriting the promises*. Let us tread in the steps of his humility,* and meekness; his love, and charity; his zeal and fervency in the best things; his self-denial and contempt of the world; his usefulness and beneficence to all; that those who see us may say,—Surely, these are the children of such a father.† Let us be mild and gentle in all our

* “A man truly humble is apprehensive of God’s greatness, and his own vileness, when he appears before him. Gen. xviii. 27; Ezra, ix. 6. He highly prizeth God’s favour;—mercy is sweet unto him. He is easily brought to acknowledgment and remorse for sin. An humble heart is tender and melting, as Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27. He will worship God according to his own prescription, and dares not worship him after his own fancy, Col. ii. 18, 23. He is much given to prayer, Ps. ix. 12; x. 17. He is often singing God’s praises, 2 Sam. vii. 18.; 1 Chron. xxix. 14. He desires God’s glory, though with his own shame and disgrace, 2 Sam. vi. 22; John, iii. 29, 30. It is not a nick-name, or a bye-word, that will make him leave off his profession. He will ever rejoice in the good of others. It is nothing but pride which makes men envious, Ps. xxxiv. 2; cxix. 74. He will do all things without murmuring and reasoning, Phil. ii. 2, 3.” Rev. Arthur Hildersam. Orig. MS. *Penes me.*

The reader will have no difficulty in applying the preceding sketch to Mr. Henry.

† 1731, Feb. 23. Read 1 Thess. ii. I could not but apply some passages to my dear and honoured father, verse 9, &c. I remember his labour and travel. I can witness how jolily, justly, and unblameably, he behaved himself among us, charging us to *walk worthy of God*, &c. When he was forced from us to prison, as all the nonconformist ministers in that country were, at Monmouth’s rebellion, his parting exhortation was that of the apostle;—*Work out your own salvation*. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS. See *ante*, p. 158.

carriage; moderate in the use of all our enjoyments. Let us love the Scripture; *continue instant in prayer*; and maintain an even, quiet, composedness of spirit under the varieties of providence; for, in all these things, we know very well, he set us an excellent copy. Let us, then, be followers of him so far as he was of Christ. It was the matter, both of his rejoicing and thanksgiving, that he saw his children walking in the truth; and it was his prayer, that they might continue so to do, and that none of his might be found at the left hand of Christ at the great day. Let us, then, as ever we hope to meet him with joy in the other world, follow him with diligence now.* Having begun *in the spirit*, let us not *end in the flesh*; having *laid our hand to the plough*, let us not *look back*, lest our latter end be worse than our beginning.

(2.) Being dead, he speaks to us, to be loving and helpful one to another. His common and undistinguished love to us all, was such that it could never be said which of us he loved best; and, it speaks to us, now he is gone, *to love one another with a pure heart fervently*. We know very well that our unity was the joy of his heart, while living; and many a time he hath, with us, blessed God for it. Let it, therefore, be the credit and honour of his family now he is gone. I find it is, I may call it, his dying prayer for us, his children, not only that we may be built up in holiness and comfort, but that we may be continued in brotherly love, and be a bundle of arrows, which cannot be broken. Now we have lost him, who was wont to pray for us, and be a common helper to us, let us pray so much the more, one for another, and be so much the more helpful one to another, especially in the things that pertain to the kingdom of heaven; and let all our bands of unity be strengthened and confirmed; and, let it be our constant endeavour, each of us in our place, to be mutually serviceable to each other's comfort and welfare, and jointly serviceable to the glory of God, and to the comfort of our dear surviving parent; that the Lord of peace himself may command his blessing upon us, and our families, *even life for evermore*.

(3.) Being dead he speaks to us,—to make death and the grave, heaven and glory, familiar to us; and, in other things, to converse much with them. This place used to be our father's house, but now the place that knew him knows him no more. The grave, the place appointed for all the living, is our father's house. Let us, therefore, visit that house often in our meditations: take a walk, now and then, *into the valley of the shadow of death*. We could never say of this house, when at any time we left it, we were sure of coming to it again, but we may be certain that, sooner or later, we must go to the grave. Let us, therefore, be always ready. The nearer

* If hope be right, it doth not work by pride, but by humility; not by idleness, but diligence; not by loose and careless, but by close and circumspect walking. P. Henry. From Matthew Henry's M.S.

death approaches us, the louder are its calls to us to prepare for our change. It would help to *apply our hearts unto wisdom*, thus to *number our days*, for if there were more of death in our thoughts, there would be more of life and liveliness in all our actions.* He who is removed from us, was one that was very industrious to familiarize death to himself; he frequently thought, spoke, and wrote of it, not, as many who are thus all their lives subject to bondage, with a certain fearful, but with a certain cheerful looking for that change. Let us, in like manner, converse with it; it will come never the sooner, but it will be much the more easy, and welcome, and less formidable to us when it doth come. Every one *in his own order*, that is, in the order appointed by him in whose hand our souls are.† We must shortly be gathered to our fathers, and have no reason to count upon an exemption from it. Since, as Elijah pleaded, when he so passionately desired to die, *we are not better than our fathers*, 1 Kings, xix. 4. We see a generation rising up to stand in our room, as we do in the room of those that are gone before us. But it is only the body, that poor, despised, broken vessel, that is laid in the grave, the immortal soul is translated to the heavenly regions; with heaven, therefore, we should converse familiarly, and dwell more in our thoughts among those mansions of light, where not only our heavenly Father is, but, which should be some inducement to us, he also that was the Father of our flesh. Many a time we have, with much delight and satisfaction, visited here at this house, and now we can visit him here no more. If we have but boldness to enter into the holiest, by the blood of Jesus, we may visit him there, converse with that glory which he is in possession of. Let our conversation, therefore, be in heaven, not only where Christ is, but where so many of our dear relations are, with whom we have taken sweet counsel. Now there is one loadstone more in heaven to draw our hearts thitherwards. Methinks, he being dead, yet speaks to us in those words that came from heaven to John, Revelations, iv. 1. *Come up hither*,—up hither in your thoughts and meditations; up with your hearts,‡ and live by faith in those serene, quiet regions above; and, blessed be God, *in our father's house are many mansions*; the place

* The consideration of shortnesse of life, may be matter of consolation and comfort unto such as believe. What knowest thou, but that there is but a step between thee and heaven? Thou art here this yere; thou mayest be in heaven before the next; thou art here this month, thou mayest be with Christ before the next. Yea, thou art here to-day, thou mayest be in blisse before to-morrow. Oh, this happy estate! How would men admire the happinesse of such a beggar as were in possibility every houre to be advanced to a kingdome! The Monument, or Tombe-stone; a Sermon at the Funerall of Mrs. Elizabeth Juxon, by Stephen Denison, *duod.* 1620, pp. 22, 23.

† So,—all the events and occurrences of every day of our life are ordered by God,—are at his dispose, Ps. xxxi. 15. This is a great truth. It was an expression oft used by my dear father;—We know in whose hands our times are. This should quiet us as to afflicting providences. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

‡ In the ancient church, when the people began to bring their offering unto the altar, the priest was to say,—*Ἄγε τὰς καρδίας*,—Lift up your hearts. Mede's Works, p. 293, *ut supra*.

is not too strait for us; we need not scatter there as we do on earth; there is room enough for him who is gone, and all his family, him and his seed, and his seed's seed. God grant that a promise being left us of entering into his rest, none of us may seem to come short. To conclude this head;—being dead, methinks, he yet speaks to us in the language of Solomon, Proverbs, xxvii. 10,—*Thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not* The God with whom we have to do, is our Friend, and was our father's Friend, Psalm, xxii. 4. The God in whom our father trusted. He found him faithful, and, from his own experience, recommended him to us as a good Master,—*the God that fed him all his life long*. Let us, therefore, *avouch the Lord this day to be our God, and to walk in his laws, and to keep his statutes*, and never be prevailed with to leave him, or to turn from following him. If God loves the children for the father's sake, as he is said to do, Romans, xi. 28, sure the children should love God, and serve him for the father's sake. Our father's relation to God, we may plead with him in prayer, as 2 Chronicles, xxvi. 6.; and, therefore, plead it with ourselves, as a strong inducement to duty and obedience. If we are born in God's house, and are the seed of his servants, truly we should be his servants; if he be our father's God, we must exalt him. He, being dead, thus speaketh to his children, *Thine own God, and thy father's God, forsake not and forget not*.

2. He, *being dead, yet speaks to you* of this congregation. Long, and often, he hath been speaking to you in the *name of the Lord*; and an account must be shortly given for all that he hath spoken to you, or rather God by him. Above thirty years he hath been among you. Part of which time was, indeed, a *cloudy and dark day*, when such a man as he was *hid*; and yet, some of you know that even then his labours were little the less. When he durst not do what he would, he did what he could. But, blessed be God, the evening of his day was more clear and bright. His having been thirty years with you, brings to my mind a few lines which he penned on the death of a worthy minister, who had been the same number of years with his people, (Mr. Nevet, Oswestry.)*

The owner thought it much three years to come,
To a *barren tree*, which hastened its sad doom.
What then may they expect who ten times three
Had such a *dresser*, if they *barren* be?
A faithful, self-denying shepherd, who
Sought not the fleece, but flock; not your's but you.

Thus, while he lived, he spoke to you; but, *being dead, he yet speaketh*: for, though he hath finished his testimony on earth, yet

* See *ante*, p. 271.

his testimony is not finished, but remains *speaking still*. When Elijah was translated, it should seem he left a *writing behind him* for a *remaining testimony*, so some understand it, 2 Chronicles, xxi. 12. Five things there be which, being dead, he yet speaks to you. I shall mention them briefly, and so conclude.

1. He, being dead, yet speaks to you,—to *repent* of your sins. Especially, the sin of your *unfruitfulness* under the means of grace. It was sin that was the procuring cause of this calamity; it is that which now corrects you and reproves you; that is it which hath quenched your coal, and put out your light. If conscience be any wise awakened under this sad providence, you cannot but say, —*We are verily guilty*. Your unprofitableness and unfruitfulness, your barrenness, your barrenness; your *leanness*, your *leanness*,—though you have been fed in the fat pastures of the ordinances,—was the sin that provoked God to remove your minister from you. Turn your tears, therefore, into the right channel, and weep not for him, but for yourselves, and for your sins. Now is a time to reflect on your management and improvement of the means of grace you have had, and to be by that humbled before the Lord for your carelessness and neglect. Now you ought to remember against yourselves your vanity and hypocrisy, and how often you have come before the Lord as his people came, and sat before him as his people, and heard his words, but your hearts in the meantime have *gone after your covetousness*. He hath been to you as a *lovely song* of one that hath a *pleasant voice*, and can *play well on an instrument*, and, therefore, you have heard his words: but, have you done them? See Ezekiel, xxxiii. 31, 32, and compare the next words, 33. When this cometh to pass, such a providence as you are now under, then shall you *know that a prophet hath been among you*: so easy is it to us to see the worth of mercies when we feel the want of them. Let this conviction take hold on your consciences now, and endeavour, henceforth, by the grace of God, to be more fruitful.

2. Being dead, he yet speaks to you,—to adorn your holy profession by a suitable conversation. I have been told he preached his farewell sermon at Worthenbury, upon that text; Philippians, i. 27.—*Only let your conversation be as becometh the gospel of Christ*. Will you take that Scripture as his farewell to you, which, *being dead, he yet speaketh*? I doubt not but you have all a respect for his name and memory, and could not contentedly hear him reproached, and evil spoken of. Then do not you reproach him by doing any thing that may give occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme the *name of Christ*, and his doctrine. If any of you leave your first love, and return, with the dog, to his vomit; if you do any ill thing at any time against the sacred laws of justice and sobriety, will it not be said, “This was one of Mr. Henry’s disciples?”—And thus the just reproaches you bring upon yourselves, will unjustly fall upon him. Let the regard you have for his name be a bridle of restraint upon you. Many eyes are upon you, that

watch for your halting; therefore, *see that ye walk circumspectly.*

3. Being dead, he yet speaks to you,—to hold fast the profession of your faith without wavering. Remember what you have received and heard, and hold fast. Let it never be said concerning you of this congregation, that your faith, and religion were pinned upon your minister's sleeve, and that when he died, that died with him. God forbid; for we are built upon Christ, *the chief corner stone.* Ministers are the builders of the church, but not the foundation of it. Let me, therefore, exhort you all, in the words of Barnabas, that *with purpose of heart you would cleave to the Lord.* Acts, xi. 23. The shepherd is smitten, but it is only the *under-shepherd* of the sheep; the Great Shepherd is still the same, and will be with you while you are with him: to him, therefore, you must resolutely adhere, with a firm and unshaken constancy. I believe that God, who hath the residue of the Spirit, hath also such mercy in store for the congregation, that he will not leave it altogether destitute. When God hath work to do, he will never want instruments to accomplish his designs. Be not you wanting to yourselves, and the power and grace of God will not be wanting to you. Nor will the promise of the faithful witness fail,—*Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.*

4. Being dead, he yet speaks to you,—to prepare for death,* for sudden death. This is spoken plain enough if we do but consider the circumstances of his removal. For a man to be well and dead in fifteen or sixteen hours, may we not easily infer from hence, how much we are concerned to be always ready, that when our Master comes, we may cheerfully, upon the first intimation, *go forth to meet him.* We may, any of us, die as suddenly as he did, but are we prepared as he was? To him who was daily dying, it was but a short cut over a stormy sea; but if we continue unready, such a sudden death will to us have another aspect. It will be like the arrest of a traitor; a hurry out of the world, like the surprize of that wretched worldling,—*Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee.* Let it, therefore, be our daily care, as we observed it was his frequent prayer, to be ready for that which will come certainly, and may come suddenly.†

Lastly. He being dead, yet speaks,—comfort and encouragement to those of you who belong to Christ, and are faithful to him. Is there any honey in the carcase of a lion? Any sweetness to be extracted out of so sad a providence? Yes, there is. If Christ's leaving his disciples was (though then sorrow filled their hearts) matter of rejoicing to them, John, xiv. 28, why may not the removal

* There is no real deliverance from death, but to be carried well through it. Dear father's frequent prayer was,—That God would go with us down to death, and up to glory. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

† See the Fading of the Flesh, &c. by the Rev. George Swinnoek, pp. 34, 36, 4to. 1662.

of a faithful minister furnish us with some comfortable thoughts? He is gone before, as it were, to show you the way. His inheriting the promises is an engagement to those who (though they stay behind yet) have made those promises their *heritage for ever*. You that were his joy in this world, shall be his crown in the other. You know in his monthly lecture in this place, he was preaching over the four last things, viz. death, judgment, hell, and heaven: the three first of which he had spoken very largely and excellently to; and, in the course of his ministry, he was next to have preached concerning heaven; * and, it is likely, if God had continued him a while longer among you, you might have heard many good words and comfortable words from him on that subject. But, as if the great God should say,—“Come, my dear servant, you are not enough acquainted with that glory, you know but in part, and prophesy but in part; come up and see what it is; and leave your congregation to conclude what it is by the removal of one thither that was such a jewel in this lower world.”—We may make some faint guesses at heaven’s glory, when we consider that it is both the perfection and recompence of the holiness of the saints. That is certainly a blessed and glorious place, that is the receptacle of all those who were the blessings and glories of this earth. *Being dead, he yet speaketh to you*;—that he is gone before, and is arrived, at last, into a safe and quiet harbour, and you shall not be long at sea. Though now we have parted with him in a melancholy shower of tears, yet, blessed be God, *we sorrow not as those who have no hope*: for we have *good hope through grace*, of meeting him again, and being for ever with him, and with all the saints,—and, which is best of all, *with the Lord*. Those that live up to these hopes in close walking, may live upon these hopes in comfortable walking. They who now *sow in tears* shall shortly *reap in joy*; and those, who, by *patient continuance in well-doing*, *seek for glory, honour, and immortality*, shall shortly return, as other the ransomed of the Lord, to the heavenly Sion, with *songs of praise and triumph*; and *everlasting joy* shall fill their hearts and crown their heads; they shall *obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away*. With which words let all who mourn in Zion comfort themselves, and one another.†

* See a like record in the Life and Death of the Rev. R. Belton, p. 80, *ut supra*.

† From an authentick MS. in the possession of the Rev. T. Stedman. On comparing it with Mrs. Savage’s MS. copy it appears to have had the benefit of the author’s emendations; and it should seem, from their nature, for the press.









A
S E R M O N,

8c.

PROVERBS, XXXI. 28.

Her children shall arise up, and call her blessed.

THIS is part of the just debt owing to the virtuous woman, that answers the characters laid down in the foregoing verses; and part of the reward promised and secured to her by him, who, in both worlds, is, and will be, *the Rewarder of them that diligently seek and serve him.*

It is indeed, enough to make them truly and eternally happy, that virtuous people are *blessed of God*; that the Lord Jesus is *raised up* in his gospel to *bless them*, will *arise up* at the great day to *call them blessed*,—*come ye blessed of my Father*; of him they are sure to be blessed. *He that sows righteousness, has that sure reward*; and *those whom he blesseth they are blessed indeed*; his pronouncing them happy makes them so. This is enough to engage us all to, and encourage us all in the study and practice of virtue and piety, that the praise of it, whether it be *of men* or no, is *of God*. If men should be unrighteous, yet God will not, to *forget the work and labour of love*; though men should put slights, God will put honours upon those that *fear his name*.

Yet, *ex abundanti*, over and above, this is *thrown in* as the reward of virtue, that among men also ordinarily it hath its praise; all that are wise and good, to be sure are of God's mind, and will say as he saith, and praise those whom he praiseth; and even in the consciences of others too, it is many times powerfully made manifest. *If there be any virtue*, saith the apostle, *if there be any praise*, which intimates that *virtue* is a *praise*, not Philippians, iv. 8.

only praiseworthy, and the real praise of those who wear that crown, but is attended with the praises of others who praise it, and praise God for it. What is heaven, but *holiness in honour*, — grace crowned with glory? shining in the perfection of lustre to the blessed inhabitants of the upper world; and such praise as a dark and weak capacity is able to give in this distant and imperfect state is made likewise to attend virtue, and is one of the present recompences of obedience in obedience. *In keeping of them there is this great reward.*

It follows here, verse 30,—*A woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised*; which is (1.) a promise to those who are virtuous, that they shall have not only the *comfort* of it in their own bosoms, living and dying, but the *credit* of it also among their relations, friends, and neighbours, of whom they shall be had in honour, both present and absent. (2.) It is a *precept* to those that are about them, that they give them the praise of it. That of Solomon the Jews read as a precept, Proverbs, x. 7. *Let the memory of the just be blessed*; and, therefore, when they make mention of any eminent saint, they add, *Sit memoria ejus benedicta*, Let his memory be blessed. We call the burying of our dead friends, the *last office of our love* to them, but it is *not so*, there is a *further* office of love owing to them, a debt to their memories, which we must always be *paying*, and must not, while we live, think ourselves discharged from.

Though we must not make the praise of men our chief end, far be it from us to do so. If we seek honour from men, we implicitly slight that which comes from God, as not sufficient to reward our services, and balance our losses; yet in order and subordination to the glory of God, we must have

Matthew, v. 16. an eye to our reputation with men. *Let your light so shine before men*, in a good conversation, which is both pleasing and guiding as the light, *that they may not only hear your good words, but see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven*, from whom proceeds every grace, and every good and perfect gift, and who, therefore, is *the Father of all those lights*. Not that they may see your good works and glorify you; you must expect to be abased and vilified, and not seek your own glory; but *see your good works, and glorify your Father*, and that from him all your glory may result and be reflected.

We are to value things as they are rated in God's books, Ecclesiastes, vii. 1. and there we are told that a good name is better, not only than *precious ointment*, but than *great riches*, not only than all the pleasures, but than all the profits of this world. A good name* is a name for

* Be careful to walk so that you may get and keep a good name, but not by unlawful means, Gen. xi. 4. Many discommend themselves to draw on others' com-

good things with God and good people; and this is therefore to be valued, desired, and pursued, because it is an honour to religion; gives occasion for the thanksgivings of many to God; it is an advantage to us in serving God and our generation; and when we are gone will be an encouragement to those that shall come after us, to keep close to the ways of God and godliness. And, therefore, *whatsoever things are honest and lovely, amiable, and of good report*, let us *think of those things*, and abound in them.

The praise which particularly attends the virtuous woman, is here described to come, among others, from her own children; *her children shall arise up and call her blessed*. This virtuous woman, then, is not a recluse, one shut up and cut off from the business of this life, and the affairs of a family, under pretence of devotion, and separation to God. The church of Rome makes such only their religious, as they call them, and celebrates their sanctity who abandon the relations they have, and abjure those they might have, as if none but they entered into religion and professed it. But the scripture canon gives other measures by which to judge of religion, and other rules by which to steer in it than their canons do. *I will*, saith the apostle, *that they marry, bring up children, guide the house, and give no occasion to the enemy to speak reproachfully*, as they do, who, 1 Timothy, v. 14. under pretence of overcoming the world, overrun it. And they that in these things faithfully serve God and their generation, not only give no occasion to the enemy to *speak reproachfully* of them, but give occasion to all to speak honourably of them; and, among the rest, *their children shall arise up and call them blessed*.

1. It is here implied, that it is a great comfort to those who are good themselves, to see *their children rising up*, risen up. Many good people are taken away and see their children but just come into the world, putting forth like flowers, when they that should have nursed them up are removed from them, leave them in the cradle, or leave them, as we say, to the wide world; this occasions them some sad thoughts upon their death-beds, and if other difficulties be got over, yet this makes them loath to die; but in that case, it is a comfort that the fatherless, motherless children, may be, must be, left with one that will preserve them, and who has many a time remarkably owned and blessed the orphans, and proved himself the best of guardians; *he is the Helper of the fatherless* that *commit themselves to him*. Psalm, x. 14.

commendation. Provide honest things, Rom. xii. 17; 2 Cor. viii. 21; Phil. iv. 8. Avoid all appearance of evil, Eccl. x. 1; 1 Thess. v. 22. Sin stains a good name.—*Judas, not Iscariot*. If you honour God, he will honour you, 1 Sam. ii. 30. Walk humbly. This is a grace very much adorning, Prov. xviii. 12; Phil. ii. 8, 9. Be tender of the good name of others. Matt. vii. 1, 2. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

But if God prolong the days of his people in the land he has given them, so that they live to see their children grown up, and applying themselves to the service of God in their generation, likely to honour God in their day, as the parents did in theirs; it is very comfortable, and makes it easier to them when they are called, to bid farewell to this world, and very comfortable to think that their children will be praising God on earth, when they are praising him in heaven. You that are parents, who see your children risen up, and bidding fair for usefulness on this earth, and happiness in a better place, bless God for it; look upon it as one of the comforts of the lengthening out of your life, that as you yourselves, through grace, grow riper for heaven, so you live to see your children, by the influence of the same grace, setting their faces thitherward. This may encourage you to say,—*Now let thy servant depart in peace.*

When godly parents are removed by death, and the place they adorned and filled up must know them no more, it is a very happy thing and bodes well to the land, to the age, to the next age, if their children rise up in their room, a generation of humble, holy, serious Christians, followers of them who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises. It is very threatening, and an ill omen to the publick, when (as Moses saith to the two tribes and a half, Numbers, xxxii. 14.) *a generation of sinful men riseth up*, in the room of their sinful parents, to fill up the measure of their iniquity, and *augment yet the fierce anger of the Lord*. But, on the contrary, it is comfortable to those who are concerned for the honour of Christ, and the prosperity of his church, to see a generation of godly people rising up in the room of their godly predecessors, to bear up the name of Christ in his truths, ordinances and laws, and to be to him for a name, and a praise, and a glory, *a seed to serve him*, and the interests of his kingdom among men, which shall be *accounted unto him for a generation*; when it may be said, as it is of the church, Psalm, xlv. 16. *Instead of the fathers shall be the children*. It is for the honour of God's promises concerning the *seed of the upright*, and of his covenant with them; it is for the credit of good education, and an answer to many prayers, when the children of religious families are religious, when the entail is preserved, and piety becomes an *heir-born to a house*; but if it should be interrupted, or cut off in particular families, we may, with comfort, assure ourselves that the sacred line shall be as long as the utmost line of time. *Children shall rise up* to bless the Lord, if not our children; though there be a degeneracy in some families, we hope there shall be an improvement in others to balance it. So that in every age the Son of David shall not want those that will be his witnesses, though not always alike numerous, or alike conspicuous, yet *one generation shall certainly praise his works to another*; children shall be *created*, rather than fail, to *praise the Lord*; children raised up out of stones to Abraham, even out of the stones of Jerusalem, to

cry *Hosanna*. The promise is sure, it is inviolable, it is what we may depend upon, that the name of Christ shall endure for ever, whether in our families or no we cannot tell, but somewhere it shall, and his throne as the days of heaven; so that as long as the world stands, there shall be a people in it, in one place or other, that shall fear God, and work righteousness, and be accepted of him. Let God alone, to secure his own interest, do his own work, and fulfil his own counsels. When the mystical body is completed then cometh the end.

Her children shall rise up. We will suppose the virtuous woman described here to have finished her course, and then *her children rise up*, i. e. stir up themselves, with so much the more vigour and zeal, to pursue the same course, and do so much the more and better service to God and their generation. *Note.* The dying of old Christians should be the quickening of young ones. When our godly parents are removed, and an end put to their usefulness, it is time for us to *rise up*, to put forth ourselves with so much the more liveliness and resolution in serving Christ and striving against sin, that we may do something towards making up the breach, and repairing the loss. When good people are removed, it is time for those that are left behind to stir up themselves, and contrive what they shall do more for God, that those that are gone may be the less missed; to apply themselves with a double diligence to all the services of religion, that though there be fewer hands, there may not be less work done. *Moses my servant is dead*, saith God.

Now, therefore, Joshua arise. Such and such good Joshua, i. 2.

Christians are dead, that prayed much, and did much good, *now, therefore, let us arise*, that are left behind, and take so much the more care and pains in religion; that though there be fewer praying, teaching, giving people, yet there may be no less praying,* no less teaching and exhorting one another, and no less good done. Holy Job, speaking of his own afflictions, and approaching death, saith, *upright men shall be*

astonished at this, astonished to see such a useful Job, xvii. 8.

man as Job removed in the midst of his usefulness; and many such astonishing breaches have been made upon us; astonished to see those soon removed, that could be ill spared. Sometimes the *sun goes down at noon*, and no marvel if at that we stand astonished, and know not what to make of such dispensations; the flowers are plucked up, while the weeds are left to grow. But shall we then succumb and sit still in astonishment? Shall we lie down and despair of keeping up the work of God? By no means. The innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite, and resolve to make his part good with him; shall neither desert the cause, nor despair of success, but exert himself so much the

* Dear Father would tell us;—It is not enough to be where prayer is, (that is, easy,) but we must *pray*,—put a shoulder to every every petition to help to heave it heavenward. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

more for the glory of God, that religion's righteous cause may not sink for want of hands to bear it up.

2. The children of the virtuous woman that *rise up*, shall *call her blessed*. It is her honour that she shall be praised by them, by them that were best acquainted with her, and most indebted to her. It is their duty to praise her in return of all the care she has taken of them, the pains she has taken with them, and the pleasure she has taken in them; *give her of the fruit of her hands*, so the honours paid her by her children are, and *let her own works*, those she bore, those she nursed, those she taught, *praise her in the gates*.

That this place has lately parted with a virtuous woman, I believe you will all own; one that was here a pious, prudent, generous, charitable, house-keeper about threescore years; born here, and that here spent almost all her days, and here ended them in a good old age, with a great deal of holy security and serenity of mind. One of whom it might be said, as it was of Ruth, All the children of my people do *know that she was a virtuous woman*. You have been told of it from this place already,* and have been stirred up (God grant the excitement may not be in vain) to follow her and others, who are gone before us to the better country, Hebrews, vi. 12.

3 John, 12. But *we must also bear record*, and we may do it with the more assurance, because you know that our record is true; nor can we be suspected of partiality herein, but might rather be charged with injustice and ingratitude, should we neglect to pay this debt. You then will witness for us in this matter, that now the virtuous woman is gone to receive the reward of her virtue in a better state; her children, those of them that are left behind, rise up and *call her blessed*; while those of them that are gone before, are sharers with her in her blessedness. It is a comfort to us, and we reckon it a great instance of the distinguishing mercy and favour of our God, that we are the children of those whom we have reason to call blessed. The greatest honour that some children can do to their parents, is only like Shem and Japhet, to conceal their shame, and cast a mantle over their follies: but, blessed be God, we need not that. Nay, we may go further than the daughters of Zelophehad did in the account they gave of their father, of whom they could say that he had not been any of the plagues of his generation, Numbers, xxvii. 3; we can say more than that of our parents, that they were not only blessings to their family, but blessings to the country, blessings to the age in which they lived, and for this their children shall rise up and *call them blessed*.

* In the Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Benion. See *ante*, postscript, and Appendix, No. I.

Doctrine. That the children of virtuous and godly parents ought to rise up when they are gone, and call them blessed.

Here I shall endeavour to show,

1. What is the character of those parents to whom this honour is due from their children.

2. What is the duty of the children, that they may, in a right manner, discharge this debt to the memory of their good parents.

For the first. What must the parents be, that their children, when they are gone, may *call them blessed*? If the parents be atheistical and profane, drunkards and unclean, swearers and sabbath-breakers, and scoffers at religion, or if they be mere carnal worldlings, if covetous and contentious, deceitful and oppressive, the children have no reason to *call them blessed*. If the way of the parents be their folly, let not their *posterity approve their sayings*, nor, *like a vain conversation*, ever the better for its being *received by tradition from their fathers*. Psalm, xlix. 13. They who train up their children in ungodliness and immorality, in prejudices against religion, and enmity to the serious professors of it, and so help to ruin them, the day may come, when their children will rise up in judgment against them and call them cursed. But such black instances make ours shine the brighter.

Her children! Whose? Why, the children of the virtuous woman here described. *Her husband he praiseth her*, for his heart *safely trusts in her*, and that gives her no small commendation; yet that is not all, he takes all occasions to speak well of her. The children do the same, and both concur in the matter of praise. Now let us briefly inquire after some of the characters of those whose children must *rise up and call them blessed*; and this inquiry, I intend, not only for a just encomium of her that is gone, and indeed of both our parents, but for instruction of myself and others of you that are parents. Let us learn so to qualify ourselves, by the grace of God, and so to carry ourselves, that our children may *rise up and call us blessed*. As children should be afraid of losing their parents' good wishes, so parents should be afraid of doing any thing justly to lose their children's good word and good will.

Now for the drawing of the character of those whose children shall call them blessed, I shall look but little further than the two verses before the text, and the two verses after it; and there we shall find that such as are wise, and such as are kind, such as are industrious, and such as are charitable, such as are virtuous, and such as are truly pious and religious, their children shall *rise up and call them blessed*. Such, by the grace of God, our parents were. May the same grace make us such.

1. Those that are *truly wise* deserve praise. And this is part of the character of the virtuous woman here, that she *opens her mouth with wisdom*, verse 26; she is not doomed, nor hath she doomed herself, to *perpetual silence*; but what she doth say, wisdom has the dictating of it, and it turns to her praise. Wisdom not only *makes the face to shine* for the present, but leaves a good report to succeeding generations, like the after-beams of the sun when he is set, surrounded with which he lies down in honour.

If we be wise, we shall not only be *wise for ourselves*, but *wise* also for our children, and for their good, especially if we *open our mouth with wisdom*, and so instil into their minds what they will afterwards have use for; if we know when to speak, and what, and how; if we speak calmly and considerately; if our heart study to answer; if our lips bring forth wisdom out of a good treasure of it in the heart; if we put away all that foolish talking which corrupts good manners, and debaucheth the minds, especially of young people, and *keep our mouth as with a bridle* at all times, particularly when our children are before us, they will have reason to *call us blessed* for setting them an example of the good government of the tongue. Children learn to speak from their parents and nurses: let them from us learn to speak well, and not to mix the language of Ashdod with the Jews' language. We have the bending of the bough when it is yet young and tender, let us be wise in managing it, that we may set it right. We know how long a word* from a parent to a child, that is just coming to years of understanding will be remembered. I know it by experience. What the vessel is then seasoned with, it will retain the savour of. Let us then open our mouths with wisdom, that our lips, if they do not *feed many*, yet at least may feed our own children *with wisdom and understanding*.

Some of you will say, that you have now lost, I am sure I have lost, a very discreet and prudent counsellor, that not only ordered her own affairs with wisdom, but knew very well how to advise others, and was many a time *eyes to the blind*; one that was very well versed in Solomon's Proverbs, and the rules of wisdom, which may be fetched from thence for the conduct of human life, and knew how to apply them, and to *use knowledge aright*. Let us in like manner stock ourselves with the principles of wisdom, govern ourselves by the rules of wisdom, submit ourselves to the laws of wisdom, and be ready, on all occasions, to speak pertinently and to the purpose; that, *opening our mouths with wisdom*, our

* See an instance in Mrs. Savage's Memoirs, p. 167, *ut supra*;—

1696, Monday, Nov. 24. I went to Broad Oak.

Tuesday. One expression of Mr. Steel's I had from dear mother, which I daily find the truth of. Speaking of the backwardness of our hearts to duty;—When we have time, we want hearts; when we think we have hearts to seek and serve God, then we want time;—*The heart is deceitful above all things; Who can know it?* Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

children may suck it in when they are young, and show it forth when they are old, and then they will have reason to rise up and *call us blessed*.

2. Those that are *truly kind* deserve this honour. I say *truly kind*, for many are very *fond*, as David of Adonijah; but are therein really *unkind*. Those are truly kind that are wisely so; that are tender of their children's comfort, but not indulgent of their children's follies. That also is the character of the virtuous woman here, that in *her tongue is the law of kindness*, not the humour of kindness, or the pang of it, but the *law* of it, such kindness as receives law from wisdom, and gives law to the whole conversation. Those parents that have this law in their tongues, in their hearts, and are always under the commands and regulations of it, gain their children's love, and are entitled to their good word; those parents who make conscience of that command, which we have more than once among the laws of Christ, — *Parents, provoke not your children to wrath*, by haughtiness and moroseness, and keeping them at an unreasonable distance, by constant chiding, and severe correction, *lest they be discouraged*; — but who are *gentle towards them*, as becomes parents towards those that are parts of themselves, and that derive their follies from them; who reprove with the meekness of wisdom, restrain with reason and a due consideration of all circumstances, counsel and admonish with compassion and affection, and rule with a steady gentle hand, such parents as these the children will *rise up, and call blessed*.

And for this I am sure we have reason to call our parents blessed; never were any more under the government of the law of kindness, kindness particularly to their children, than they were. To be kindly affectioned is of good report with all men, recommends religion as that which softens and sweetens men's tempers, fits them for all relations, and makes them the joy of all the societies they are members of; by this, among other things, they *obtained a good report*.

Would we then be called blessed, let us study the art of obliging, and not only be pitiful, but be courteous; pitiful to the miserable, courteous to all; let us be governed at all times by that wisdom from above, which is gentle and easy to be entreated; let our passions be always under the check and conduct of religion and right reason; let all bitterness, and frowardness, and peevishness be put away from us, and every thing that is sour and supercilious; let us not be like Nabal, whose character it was, that he was such a son of Belial, that a man could not speak to him, — they that are so, trouble their own houses. But let us study how to put a due respect upon all, and particularly to convince our children that we love them, and seek their good; let the law of love rule in our hearts, and the law of kindness in our tongues, and let us study to make ourselves and all about us easy, always easy: be

James, iii. 17.

pleasing; be pleased; then shall our children *rise up and call us blessed*.

3. Those that are industrious and careful deserve this honour. This is the character of the virtuous woman here,—verse 27. That she *looketh well to the ways of her household*. And most of the characters given of her in the verses before, fall under this head, where she is commended for her diligence and consideration, in the management of her house and the affairs of it, which is her particular calling, and that in which she is to abide with God. It is not made her praise that she spends her time in reading and contemplation; no, nor that she spends all her time in devotion neither, though she has her stated time for that. But that she *looks well to the ways of her household*, appointing them their portion of meat, and work too in due season, has her eye upon all under her charge, to see that they both do and have what is fit. It is required from wives, that they guide the house, and they have
 1 Timothy, v. 14. need of wisdom to do it well. That is their place, their post. *Man goes forth to his work and to his labour*, but the woman stays at home to her's. *Where is Sarah thy wife? Behold in the tent*, where should she be else? The virtuous woman is a good housekeeper; one that in managing the affairs of the house, prudently avoids both the extremes of undue sparing, and undue spending; that doth not on one hand over-work her household, and yet, on the other hand, suffers them not to mispend their time and neglect their business; that orders every thing to its proper time and place, and yet is not over nice or troublesomely curious: that is neither anxiously careful with that fear which has torment and amazement, nor yet careless and thoughtless of the morrow. This is the wise woman that
 Proverbs, xiv. 1. *buildeth her house*, while the foolish, by neglecting it, doth, in effect, *pull it down with her hands*, and let it go to wreck and ruin. This is she that knows and observes a due proportion between laying up for her children, and laying out upon them, so as that neither unduly exclude or intrench upon the other, but both according to their place. Such a mother in Israel hath this place now lost, that provided well for her household, with a great deal of ease and order, and looked well to all the ways of it, and answered all the characters of the virtuous woman here described; and if her children that reap so much benefit by her good example, and the good education she gave them, do not call her blessed, let every body call them ungrateful, and you can call them no worse.

And let all parents thus merit their children's respects, by consulting the prosperity of their family, and providing for them food convenient, both for the present and for hereafter, so as that there may be an equality, so far as human prudence, in dependence upon God's providence, can order. If all be laid out, and none laid by,

they must afterwards come down,* and that will be a temptation one way; if all be laid by, and none be laid out, they will afterwards rise, and that will be a temptation another way. It is neither the wisdom nor the kindness of parents to their children, to make it all their care and business either to hoard for them,—we have seen riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt,—or, on the other hand, to set them off with advantage to the world, by their making a show,—that likewise has been of fatal consequence to many,—but to give them an education according to their rank, to do all they can to fit them for business, for the service of God, and their generation according to the will of God; to give them good instructions, and good examples of humility, industry, beneficence, and honesty, to put up good prayers for them, and with them. And this is that care of children for which we must rise up and call our parents blessed.

4. Those that are charitable, and *do good in their places*, are worthy of this praise; and this is here made part of the character of the virtuous woman, verse 20;—*She stretcheth forth her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy*. Her prudence and diligence find out the poor and needy, the proper objects of her charity, and she leaves not the distribution of her alms with others, as if she thought it below her, but with her own hands relieves and succours the necessitous. Her charity is extensive to those at a distance, intimated in the stretching forth of her hand to them; it also intimates, that she doth it cheerfully and heartily, with a willing mind, and not grudgingly; drawing out her soul first to the hungry, and then reaching out her hand to them. Isaiah, lviii. 10.

Those who do this, set their children a good example, going before them in good works; they likewise leave them, if not a *great*, yet a *good* inheritance, which will be sweet and sure to them; and, though they may leave them so much the less of this world's goods, yet they will leave them so much the more of the blessing of God, which *maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow*. He that disperseth and giveth to the poor, has not only a *righteousness which endureth for ever*, but *wealth and riches*, also, *shall be in his house*, with which his posterity shall be blessed.

What is so laid out is *bread cast upon the waters*, Psalm, cxii. 2, 3, 9. which will be *found again after many days*; it is good seed sown in good soil, which will come up again with a great increase; it is put out to the best interest, and upon the best security, for it is *lent to the Lord*, and shall certainly be repayed more than a thousand fold. This is another thing for which we have reason to rise up,

* If a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. Lord Bacon's Essays. Essay xxviii.

and call our parents blessed ; for they were *rich in good works*, as you very well know, yet without noise or ostentation. *The loins of the poor blessed them*, and, therefore, we should, in concurrence with the *blessing of him that was ready to perish*.

And let us, in like manner, recommend ourselves to those we shall leave behind, as Dorcas, who was celebrated for the *alms-Acts, ix. 36.* *deeds which she did*, not which she put others upon doing, or which she purposed hereafter, or which she would do by her will ; no ; but which she *did* herself out of her own estate,—making her own hands her executors. *To do good, and to communicate*, let us never forget ; for, *with such sacrifices*, both God and man are *well pleased*.

5. Those that are *virtuous*, their children shall *rise up and call them blessed*, especially those that *excel in virtue*, as it follows here, verse 28 ;—*Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all*. Those we call virtuous, that are sober and temperate, just and righteous in their conversation, conscientious in all they say and do, in all they design and endeavour, fair and honest in all their dealings, that have no blot cleaving to their hands, or to their hearts ; that have been exemplary for that *integrity and uprightness* which doth become Christians, and will *preserve* them, and study in every thing to conform to the laws of natural religion, which are not repealed, but confirmed and improved by our Christianity. Devotion towards God, without justice and sobriety, meekness and compassion towards men, comes far short of that universal righteousness which is requisite to our acceptance with God. Hands lifted up will not reach heaven, unless they be *pure hands*, and *lifted up without wrath and contention*.

Virtue may be taken more strictly for vigour and boldness, and resolution in that which is good ; courage and spirit in doing our duty, in facing difficulties, giving reproofs, bearing reproaches, improving opportunities, and pressing forwards towards perfection. The virtuous are those who are lively and cheerful in religion, that *sing in its ways*, and are *fervent in spirit, serving the Lord* ; and, in this sense, she was a virtuous woman whom we have now lost.

Philippians, iv. 8. Now, where there is *virtue*, there is *praise* ; there is that which ought to be praised, that for which the children must rise up and call the parents blessed, especially those who *excelled in virtue*, as our's did. Those who have only made a profession of religion, who have rested in the shows and formalities of devotion, while their lives and conversations have been disagreeable, little reason will either their children or their friends have to *call them blessed* ; for the name of God, and his doctrine, is evil spoken of through them ; but those who beautify their profession by that which is *lovely* and of *good report*, who thereby bring honour to their families, and set them a good example, their children, who shall be blessed for their sakes, must *rise up, and call them blessed*.

6. Those that are pious and religious towards God are entitled to this honour; verse 30;—*A woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.* Moral virtue is a blessed thing, but it will not make us blessed without serious godliness. As righteousness towards men is an essential branch of true religion, so religion towards God is an essential branch of universal righteousness. It is the *fear of God* that crowns the character of this virtuous woman, without which, all the rest was of small account. Those that hereby *honour God, he will honour,* and will have us to honour.

Those that keep up a holy awe and reverence of God upon their minds, that set him always before them, and have their eyes ever towards him, that have a regard to his authority over them, and with an eye to that, submit themselves both to his precepts and to his providence; that make conscience of their duty to him, and are afraid of offending him; that devote themselves to his praise, and make it the business of their lives to glorify him, as the greatest and best of beings, and evidence it in all the instances of a steady, uniform, and undissembled devotion.

Those that make conscience of prayer in secret, and in their families, make a business of it, and take a pleasure in it; that delight in the holy word of God, and make it their meditation day and night; that converse much with it, and converse with others out of it; that call the sabbath of the Lord *holy and honourable*, and honour God on that day; that call his courts amiable, and desire to *dwell in his house*, where they may be *still praising him*; and thus do the work of heaven, while they are here on earth; that live a life of communion with God, conformity to him, and complacency in him; that have such a holy dread of God and his wrath, as drives them to Christ and his mediation, without which there is no standing before the just and holy God; those that in their whole conversation exemplify the fear of God dwelling and ruling in their hearts. Those, that, not only by such a good example as this, but, by their prudent and pious instructions, *teach their children, also the fear of the Lord,* train Psalm, xxxiv. 11. them up in the ways of *pure religion*, under the conduct of the principles of catholic Christianity, not biassed to a party, nor sowered with animosity, and uncharitable prejudices, and in subjection to that *kingdom of God*, which is *not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.* They that do thus, as they are *accepted of God*, so they shall be *approved of men*, and their children, in a particular manner, have reason to rise up and call them blessed. And such you know the parents were whom we are this day calling so.

And let this engage all that are parents to do likewise. Live in the fear of God, be in that fear every day, and all the day long. Bring up your children in that fear; look upon true devotion to be true wisdom;* and do all you can to preserve the entail of it in

* It is recorded of Mrs. Hanmer, that she very much preferred the spiritual

your families, that your children may be praising God for you on earth, when you are gone to heaven, and you and they may be for ever calling one another blessed.

For the second.—What is *the duty of children*, that they may discharge this debt, which they owe to the memory of their good parents? How must we perform this service to those who have recommended themselves by those characters? I shall open this in six things.

1. We ought always to maintain a grateful remembrance, and take all occasions to make an honourable mention of our godly parents. We cannot keep them from the grave, but we may keep them from the *land of forgetfulness*; let their memories live with us, when they are dead; live while we live, and be transmitted to those we leave behind; let them be always dear and precious to us, and being dead, let them be like Abel, yet *spoken of*.

Heb. xi. 4. Some think Laban's teraphim were the effigies of his ancestors, which, therefore, he would by no means part with. Let the remembrance of them be preserved in our minds, and then we have the best pictures of them, and such as we cannot be robbed of. This is part of the duty required by the fifth commandment, (which is the *first commandment with promise*.)—*Honour thy father and thy mother*; honour their memories when they are gone.

This we ought to do in gratitude for all their kindness to us, both as parents, and as godly parents,—their kindness to our bodies and our souls.

(1.) As parents, they took care of our natural life, and preserved that lamp from being extinguished when it was first lighted, and a little thing would have blown it out.—*Why did we not die from the womb; why did we not give up the ghost when we came out of the belly?* It was because the *knees prevented us*, and the *breasts, that we should suck*. That tender, that earnest care, which the God of nature put into the hearts of our parents concerning us, when we were in the helpless state of innocency; the pains they took with us, when we were unable to do any thing for ourselves, and perhaps froward with those that did any thing about us, is what we can never make a sufficient return for, either to them while they live, or to their memory when they are gone. The great favours God bestowed upon his people Israel, are represented by the compassionate relief given to

welfare of her children before their temporal; looking on the former as the true felicity, and on the latter without it, but as a pleasant voluntary misery. The last Work of a Believer prepared for the Funerals of Mary, the Widow, first of Francis Charlton, Esq., and after, of Thomas Hanmer, Esq. By Richard Baxter. p. 148, duod. 1662.

an infant, which intimates that that is a kindness never to be forgotten.

(2.) As godly parents, and, upon this account, much more, we ought to do honour to their names, and their memory should be doubly precious to us; remembering, that, in the sense St. Paul writes it to Philemon, we *owe unto them even our own souls also*, under God. What should we have been that were *born like the wild ass's colt*, that brought into the world with us so much sin, and folly, and corruption, if we had not had good parents, who took early care, to the utmost of their power, to form us to that which is good? What should we have been if we had not been catechized and instructed in the principles of religion,—which we sucked in with our milk,—if we had not been restrained from sin, and the springing up of the *root of bitterness* checked betimes? And, if we had not been directed and quickened in the way of our duty, and told plainly,—*This is the way, walk in it?* Notwithstanding all the advantages of our education, it is bad enough with us, and we have reason to complain of our ignorance and mistakes, our defects in our duty, and our proneness to sin. But how much worse would it have been with us, if we had never had those advantages! Perhaps we should never have learned to pray, if our good parents had not taught us when we were young, and trained us up to it; should never have been acquainted with the word of God, if they had not made us acquainted with it, and taken care, that, *from our childhood, we should know the Holy Scriptures*, as Timothy did, who, being so conversant with the scriptures when he was *a child*, when he became a man, a *man of God*, was, by that means, thoroughly furnished for every good word and work; and if we, by the same means, be not so, in some measure, it is our own fault. They did their part.

Blessed were they of the Lord that took pity on us in our folly, and taught us the good knowledge of the Lord, of the Lord Jesus, and led us into an acquaintance with Jesus Christ, and him crucified; shewed us the difference between good and evil, that we might *abhor that which is evil*, and *cleave to that which is good*; reasoned with us many a time about our souls and another world; set before us life and death, the blessing and the curse; followed us with precept upon precept, and line upon line; dealt with us as *reasonable creatures*, shewing us what a rational thing religion is, and so *drawing us with the cords of a man*; dealt with us according to the capacities of our childhood, teaching us the things of God as we were able to bear them, with tenderness, and a gentle conduct, and so *drawing us with the bands of love*. This is what we ought always to retain the remembrance of, not only for our own benefit, but for their honour.

Blessed were they of the Lord, who followed the good instructions they gave us with constant and earnest prayers to God for us night and day; having presented us to Christ in our baptism,

pursuant thereunto they oft presented us to him in their addresses to the throne of grace, and pleaded our baptism. A good stock of prayers they laid up for us,* which we hope are upon the file in heaven, and that we, and our's, after us, shall reap the benefit of them; for, it is true of prayer, what we say of winter, that it never rots in the skies. Such parents as these ought not to be forgotten, but to be daily remembered, and spoken of with respect, who daily remembered us, and whose prayers, like Cornelius's, came up before God for a memorial.

2. We ought to give God thanks for them; and that is the best way of calling them *blessed*; blessing God for them, and for the benefit we had by them. They were themselves, and were to us, what the free grace of God made them, and no more; and, therefore, that grace must have all the glory. Whatever is blessed to us we must bless God for, for he it is that blesseth it, and so maketh it a blessing; he is the Author and Fountain of all that which is worthy to be praised; and, therefore, in him, as the Centre, all the lines of praise must meet. All is of him, and therefore all must be to him. We are not to pray to God for the dead, but we are to *praise* God for them.

Let us, then, who had godly parents, look far back in our thanksgivings and bless God.

(1.) For his grace in them, which carried them on with comfort, and enabled them to finish their course with joy. Now, we have seen the *end of their conversation*, and with what a holy security and serenity of mind they put off the body, and removed to the world of spirits, we have reason to give glory to him who was the *Author and Finisher of their faith*; who led them on in their way, and bore them as *upon eagles' wings*, till he had brought them safely and comfortably to their journey's end,—to that blessed state, where they *receive the end of their faith* and hope, even the *salvation of their souls*.

We have reason to bless God for her that is now removed, who bid farewell to the world† so very cheerfully,—said she had enough of it, and longed to be with Christ;—would not have her sickness called an affliction, but a welcome messenger to fetch her

* See Flavel's Fountain of Life. Works, v. 1, p. 277, *ut supra*. And, Life of the Rev. T. Cawton, p. 45, *ut supra*.

† Thus beautifully expressed by Mr. Baxter, as a motto for his own picture.

Farewell, vain world! as thou hast been to me,
Dust and a shadow, such I leave to thee.
The unseen life and substance I commit
To him that's substance, light, love to it.
Some leaves and fruit are dropp'd for soil and seed;
Heaven's heirs to generate; to heal and feed:
Them also thou wilt flatter and molest,
But shalt not keep from everlasting rest.

Poems. new ed. p. 114.

home;—and said, a little before she died, she hoped she knew, in some measure, by experience, what it is for a believer to *have eternal life abiding in him*; having little doubt of her future happiness.* For this she blessed God, and so should we.

(2.) We must bless God for our benefit by that grace. Though they could not give us grace, no more than they could give us being, yet God was pleased to make use of them, as instruments in his hand, in the beginning, and carrying on of that good work. God enabled them to teach us, and pray for us; he made them guides to us, and faithful monitors, and made their words to be to us as goads and nails. Now, *Thanks be to God, who put that earnest care into their hearts* for us, 2 Cor. viii. 16. even to travail in birth again, till they hoped they saw Christ formed in us. Has there been in the hearts of our parents, ministers, or friends, an earnest care for the welfare, the eternal welfare of our souls? Blessed be God, that *put it into their heart*, and made it such a blessing to us!

David thanked God for sending Abigail to meet him, and, with her wisdom, to stop him from going on in a sinful way. Surely, we have much more reason then to thank God for our parents, who directed us into the good and right way. Blessed be God, that sent them; and blessed be their advice; and blessed be their memory.

8. We must own the goodness of that way of religion and serious godliness, which they chose, and wherein they walked,—even to the end, till they finished their course. We *call them blessed*, in calling that blessed which they so highly valued, and valued themselves by; in calling religion's ways, *ways of wisdom*, and those ways of wisdom, *ways of pleasantness*. It is a great matter to us, in the government of ourselves, whom we call blessed,—whom we think well of, as in the best and most desirable condition;—whose *sayings we approve*, and with whom we wish to take our lot; even Balaam desired to die with the righteous, and have *his end* with them, but we must think it desirable to *live* with the righteous, and have *our way* with them. The fundamental error of a carnal world is, that they *call the proud happy, whom God resists*, Malachi, iii. 15, and *bless the covetous, whom God abhors*, Psalm, x. 4. They think worldly people, that have abundance of the wealth, and mirth, and gaiety of this world, are the only happy people; now, it is necessary, that this mistake be rectified, as the Psalmist rectifies it, Psalm, cxliv. 6,

Psalm, xlix. 13.

* Good old Mrs. Doughty, sometime of Shrewsbury, who had long walked with God, and longed to be with him; and was among us an excellent example of holiness, blamelessness, contempt of the world, constancy, patience, humility, and (which makes it strange) had a great and constant desire to die, though she was still complaining of doubtings, and weakness of assurance. Mr. Baxter's Last Work of a Believer, *ut supra*. Address to the Reader. pp. 4, 5.

where he owns it to be the sentiment of the most,—*Happy are the people that are in such a case*,—that live at ease, and grow rich,—but pronounceth it his sentiment, that, rather,—*Happy are the people whose God is the Lord*. There are, then, hopes of young people, that they will do well, when they call their godly parents blessed, and reckon, that, though they made no great figure in the world, were not dignified with pompous titles, did not raise estates, nor obtain a name like the names of the great ones that are in the earth, yet they were truly honourable, truly happy.

(1.) We must reckon that they were truly honourable; and value ourselves more upon it, that we are a seed of saints, than if we were a seed of nobles. This will quicken us to pursue honour in the same way in which *they obtained a good report*. Though there were those, perhaps, of the fools in Israel, that might reproach and despise them, and say all manner of evil against them, for Christ's sake, yet we must reckon it was their honour, and honour 'enough, that they were accepted of God, respected and valued by all wise and good men, and perhaps made manifest also in the consciences even of those that were bad; and even the reproach of Christ was their praise, their riches, *greater riches than the treasures in Egypt*; it is an honour to be dishonoured for Christ, much more to be loved and esteemed for his sake. They that live and die in Christ, live and die in honour. Do we believe this? Let us then but have the same honour our godly parents had,—a name for that which is good with those that are good, the honour of doing good in a low and narrow sphere,—and we covet not to *make a fair shew in the flesh*.

Hebrews, xi. 26.

Acts, v. 41.

(2.) We must reckon that they were truly happy,—happy in the enjoyment of themselves, and of what God had given them in the world; happy in the quiet and repose of their own minds; and happy in the prospect of better things in the better country. We have reason to say,—That the ways of God and godliness, in which our good parents walked, were good ways,—*ways of pleasantness and peace*,—that the yoke of Christ is easy and gentle, and very sweet. They told us many a time, and abode by it to the last, that they had found the Lord Jesus a good Master, and his work good work, even its own wages, and a present great reward of obedience in obedience. Let us set to our seal that this is true, and account that true holiness is true happiness; for, in heaven, where there is the perfection of happiness, there will be the perfection of holiness; and, let us account them happier in the love and favour of God, the comforts of the Spirit, the testimony of a good conscience, and the earnest of eternal life, than if they had had all the delights of the sons and daughters of men, and the peculiar treasure of kings and provinces. And let us put in for the same happiness, by following them as they followed Christ.

4. We ought to be very sensible of our loss, when such parents

are removed from us. If we call them *blessed*, we call them *blessings*, and reckon that we were greatly blessed in them while they were continued to us, and, therefore, that now they are removed, the hand of the Lord is gone out against us, and he is contending with us. It concerns us, therefore, to accommodate ourselves to such a providence, to *hear the rod, and him that hath appointed it*,—to understand the meaning of it, and answer its intention.

(1.) Wherein we have been in the least defective in our duty to our parents, or other relations, when they are removed from us, that is a call to us, a loud call, to renew our repentance for it, and to pray for pardon in the blood of Christ. This is a time to bring to remembrance; it is sin that provokes God to take our dear relations from us, that were comforts to us; and, therefore, when we mourn for death, we must mourn for sin, for *the wages of our sin is their death*.

(2.) We ought by it to be minded of leaving the world, too; for *we are not better than our fathers*; they are gone, and we are going, drawing after them apace;—*Thou shalt be gathered to thy people*, saith God to Moses, *as Aaron thy brother was gathered*. We must leave the world, as our parents left it. Let us, therefore, learn of them to die, and let their removal to the grave help to make it the more familiar to us, and engage us to converse more with it, that we may get more ready for it.

(3.) Now we want our parents to pray for us, God calls us to pray so much the more for ourselves and for our children. Now we want them to instruct and advise us, we must meditate more in the word of God, that best of counsellors, and keep a stricter guard over our own hearts and ways, that thus we may the less feel the loss of them.

5. We ought to think much of that happy state to which our godly parents are removed. We must *call them blessed*, not only for what they *were*, but for what they *are*; think and speak much of the blessedness of that world into which God has now sent for them from this world of our's. We have a great deal of reason to be *confident of this very thing*, that now, they are *absent from the body*, they are at home *with the Lord*. *Call them blessed*, then;—blessed, indeed; for, they are not only at rest from all their labours, but are *entered into the joy of their Lord*. In this sense it may be asked,—*Your fathers, where are they?* (Zechariah, i. 5.) Your godly parents, ancestors, and friends, that are fallen asleep in Christ; *where are they?* And what a comfort is it to think where they are; not lost, not perished; not cast, as they suspected concerning Elijah, *upon some mountain*, or in *some valley*. No; though we are much in the dark concerning the particulars of the state of separate souls, yet we are sure, in general, that, to them, to whom *to live was Christ, to die will be gain*. *Where are they?* Why, they are where they are perfectly and perpetually blessed in the immediate vision and fruition of God within the veil; infinitely

more happy where *they are*, than where *they were*. *Where are they?* Why, they are in the mansions of light and bliss, that are in our Father's house above, in the New Jerusalem, in the paradise of God, where they *hunger no more, nor thirst any more, neither doth the sun light on them, nor any heat*. They are in the best company, employed in the best work, and enjoying a complete satisfaction. *Where are they?* Why, they are where there are no complaints, nothing to interrupt their communion with God, or cast a damp upon their spirits. Death has done that for them which ordinances could not do,—has perfectly freed them from that body of sin and death which was here their constant burden; and hath set them, for ever, out of the reach of Satan's fiery darts, which were here their terror. The spirits of the just are there *made perfect*, beyond the perfection of Adam in innocency, for they are immutably confirmed in it. *Where are they?* Why they are where they would be; in their centre, in their element. They are where they have longed to be, in that blessed state, towards which, while they were here, they were still reaching forth, and pressing forwards.* Let us, then, *rise up, and call them blessed*; for, blessed, thrice *blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord*.

And this will be of use to us;—

(1.) To comfort us in reference to them now they are gone; for we *sorrow not as those that have no hope*; blessed be God, we do not. *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me*;—there is no occasion for it. While our friends are here with us, in this vale of tears, it is our duty, when they are in distress, to weep for them,—for, therein, we weep with them; and it is our duty to *weep with them that weep*; but they need not be wept for upon their own account, that are not only not weeping, but have for ever taken their leave of weeping, and have had *all tears wiped away from their eyes*. While *one member suffers*, it is fit *all the members should suffer with it*; but, if that member be honoured, let all the members think themselves honoured with it. *If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go to my Father*. While we are here in the dark, and at a distance, they are *made nigh, and see face to face*. While we are struggling with our difficulties, and groaning under our burdens, — *without are fightings, within are fears*, — they are easy and safe, and abundantly satisfied.

(2.) To encourage us in our christian course, work, and warfare, let the consideration of that happy state into which they are gone before, make us always to abound in the work of the Lord, because our labour will not only not be in vain, but will be abundantly recompensed. *In due season we shall thus reap*; and, therefore, *let us not be weary in well-doing*. If we *sow to the Spirit*, as they

* The above beautiful passage may remind the reader of Mr. P. Henry's remarks at the funeral of Mr. W. Lawrence, before referred to in Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works. p. 800, *ut supra*.

did, we shall *reap life everlasting*, as they did. Say, then, *We will go with you*, for we have heard God *was* with you, and we believe you *are* with him; and, therefore, let nothing turn us from following after you.

6. We ought to tread in the steps of their virtue and piety, and imitate them in every thing that was praiseworthy. To commend that which was good in them, and not to copy it out into our own hearts and lives;—to commend the way they walked in, and not to walk in it ourselves, is to give ourselves the lie, and *out of our own mouth shall we be judged*. Are not we under the same obligations to be religious that they were? Is it not as much our concern as it was their's? Are not we as much bound to serve God, and our generation, in our day, as they were in their's? May not our children expect we should take the same care of them, that our parents did of us,—set them as good examples, and pray as much for them? Let us resolve, then, to walk in the same spirit, in the same steps, and, in the strength of divine grace, to *follow them, who are now, through faith and patience, inheriting the promises*; and endeavour, *not to come behind in any gift, in any grace, in any duty*.

We are concerned thus to follow them:—

(1.) In pursuance of the good education they gave us. They laid a good foundation by the lessons they taught us, the counsels they followed us with, and the good exercises they trained us up in; let us, therefore, while we live, be building upon that foundation, till the *top-stone* be at length *brought forth with shouting*. We have been led into green pastures by still waters; let us, then, by our holy strength, and serviceableness, praise our keeping, and commend our education by living up to it, and giving the like to our children, and thus, *call them blessed*, to whom we owe so great an advantage.

(2.) In compliance with the good example they set us, and in conformity to that, by which the instructions they gave us, were both explained and enforced, and we were both directed and encouraged in the way of our duty. It is the praise of all the godly kings of Judah, that they *walked in the way of David their father, and turned not aside*.

(3.) In kindness to the world we now live in, and the generation in which our lot is cast. There is a great gap made by the removal of good people, let us endeavour to fill it up, by doing good in the place where God has cast our lot, as they did that are gone; that it may be said, while we survive,—They are not gone, but they still live in us.

(4.) In expectation of the bliss of that world they now live in. Their serious piety was found unto praise, and honour, and glory, in this world, and will be much more so at the appearing of Jesus Christ; let us, therefore, having an eye to the same *joy set before us, run with patience the same race set before us*; let us proceed with holy vigour and resolution, and persevere with an unshaken

constancy ; we serve the same Master, have a promise of the same Spirit, and a prospect of the same recompence. Let every one of us, therefore,—Hebrews, vi. 11,—*shew the same diligence unto the full assurance of hope unto the end.*

A P P E N D I X.



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. I.

MRS. KATHARINE HENRY died May 25th, 1707, æt. 79.

The only obituary of this excellent person forms No. I. of the Appendix to the Life of Mrs. Savage, *ut supra*.

The following extracts are from Mr. Matthew Henry's diary:—

1707, May 25. This morning I received the sad tidings of my dear mother's death, a little after twelve o'clock in the night. At the entrance of the sabbath she entered upon her everlasting rest. I endeavoured to do the work of the day in much weakness and heaviness, because Christ would not suffer him, whom he called to preach the gospel, to go first and bury his father. I expounded Zechariah, xiv. Philippians, iv. Psalm xxv. 15;—*Mine eyes are ever toward the Lord*. I went in the evening to the beheaded family at Broad Oak, where we wept and prayed together. My wife and two sisters were with my mother when she died, which was a comfort to me, though I was absent.

26. Spent at Broad Oak, in preparation for the funeral, which I desire to do in the actual belief and expectation of the resurrection of the dead, and the *commandment* which will be given *concerning the bones*.

27. Spent as the day before; many thoughts of heart, which are known to God. Friends are strange, but I hope our God is nigh at hand.

28. This day my dear mother's remains were decently conveyed to Whitchurch, and deposited in the silent dust, close by my dear father's. Before we set out, Dr. Benyon preached, *ad rem*, and very affectingly, on Hebrews, vi. 12.*

* Orig. MS. See also Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, p. 138, *ut supra*.

Dr. Benyon's funeral sermon had reference also to Mr. Pell, who was placed over the congregation at Broad Oak when the Doctor removed to Shrewsbury. Mr. Pell died May 21, 1707, æt. 25. See *Memoirs of Mrs. Savage*, Appendix, No. I. The notice taken of Mr. and Mrs. Henry, together with the honourable memorial of Mr. Pell, seem to unite in rendering it desirable that the following extract from the sermon should be preserved. The transcription is from an authentick manuscript.

"Shall I run eleven years backwards to the ever-memorable consort of that excellent person, whose dear remains we are now going to inter? I would do so, did I not think his bright graces, and endearing service, must needs have left impressions upon you that cannot wear off as long as you have souls to retain them; and yet I cannot but excite you to follow him in his second self; for, they both thought, and spoke, and did, *the same things* in religion, and, *being dead, yet speak*.

"I must add, too, that Divine Providence hath ordered the melancholy event of an intervening death — Mr. Pell — to enforce the instruction of the other two more powerfully.

"He, I doubt not, *inherits the promises*; follow him; imitate him; he was industrious in his great Master's service, and pleaded not, as he might have done, the excuse of a crazy and dying body. *Be not weary in well-doing*; he reaps already; and you *will reap, in due time, if you faint not*.

"He was very penitent for sin, and spoke of it with a mighty passion; and, though he hoped God, for Christ's sake, had forgiven him, he could never forgive himself.* He entertained the prospect of death with great composure. It was his dependance on Christ that made him able to do so. He often said he had nothing else to trust to, and he trusted to that so far as to say, cheerfully, when he found his expiring hour was at hand,—"Come, now, death, and do thine office." How agreeable was the reflection, that the excellent believer, whose funeral we now attend, made on the report of this hopeful preacher's death. 'And,' said she, 'is Mr. Pell got to heaven before me?' It was like her.

"There was so much to be *followed*, that, in proposing *her* to your imitation, the only difficulty is what is to be omitted.

"In general, she made it her business to regulate her life by the word of God, the efficacy of which she experienced betimes in the ministry of that now happy divine whose name is precious with some of you."†

* It is recorded of Mr. Baxter, that, such was his abhorrence of himself for his sins, that he said,—"I can more easily believe that God will forgive me, than I can forgive myself." Dr. Bates's Works, v. 4, p. 340.

† The Rev. Mr. Steel. See *ante*, p. 278.

APPENDIX, No. II.

The Will of the Rev. Philip Henry, transcribed from an original, (supposed to be a counterpart,) among his Title Deeds, and in his own hand-writing.

IN the name of God; Amen! I, Philip Henry, of Broad Oak, in the County of Flint, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, having attained, this day, to the sixty-fourth year of my age, in bodily health; God, be praised!—but, sensible of the decays of nature, and desirous to be found ready, when death comes, that I may have nothing else to do but to die, do, with my own hand, make this my last will and testament, in the usual manner and form following. First, I recommend my soul into the hands of God, my heavenly Father, trusting only to the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ my Lord, whose I am, and whom I serve, for acceptation and salvation; my body to the earth, whence it was taken, to be laid up there, as in a bed of rest, to sleep in Jesus, till the last trump shall sound; my wife and children to the divine blessing and providence, together with all my children's children, to be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and, out of the worldly estate, which God hath given me, I give and bequeath to each of my four daughters, Mr. Poole's English Annotations upon the Bible, in two volumes, of the last and best edition that shall be to be had at the time of my decease, together with Mr. Barton's last and best Translation of the Singing Psalms, one to each of them, requiring and requesting them to make daily use of the same for the instruction, edification, and comfort of themselves, and of their families; and, to each of all their children, that shall be alive when I die, I bequeath a well-bound English Bible, together with an English Practical Divinity Book, in quarto, out of my books, such as their fathers shall please to choose for them, praying that the word of Christ may dwell richly in them, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding. To my son Matthew I give and bequeath all my books and papers, except what is otherwise by this my will given, and except what my dear wife will please to have for her own use, and except the four following, of which I give one to each of my four daughters, according as in seniority they shall choose; viz. the Sermons upon the Parable of the Prodigal; The Baptismal

Covenant Explained; The Four-and-Twenty Good and the Four-and-Twenty Naughty Spirits; and, What Christ is made of God to True Believers, in Forty Particulars; each to be transcribed by them, in their own hand, if they have leisure, and see cause; however, to be transcribed into their hearts and lives. To my dear daughter-in-law, and to each of my dear sons-in-law, I give twenty shillings to buy each of them a ring, or what else they please, as a small remaining token of my great love to them, beseeching the Lord, as he hath begun, so to go on to build them up into families, but especially to build them up in holiness and comfort, and to continue them still in brotherly love, as a bundle of arrows which cannot be broken. To each of my servants living with me at the time of my death, that can read, I give a good book, or to each of them five shillings to buy one, at my dear wife's discretion. To each of my three dear sisters, I give and bequeath as followeth;—To my dear sister, Ann Henry, I give a gold ring, with this posy, *Thy brother shall rise again*, John, xi. 23. And, to my other two sisters, Mary Dyer, widow, and Sarah Wade, I give and bequeath the profits of my small tenement in Iscoyd, called Kaywilkin, which I purchased lately of John Probart, to be divided equally between them, when taxes and repairs are first discharged and allowed for, so long as they both shall live; and, when either of them dies, then the whole to the survivor, during her natural life, to be paid quarterly; the first payment to commence from the quarter's end from the time of my death. And, from and after their decease, and the decease of the longest liver of them, I give and bequeath the inheritance of the said tenement, with its apurtenances, and all my estate and interest therein, and all my right and title thereunto to my dear wife, to be disposed of by her to such of my dear children, or to such of their children, as she shall think, in her discretion, to have most need of the same, whether by will, deed, or otherwise, as soon as she shall please, after my decease, and not deferring the making of the said settlement till my said sister's decease. And, lastly, my will is, that all my just debts, and funeral expences, being first discharged, the remainder of all my goods, cattle, and chattels, whatsoever, shall be to my dear wife, to whom, accordingly, I do give and bequeath them, acknowledging her past, and relying upon her future faithfulness to me in all things; and I do nominate and appoint her, my said dear wife, Katharine Henry, to be the sole executrix.

Witness my hand and seal, this twenty-fourth day of August, 1695, being the day of the year in which I was born, 1631, and also the day of the year in which, by law, I died, as did also near two thousand other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, 1662.

Declared and published, &c.

PHILIP HENRY, L. S.

APPENDIX, No. III.

THE title of the volume referred to is thus expressed :—

Musarum Oxoniensium Ἑλαιοφορία, sive, ob fœdera auspiciis
Serenissimi Oliveri Reipub. Ang. Scot. et Hiber. Domini Pro-
tectoris inter Rempub. Britannicam et Ordines Fœderatos Belgii
feliciter stabilita, Gentis togatæ ad vada Isidis Celeusma Metricum.

Oxonix excudebat Leonardus Lichfield, Academiæ,
Typographus: 1654.

Mr. Henry's Latin verses, transcribed from the volume above-mentioned, are as follows :—

Noli timere Musa! Quid trepido pede

.Scazontis instar claudicas?

I, pende ventis carbasa et totos sinus;

Tranquilla jam sunt omnia,

Nulli tumultus, nullus hostium furor,

Pax undique, et mare liberum est:

Mercator avidus, dum silentium videt

Serenioris Œquoris,

Se somniare putat, et haud credit sibi,

Sollicitus et plenus metu

Ne forte fallax error aut evanidæ

Felicitatis umbra sit;

Gemmas, Smaragdos, orbis alterius opes,

Nunc ultro securus petit,

Et post tot annorum otia, laboris sui

Majora sperat præmia,

Sperat, coloni more Messem duplicem

Post sic peractas ferias.

Toto Britannos orbe divisos adhuc

Tandem coire vidimus,

Terrasque pelago separatas arctior

Compensat animorum unis;

Et quam negant Terra, juncturam facit

Melior Amoris Copula,

Bellique lites nuperi (bono omine)

Pacis redintegratio est.

Philip Henry, A. M. ex Æde Christi.

p. 22.

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APPENDIX, No. IV.

THE following more minute account of the solemn service will not be uninteresting, especially as it is transcribed from Mr. Henry's own hand-writing; and contains, no doubt, an accurate statement of all that took place:—

1657, July 6. I made addresses to the presbytery in Shropshire for ordination.

They met at Prees. There were present Mr. Porter, President; Mr. Houghton, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Binney, Mr. Steel.

Inquiry was made:—1. Concerning the work of grace upon my heart.

Whereunto I replied, the Spirit had been dealing with me while I was very young, not only in the publick ministry, but by the private instructions of a godly mother also; and, I hoped, had convinced me of my sin, and discovered to me my need of Christ; and bowed my will, in some measure, to close with him, upon his own terms, in sincerity, unfeignedly; and, that, having taken him to be mine, I had also resigned myself up to him to be his, to be guided and governed by him; and resolved, by his grace, to continue in his ways unto the death.

2. Concerning my skill in the original languages of the scripture;—for the Hebrew, I read and construed Psalm, ii. 1, 2; for the Greek, I read and construed Luke, xvi. 1, 2.

3. For logick, I was asked,—*Quotuplex est syllogismus?* I answered,—*Vel categoricus vel hypotheticus. Item, probabilis vel demonstrativus. Quæ sunt leges legitimi syllogismi?* Resp. *Nihil concluditur nisi altero propositio sit universalis, &c.*

4. For philosophy;—*Quid est elementum?* Resp. *Est substantia pura (potius est corpus simplex) ex quâ omnia, sunt.* (I should have added, *et in quam ultimo resolvuntur.*) *An sit eadem materia cæli et terræ?* Resp. *Non materia, cæli est incorruptib. Err. An detur elementum ignis?* Imo. *Ubi?* *Sub concavo lunæ, ut probas quid e elem. levissem, &c. &c. &c.*

5. What authors in divinity I had read.

Answer. Something in Wollebius, Amesius, Calvin.

Question. What are the parts of Christ's Mediatorship?

Answer. Three; his priestly, kingly, prophetick offices.

Question. What doth Christ do as Prophet?

Answer. Teaches his church.

Question. Immediately?

Answer. No. By his Spirit, in his word.

Question. What are the parts of his priestly office?

Answer. Two; his death, and his intercession.

6. What was my judgment in reference to infant baptism?—

Question. Ought any children to be baptized?

Answer. I believe they ought; and I am clear in it.

7. What, in reference to the controversy between presbyterian and independent?

Answer was made for me;—If I had not approved of the presbyterian way, I would not have come thither. I replied,—In most things, according to my present light, I did, but I had not had opportunity to search to the bottom of the controversy.

8. The place of scripture proposed was, 1 Corinthians, x. 26, 28.

Question. How came the same words of the psalmist to be a reason why they should eat, and why they should not?

Answer. In a different sense:—1. You may eat; for, *the earth is the Lord's*. q. d. Every creature of God is good, if received with thanksgiving by them that know the truth. 2. If your brother be offended, you may forbear; *for the earth, &c.* q. d. there are other things enough which you may eat freely of without offence.

9. This case of conscience was propounded;—

Suppose one should come to you, and make complaint of his condition,—“Oh, Sir, I am undone; it is to no purpose for me to wait upon the means of grace; I am a reprobate; and, if a reprobate, there is no salvation!”

Answer. I would deny his minor, and endeavour to show him, that, though a man may know his own election, yet he cannot his reprobation.

Objection. Suppose he should reply, “I have the mark of a reprobate, much guilt, a hard heart, a seared conscience.”

Answer. I would endeavour to convince him, there is nothing that befalls a reprobate but may befall one that is elect, before conversion, except the guilt of the sin against the Holy Ghost.

10. Concerning church-history, I was only asked, whether I had read Eusebius, &c. I answered, I had read some of him, but not all over.

These were the occurrences of that day's meeting.

They gave me a query to provide a thesis upon against the next meeting.

Query. *An providentia divina extendat se ad omnia?* Aff.

There were examined, the same day, Mr. Hall, of Newcastle, in Staffordshire, and Mr. Jones, of Llanarmon, in Denbighshire.

The Lord prosper all my undertakings that are according to his will!

August 3. I exhibited my thesis upon the aforesaid question ;—

An providentia divina extendat se ad omnia ?

Concerning which, disputation was held for about the space of half an hour, or more. There opposed Mr. Parsons, Mr. Binney, Mr. Houghton, and Mr. Porter moderated. The main thing insisted on was ;—If God concur, by his providence, to every action, how is he not then the author of sin ? To which answer was given ; —“The materiality of the action is from God, but the formality, which is the sinfulness of it, is from the sinner himself.

Lord, I desire thou mayest have the glory of all my abilities, natural, moral, spiritual. If they were more, thou shouldest have more glory. And, I beg of thee to overlook my failings, especially the pride and selfishness that is often stirring itself in my soul, for Christ's sake.

I left two certificates with Mr. Brean, the registrar to the classis ; one from Oxford, subscribed by Dr. Wilkinson, Dr. Langley, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Button. The other, subscribed by Mr. Steel, Mr. Orl. Fogg, Mr. Jenkyn ; both testifying of my conversation, &c. The Lord forgive me, that it hath not been more exemplary, as it ought, for piety and industry ! Amen, Lord, in Christ !

The day for ordination was appointed to be, Wednesday, September 16 ; the place, Prees.

I would fain have been ordained at Worthenbury, the place where God hath cast my lot, (which, I believe, comes nearest the institution,) but it might not be *rebus publicis sic stantibus*. Hope thereof was one main motive to me to defer being ordained so long. The Lord prosper me in his work !

APPENDIX, No. V.

THERE were special reasons and ends of Christ's being made man; viz.—That the same nature that sinned might suffer; and, by suffering, satisfy, Hebrews, ii. 14. As God, he could not. Without blood there was no remission, Hebrews, ix. 22. That the same nature, which was under the law, might yield obedience to the law, Romans, v. 10. That man's nature might be advanced to the dignity from which it fell. Made but little lower than angels, Psalms, viii. 5; but fallen as low as beasts, Psalm, xlix. 20. Now Christ hath restored, yea, bettered it, Ephesians, i. 20, 21, &c. Hebrews, i. 6. That he might be a merciful High Priest, Hebrews, ii. 17, 18. Hebrews, iv. 15, 16. That he might set before us an example of holy living, 1 Peter, ii. 21.

But, though Jesus Christ was truly man, yet he was not a *mere* man, but God-man. Isaiah, ix. 6. Christ, our Redeemer, is God. This is a main doctrine of the gospel. If this fail, all fails, 1 Corinthians, xv. 14, 17. There were those, betimes, in the church, who denied it, 2 Peter, i. 1; which occasioned the writing of St. John's Gospel, John, i. 1.

The Saviour's deity is proved;—From the names and titles attributed to him in scripture, John, i. 1; 1 John, v. 20;—God. The great God, Titus, ii. 13. The mighty God, Isaiah, ix. 6; Romans, ix. 5. Jehovah, Jeremiah, xxiii. 6. An incommunicable name to any creature, signifying as much as having being of himself. Lord of all; Acts, x. 36. Lord of Hosts; the Son of God. So are believers; but he is his *only* begotten Son, John, iii. 16; Philippians, ii. 6; Hebrews, i. 3; John, v. 18.—From divine properties and attributes, not only communicable, such as holy, righteous; but incommunicable, as eternity, from everlasting to everlasting, Micah, v. 2. Before John, chapter i. 15. Before Abraham, John, viii. 58. Before the creation, Proverbs, viii. 23. Omniscience, knowing the heart, John, ii. 24. Omnipotence; infinity, John, iii. 13.—From divine works. Creation, John, i. 3. Providence, John v. 17; Colossians, i. 16, 17. Redemption; he forgives sins, Matthew, ix. 2, &c.; he gives the Spirit, John, xvi. 7;

he gives eternal life, John, x. 27, 28.—Miracles; which he much insists on, John, v. 36; John, x. 37, 38.—From divine worship ascribed to him; inward, outward. Faith, Acts, xvi. 31; John, xiv. 1. Absolute obedience, Matthew, xvii. 5. Prayer, Acts, vii. 59. Praise, 1 Timothy, i. 12. Adoration by angels, Hebrews, i. 6; Revelations, v. 11, 12.

It was necessary that our Mediator should be God, because none else could be competent for the work, Psalm, lxxxix. 19, 20.*

• P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. VI.

THE following specimen is taken from a volume, in the editor's possession, embracing the Book of Genesis, and in Mr. Henry's hand-writing.

Exp. Gen. xxii. Oct. 24, 1658.

The story of this chapter is very remarkable; it contains an instance of the most eminent act of faith and obedience.

God tempts Abraham, verse 1. To tempt, is no more, properly, but to try;—to bore a hole, as into a vessel, to know what liquor is in it. Himself knew before; but, that Abraham might know, and that others might know, therefore doth he put him upon this hard service;—*Take, now, thy son, &c.*

There are several circumstances which make it a hard service, and, by consequence, advance the faith and obedience of Abraham.

1. Take thy *son*. If it had been a stranger, or a servant, in his house, it had not been so much; but, thy *son*.

2. Thy *only* son; viz. by Sarah. He had another son, Ishmael; he was by Hagar.

3. Thy only son *Isaac*; the child of promise; that son, concerning whom I have told thee, that, in *him*, shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,

4. Whom thou *lovest*. He loved Ishmael, but Isaac more, because he was the son of his old age, and given in a miraculous way; had it been a son hated, though an only son, it had not been so much.

5. Get thee into the *land of Moriah*,—three days journey;—it was to be done,—not presently,—but in cold blood. What a conflict must Abraham needs have had between faith and unbelief!

6. Offer him there for a *burnt-offering*. It had been a great trial if only to take his leave of his son, never to see him more; but to kill him; nay, to burn him; and, to do it himself!

This was the temptation;—Abraham readily yields at God's command;—*he rose up early*, verse 3.

Free obedience is acceptable obedience.

Observe. The angel of the Lord calls to him, and bids him hold his hand; verse 11, &c.

A ram was ready, and that was offered, verse 13.

Isaac and the ram were types of Christ. Isaac, in two respects:—

1. In his willingness to be offered, there was no resistance; so Christ,—*Lo, I come.*

2. He was laid upon the altar, but rose again; a type of Christ's resurrection.

The ram, also, in two respects:—

1. He was caught in a thicket; Christ was crowned with thorns.

2. He was sacrificed; so Christ was a Sacrifice of God's providing.

Hereupon the promise is renewed, verse 17. There is nothing lost in being willing to lose for God, Matthew, xix. 29. Abraham was contented to part with one son, and God assures him of ten thousand thousand sons instead.

God accepts the will for the deed, Hebrews, xi. 17.

Abraham's love to God in offering up Isaac, was nothing to God's love to us in offering up Christ. *Behold, what manner of love!* God called, and had right to call, for Isaac. He gave him. We neither called, nor had right to call for Christ.

Have we no Isaac to offer? No beloved sin to sacrifice? Assuredly, he that will not part with a beloved sin for Christ, when he requires it, will not part with a beloved son for him. Let us not deceive ourselves.

APPENDIX, No. VII.

ON those occasions the records of inspired truth were the basis of communications, as interesting as they were conducive to edification. A manuscript of Mr. Henry's, commencing July 1, 1656, ending August 7, 1660, and embracing observations on the first forty-four psalms, affords a satisfactory illustration of the plan adopted during the period referred to. From that source of information it appears, that, after a brief exposition of the psalm, a question was "propounded for conference." A brief selection of the topicks, with Mr. Henry's remarks, are as follow:—

Thus; on the 10th psalm, the inquiry, from the fourth verse;—*The wicked, through the pride of his countenance, will not seek after God*, was;—What is it that keeps men from seeking after God? from seeking after friendship with God, from seeking after the glory of God? To this Mr. Henry replied;—Pride, Luke, xix. 14; Ignorance, Romans, iii. 11; Psalm, lxxix. 6; John, iv. 10; Solomon's Songs, v. 9, compare vi. 1; strong inclinations after something else; things of the world possessed, or laboured after; credit with men of the world; and a reproach feared, Mark, x. 22; Luke, xiv. 16, &c.; presumption; evil company. Hence, see the apostle's counsel to young converts, Acts, ii. 40.

On the first verse of the 18th psalm;—*I will love thee, O Lord, my strength*; the question was;—What are the fruits of the true love of God? It will appear in reference to sin. Where the true love of God is, there is hatred of sin, Psalm, xcvi. 10; universal, without exception; constant, without intermission; implacable, without reconciliation. There is also sorrow for sin, Zechariah, xii. 10; xiii. 6. In reference to duty. Where love is, there is willingness to it, 2 Corinthians, v. 14; delight in it, Psalm lxxxiv. ; 1 John, v. 3. Where love is, it causes the heart to run out after God, Psalm, lxxiii. 8; he is highest in the thoughts, oftenest, dearest; sincerity, Canticles, i. 4; Ephesians, vi. 24. Love is boundless; it never thinks it hath done enough. In reference to suffering, it is

ready for it; it is patient under it, Romans, v. 3, 5; Canticles, viii. 6, 7. To these may be added,—Love is tender of God's honour; it loves all that belong to God; see 1 John, iii. 20. That love to the brethren, which will evidence love to God, 1 John, iii. 14, must be, to *all*; poor, as well as rich; strangers, as well as acquaintance; to those that differ in opinion from us, as well as those that agree with us; wheresoever we see the image of God; it will shew itself when the brethren are persecuted; it will be willing to cover their infirmities; the more godly, the more we love them. It eats up the love of the world, 1 John, ii. 15; Romans, viii. 7. There is no looking upon heaven with one eye, and earth with the other, It longs for the appearance of Jesus Christ, Canticles, viii. 14.

From the drift and scope of the twenty-second psalm, the inquiry was;—What may, and ought a Christian to learn from the sufferings of Jesus Christ? We learn the great love of God to mankind, John, iii. 16; Romans, v. 8. We learn how just he is; we learn the great evil that is in sin; a lesson of godly sorrow, Zechariah, xii. 10; humility, Philippians, ii. 5, 6, &c.; holiness, 2 Corinthians, v. 15; hatred of sin, 1 Corinthians, v. 7; 1 Peter, iv. 1, 2. Patience in afflictions, Hebrews, xii. 1, 2, 3; 1 Peter, ii. 20, 21. &c. Consolation against accusations, Romans, viii. 33, 34; John, i. 29. Courage against the fear of death, 1 Corinthians, xv. 55, &c. Hebrews, ii. 14. Love to our brethren, Ephesians, ii. 13, 14, Thankfulness. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ.

Upon Psalm xxix. it was inquired;—How many ways may we become guilty of other men's sins? By command, 2 Samuel, xi.; 2 Samuel, xxiv. By counsel, 2 Chronicles, xxii. 2, 3; Numbers, xxxi. 16. By consent, Psalm, l. 17; Acts, xxii. 20; 1 Kings, xxi. 16, 19. By provocation, Ephesians, vi. 4; Habakkuk, ii. 15. By example, Jeremiah, xxxii. 19. By neglect to warn, Ezekiel, xxxiii. 7, 8; to restrain, 1 Samuel, iii. 11; to punish, 1 Kings, xx. 42; to reprove, Leviticus, xix. 17; to mourn, 1 Corinthians, v. 2.

On Psalm xxxi. the question was,—What are the common sins of professors in these days? Empty, vain discourse, James, iii. 2; Lukewarmness, Revelations, iii. 15, 16.* Hypocrisy, formality, Matthew, xv. 7, 8. Want of love† one towards another, John, xiii. 35. Debates, quarrellings; want of meekness to bear injuries; neglect to watch over one another, to reprove, exhort; easiness of belief of slanderous reports; abatement in first love to Jesus Christ, Revelations, ii. 4. Worldliness, pride, sensuality, flesh-pleasing, Luke, xvii. 26, &c. Itching ears, 2 Timothy, iv. 3, 4.

And, on Psalm, xxxv. it was proposed;—Wherein consists the power of godliness? See Psalm, cxix. 104;—*I hate every false way.*

* See a sermon by Mr. P. Henry, on this passage. Evan. Mag. v. xxix. p. 55.

† When Cardinal Campeggio presented the letters of his legation at the Diet of Augsburg, he made an oration in Latin; the substance whereof was, that the cause of so many sects, which then reigned, was want of charity and love. The History of the Council of Trent, p. 53, fol. 1630.

A hypocrite doth not hate every false way. Naaman, 2 Kings, v. ; Matthew, viii. 19, &c. He has a Rimmon to bow to, a father to bury, some secret lust. But the true Christian can let all go. See Philippians, iii. 20. *Our conversation is in heaven.* A hypocrite hath not his conversation in heaven ; but, either in hell, or, earth, at best ; it may be, now and then, he may take a turn in heaven ; whereas, the heart, thoughts, affections, desires, trading, discourse, are all *heavenly*, where there is the power of godliness. See Habakkuk, iii. 17, 18. A hypocrite cannot rejoice in God in the want of creature-comforts ; his form withers in winter, Job, xx. 20. He is in straits in the fulness of his sufficiency, whereas, a child of God hath a fulness of sufficiency in his straits. See Proverbs, iv. 23. The power of godliness consists in keeping the heart ; not the eyes, feet, hands, only, but the *heart*. See Psalm, i. 2 ;—*His delight is in the law of the Lord.* He can call *the sabbath a delight*. Romans, vii. 24 ;—*O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* The Christian has complaints about, and combats with, the whole body of sin. He looks on his heart as his worst part. A hypocrite counts it his best. Where the power of godliness is, there will be endeavours to promote it in others, especially in such as are under our charge, Genesis, xviii. 19 ; Joshua, xxiv. 15. There will be willingness to part with any thing if God calls for it, Genesis, xxii. Also, willingness to be tried, Psalm, cxxxix. 20. Tenderness of God's honour, Psalm, cxv. 1. Care in second-table duties, even as in first ; and, in all we do, to do it with an upright heart. Here the true Christian and the hypocrite part. Both do duties ; — they pray, hear, &c. ; but, in the manner, they differ. The one does all from love to God, with an eye to his will and glory ; the other, from form. Evenness of conversation is a part of the power of godliness.

APPENDIX, No. VIII.

THE following is a specimen:—

That there is one God, 1 Timothy, ii. 5. That there is a mutual enmity between God and man, by reason of sin, Zechariah, xi. 8; that Christ is the Mediator, 1 Timothy, ii. 5; that he was made man, being in the form of God, Philippians, ii. 5, 6; that, being made man, he became obedient to the law, Matthew, iii. 15; was, *The Lord our Righteousness*, Jeremiah, xxiii. 6.

Therefore, put on Christ, Romans, xiii. 14, who has left us an example, 1 Peter, ii. 21; he gave himself to die the death for us, Acts, ii. 23.

The particulars of his sufferings, at large, from several scriptures. He was buried, Acts, xiii. 29. His resurrection, 1 Corinthians, xv. 4.

The benefits flowing from his death;—God *well-pleased*; Matthew, iii. 17; for he died as a Sacrifice, 1 Corinthians, v. 7. Believers are justified, Romans, v. 9; *i. e.* their sins pardoned, Isaiah, xliii. 25, 26. Christ's ascension, Acts, i. 9; sitting at God's right hand, Psalm, cx. 1; his intercession, Romans viii. 34; as a Priest, Psalm, cx. 4; and, in all this, our hope, 1 Timothy, i. 1.

The work was thus wrought for us to reconcile God to us. There is a work to be wrought in us, which is to reconcile us to God, Colossians, i. 21; the Author of it, the Spirit, John, xv. 26.

The work of the Spirit in reference to sin;—he worketh.

1. Conviction of sin, John, xvi. 8; for which, the means used are, the preaching of the word, Isaiah, lviii. 1; which is a lamp, and a light, Proverbs, vi. 23; private personal reproof, Proverbs, vi. 23; afflictions, Psalm, cxix. 67; the conversation of those that are godly, 1 Corinthians, vii. 16.

2. Contrition for sin, Zechariah, xii. 10. (Digression,—of the Spirit, as a spirit of supplication, from several other texts.) This contrition is giving a *heart of flesh*, Ezekiel, xxxvi. 26; breaking up *fallow ground*, Jeremiah, iv. 3; rending the heart, Joel, ii. 13.

3. Conversion from sin, Acts, iii. 26.; from all sins; from beloved sins; and, to a course of godliness, Hebrews, xii. 1.

In reference to grace. Sanctification in general, 1 Thessalonians, v. 23; 2 Corinthians, vii. 1. Particulars:—

1. The sanctification of the mind, or understanding, Ephesians, iv. 23; in respect of knowledge, Colossians, iii. 10; motives to get knowledge,* Colossians, i. 9; directions, Hosea, vi. 3; 2 Timothy, i. 13; Luke, viii. 18; in respect of wisdom, Ephesians, i. 7, 8; exhortations to get wisdom, Proverbs, xvi. 16; in respect of thoughts; vain thoughts hated, Psalm, cxix. 113; good thoughts loved, Psalm, civ. 34.

2. The sanctification of the memory, John, xiv. 26.

3. Of the conscience, Hebrews, ix. 14.

4. Of the will, Psalm, cx. 3; willing to submit to the will of God, Acts, xxi. 14; willing to die, 2 Corinthians, v. 8; unwilling to sin, Genesis, xxxix. 9.

5. Of the affections, Colossians, iii. 2. The affection of love;—love to God, 1 John, iv. 19; Mark, xii. 30; Revelations, ii. 4; love to ourselves and to our neighbour; Mark, xii. 31. Of hatred, Psalm, cxxxix. 21, 22; Job, xlii. 6. Of desire after God, Isaiah, xxvi. 8, 9; after righteousness, Matthew, v. 6; against inordinate desires, Genesis, xxx. 1. Of joy, Hosea, ix. 1; Philippians, iv. 4. Of grief; not to grieve at the good of others, Acts, xiii. 45; not to grieve inordinately at any thing, Psalm, xlii. 11; sorrow according to God, Matthew, v. 4; for the sins of sinners, Psalm, cxix. 136; for the sufferings of saints, Amos, vi. 6. Of hope in God, Psalm, cxlvi. 5; for heaven, Romans, v. ii.; against presumption, Job, xxvii. 8. Despair,† Ezekiel, xxxiii. 10, 11. Of fear, Luke, xii. 4, 5; Ecclesiastes, viii. 12, 13. Of anger, Ephesians, iv. 26, 27; its opposite, meekness, 1 Peter, iii. 4. Of zeal, Galatians, iv. 18.

6. The sanctification of the body, Romans, xii. 1; sensual appetite subdued, Hebrews, xi. 25; the eye sanctified, Psalm, cxix. 37; the hands, Psalm, xxiv. 3, 4; the tongue, Psalm, xxxix. 1; against lying, Psalm, cxix. 163; swearing, Jeremiah, xxiii. 10; slandering, Psalm, l. 20; of good discourse, Colossians, iv. 6.

The summary of these sermons about sanctification, he gave in two sermons from 2 Corinthians, v. 17; and observed, that, while he was upon that subject, about three years, there were more than forty of that little parish that were removed into eternity, who, when he began, were alive, and in health, &c.

* So divine a thing is wisdom, and so excellent is knowledge, (how much soever it be despised by carnal hearts,) that innocency itself was so ambitious of it, as to choose rather to incur the highest displeasure of an offended God, than want of it; nay, than want greater degrees of it. P. Henry. From Matthew Henry's MS.

† You must despair before you can have a good hope;—despair of being saved in yourselves. He that is out of his way, must despair of reaching his journey's end, except he turn. P. Henry. From Matthew Henry's MS.

The Spirit's work, in reference to grace, is, having implanted it, to excite and actuate it, Canticles, iv. 16; to strengthen it against corruption; to increase it, Proverbs, iv. 18. Exh. 2 Peter, iii. 18; —to perform it, Philippians, i. 6. Exh. Philippians, iv. 1.

The work of the Spirit, in reference to peace, John, xiv. 27. And that was his last subject in the course of his ministry at Worthenbury.

These were the subjects and texts of about six years' sabbath-sermons; only, that once he spent about two months in preaching over the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, before his setting up that ordinance there; and once he spent about half a year in preaching over the epistle to Laodicea, Revelations, iii.*

* Life. Orig. MS, *ut supra*.

APPENDIX, No. IX.

MR. HENRY, noticing assurance, has thus expressed himself:—

Assurance of God's love, peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost, are the glorious privileges of true believers. Justification is the root, and these are the branches from it.

There is a low and weak degree of assurance, where the evidences of the love of God to our souls are not full and clear; a mixture of much doubting and fear. Even this produces peace.

There is a strong, and high degree, which is called *full assurance*; clear evidence, and little doubting. This produces joy.

Peace and joy differ thus;—peace stills and quiets the soul, but joy stirs and transports it. Peace is joy in the bud and blossom; joy is peace in the ripe fruit. There are more believers who have peace than have joy, because there are more whose evidences are dark and weak,—and it is their own fault.

There is the assurance or certainty of the object; that is, God's love is sure and certain to a believer. He doth love him now, Proverbs, viii. 17. He did love him *from everlasting*, Jeremiah, xxxi. 3. He will love him *to the end*, John, xiii. 1.

There is also the assurance and certainty of the subject; that is, —this, or that particular believer is certain that God loves him now, and hath loved him from everlasting, and will love him to everlasting.

Many a child of God gets to heaven who is never able to say,—I am sure I have an interest in the love of God. Yet *this* assurance is attainable, as may be proved from those scriptures which make it our duty to labour after it, 2 Peter, i. 10; and from scripture instances of such as did attain it, both in the Old Testament, Job, xix. 25; and in the New, 2 Corinthians, v. 1; Galatians, ii. 20; 1 John, iii. 19; iv. 13.

Where it is attained, it sweetens all conditions.* We then see all our mercies, and all our crosses, not only consist with, but flow from the love of God. It is a great furtherer of obedience. None walk so close with God as those who have clearest evidences of his love. Assurance makes a man truly willing to die, 2 Corinthians, v. 1, &c.; Luke, ii. 29.

Labour after it. How? Not without diligence. Bring thy condition to the word of God. See what it saith of those who shall be saved, and then inquire,—Am I such an one? John, iii. 36.—Do I believe?—Do I accept of Jesus Christ? Romans, viii. 9.—Have I the Spirit of Christ? 1 John, iii. 14.—Do I love the people of God?†

Reading in some of my dear father's [Philip Henry] diary, kept in a little almanack, I find excellent things; e. g. From,—*The rather give diligence to make your calling and election sure*,—he notes; This has many sweet advantages. It promotes godliness, keeps humble, is got with pains, &c. A man may be a child of God who hath it not; yet such will seek and press after it. To which he adds;—I have both sought, and found it, in some poor measure. Lord, increase it every day, more and more, unto *full assurance!*‡

* Grace, with assurance, is no less than *heaven* let down into the soul. Bishop Hopkins. Works, v. 3, p. 72, ed. 1809.

† Scripture marks of those who shall be saved, are, *Faith in the Lord Jesus*, John, iii. 16; vi. 47. Love to God, 1 Corinthians, ii. 9; obedience to his commandments, Hebrews, v. 9; Matthew, vii. 21; John, x. 27, 28; faithfulness in his service, Matthew, xxv. 21, 23. Perseverance to the death, Revelations, ii. 10. P. Henry, Orig. MS.

‡ Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. X.

AMONG Mr. Henry's papers the following statement has been preserved; and, as it appears to have been placed in the hands of Miss Matthews, and may be of use to others, especially in like circumstances, it is here introduced. It may be regarded as a gratifying specimen of the prudence, the simplicity, and devotional frame of mind, for which the writer is so deservedly eminent:—

April 16.

Day of Prayer and Fasting.

What warrant for this duty?

Answer. From Philippians, iv. 6;—*In every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God.*

If in every thing, then, surely, in a thing of so much weight as marriage, Colossians, iii. 17.

But why are friends called?

Answer. We are commanded, Galatians, vi. 2, to *bear one another's burdens*; to sympathize with each other in all our concerns; to *weep with them that weep*, and to *rejoice with them that rejoice*. David's practice, calling others to join with him, Psalm, xxxiv. 3. The command, in case of sickness, James, v. 14, 16. Besides, *Vis unita fortior*; Many hands make light work.

For what end is this duty?

Answer. There are many ends of it. These are some of the chief, which are fit to be communicated:—

1. To bless God, who hath ordered things so in his providence, as to bring things to the pass they are at; in this plain way,—more comfortable to us, less offensive to others, who, not knowing the grounds we proceeded on, might have drawn ill consequences from it, and sinned by our example.

2. To make atonement for sin in the *blood of Christ*, James, v. 15. In general, for all the sins of our single state. In particular, for miscarriages in the carrying on of this affair;—distrust of God, unbelief, impatience; distractions occasioned by it; irregularities of affection. It being my desire, that no guilt may go with me into that condition, which may be as poison and gall, but that I may enter into it as innocent as Adam, in the day when he was married in the garden.

3. To beg the presence, and the favour of God, which is the happiness and sweetness of every condition and relation, that he will own and bless us.

4. To beg a frame of heart suited to the condition; that, as Saul had another spirit given him when he was crowned, so we may have when we are married. As cares and burdens will be new, so strength may be renewed also to bear them; as temptations will be new, so sufficient grace may be bestowed to resist them; as comforts will be new, so a heart may be given to enjoy God in them, and to sit loose from the creature; as duties will be new, so we may be enabled to perform them, that we may live together as heirs of the grace of life.

5. In reference to events as to outward things; that the Lord will take into his own hand the disposal of them, and quiet our hearts in what he determines, whether it be for the worse, or for the better. That, if he see good, he will please to grant us the comfortable fruits and pledges* of marriage.†

* So children were simply called by the Latins;—*pignora*,—*pledges*. See Milton's Poetical Works, *ut supra*, v. 6, p. 36, note.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XI

SOME of these records being still preserved, the following selection will not be unacceptable:—

How far may a man go towards heaven, and yet fall short?

In general; a great way, Mark xii. 34. *Almost* a Christian, Acts, xxvi. 28.

In particular; a man may have a great deal of knowledge, 1 Corinthians, xiii. 1, 2; even so much, as to teach others, Matthew, vii. 22. He may be free from many, nay, from any gross sins, Luke, xviii. 11; he may perform, not only some, but all manner of external duties of religion;—pray, fast, give alms, Matthew, vi. 1, 2, &c. He may be a lover of good men, as Herod, Pharaoh, Darius. He may repent after a sort, as Ahab; and believe, after a sort, as Simon Magus. He may suffer much for religion, as, no doubt, Judas did, while a retainer of Christ. If a man may go thus far, and yet fall short, then what will become of those who go not near so far? Then, what need have we to look about us, and to make sure of regeneration, and sincerity, which are things that certainly accompany salvation!

What are the common hinderances of men's salvation?

Ignorance, John, iv. 10; unbelief, John, v. 40; love of the world, 2 Timothy, iv. 10; pride,* men will not stoop to be saved by the righteousness of Christ, Romans, x. 3; nor to be ruled by his laws, Luke, xix. 14; prejudice against the ways of God, and against the company that walk in them; their paucity, their poverty; presumption upon God's mercy, and upon long life. See that none of these things hinder us, especially now being forewarned.

* See a striking illustration of this subject, in "The Christian in Complete Armour, by William Gurnall, M. A." 2nd part, p. 73, 4to, 1658.

What are evidences of love to God?

Hatred of sin, Psalm, xcvi. 11; and that, especially, because it dishonours him; care to keep his commandments, John, xiv. 15; and that of choice, and with delight, 1 John, v. 3; love to the people of God, as such, 1 John, iii. 14; willingness to part with any thing for his sake, Genesis, xxii. 12; desire of fellowship with him in his ordinances, Canticles, i. 2; grief when he withdraws; love to, and longing for the appearance of Christ; mourning that we can love him no more.

How are we to express love to our neighbour?

By praying for him, for all men, 1 Timothy, ii. 1; even for enemies, Matthew, v. 44. By reproving him, Leviticus, xix. 17; unless he be a scorner, which we are not rashly to conclude. By not envying him because either of what he is, or hath, or doth, 1 Corinthians, xiii. 4; but, rather, rejoicing, Romans, xii. 15. Doing to him as we would have him to do to us, Matthew, vii. 12. Being tender of his name, neither to raise, nor receive an ill report against him, Psalm, xxv. 23. If a superior, we are to honour and respect him;* if an equal, or inferior, to be affable, and courteous, and condescending towards him. If good, to associate with him, Psalm, xvi. 2; if bad, to pity him, and pray for him, but not be over familiar with him.†

It may be here added, that Mr. Matthew Henry, in a little volume, in his own hand-writing, has preserved some copious *memoranda* of another, and important, series of "Questions of Conference in the Family." The following list of them will show how his venerable father studied the welfare of those around him:—

What are the scripture attributes of God the Father?

What are the scripture names, titles, and attributes of God the Son?

What are the scripture names, titles, and attributes of the Holy Ghost?

What doth the scripture say concerning the omniscieny, power, wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, mercy, truth, and faithfulness of God?

These are respectively answered by an extensive selection of inspired statements, and concluded by a deduction of uses. Those which close the last mentioned question are thus stated:—

This is terror to us to consider, that God will be true to his threatenings; they are not bugbears, to frighten children and

* Besides the mantle of love that is to be thrown over the faults of all, there is a robe of reverence and honour to be cast over the faults of superiors. The emperor, Constantine, did not think the imperial purple too precious to make a veil to cover the infirmities of his bishops. P. Henry. From Matthew Henry's MS.

† P. Henry. Orig. MS.

fools, but such as he will be true to. Then, *stand in awe, and sin not.** This is comfort, also, that, seeing he is true and faithful to his promises, we may trust in him, and rely upon him. There is duty also; we must labour, as well as we can, to be like God; to be true to our words, especially in witness-bearing, and to be faithful to all our entrustments. Our yea must be yea, and our nay, nay. We must be punctual in every thing; not off and on, cozening and cheating, and deceiving; for, that God, whom we profess to believe in, and serve, is not so. Those who were afterwards called puritans, were, in King Henry the Eighth's time, called *fast-men*.

* Sins are like circles in the water when a stone is thrown into it, one produces another. When anger was in Cain's heart, murder was not far off. P. Henry. From Matthew Henry's MS.

APPENDIX, No. XII.

ANOTHER instance occurred in the address delivered by Mr. Henry, at Boreatton, on occasion of his son Matthew, and the only son of his friend, Mr. Hunt, leaving the country for a residence in London, A. D. 1687.* The following is the substance of it. *And thou Solomon, my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind: for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever.* 1 Chronicles, xxviii. 9. These words are the pious advice of an aged father to his young son to be religious.

To be religious is to know God, John, xvii. 3; that he is, Hebrews, xi. 6; and what he is, as far as he hath revealed himself in the books of creation, and scripture. He hath revealed himself to us in the face of Jesus Christ, 2 Corinthians, iv. 6. Those who are diligent in the use of the means,† shall attain this knowledge, Hosea, iii. 6.

This knowledge is such an act of the understanding, as includes the will and affections. We must own and acknowledge him as the first cause of all things, and see our absolute and universal dependence upon him, as our benefactor, who hath preserved and provided for us, as the chiefest good, and love him with all our heart, soul, mind, and might, as our highest end, and aim at his glory in all things, and as our God and Father in Jesus Christ. This is the the most comfortable: his New Testament title. If he be our Father, we must carry it as children.

To know God is to be acquainted with him, Job, xxii. 21; to have *intimate* acquaintance with him, and this includes all religion; it is walking with God.

* Tong's Life of the Rev. Matthew Henry, p. 55, *ut supra*.

† Labour after knowledge in the use of means. These are prayer. James, i. 5. Prov. ii. 3, 4. David, Ps. cxix. Solomon.—Reading and meditating in the word of God. This is the tree of knowledge, 2 Timothy, iii. 15, 16.—Practice, John, vii. 17. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

To be religious is also to *serve God*. You cannot serve a better master; you cannot be employed in better work; you cannot have better wages.* *The gift of God is eternal life*. There are wages in hand. There is the testimony of a good conscience; there are the smiles of God; there is the reward of the inheritance.

This service of God is to wait upon him daily and duly in the duties of his immediate service and worship. If you do not pray, and read, and hear, you are not God's servants. And it is to walk in all holy obedience before him. Serious inquiries into the will of God, and sincere endeavours to do it, are the properties of his servants. You must look into the word of God if you would know his will.

A servant of God must be lowly-minded and humble, diligent and industrious, not only do his work, but abound in it,—and patient, to undergo the difficulties of the work, and the delays of the reward.

All this must be with a perfect heart; that is, with truth and uprightness, Genesis, xvii. 1, Job, i. 1. If you would be thus perfect, be sure to lay a good foundation. Take heed of double-dealing with God; of vain thoughts† in duty, Matthew, xv. 7, 8. See that you pray in praying, and hear in hearing, &c. Approve yourselves to God. Do all to his glory. Let his word be your rule, 1 Corinthians, x. 31. See your imperfections, and bewail them daily. Here is the difference between the true christian and the hypocrite. The hypocrite acts in hypocrisy, and it never troubles him. He thinks he merits. The godly man bewails the imperfections of his sincerity, and that is a pitch no hypocrite can attain to.

A willing mind too is of great consequence. It is that which God looks at very much. In conversion, the great change is on the will. Now, when there is a willing mind, vain excuses will not be made. See Luke, xiv. There will be forwardness in good works, Titus, iii. 1; *ready to every good work*; the original is, go before in good works. When the mind is willing, duty is done cheerfully. When the heart is enlarged, then we run in the way of God's commandments. There is a great difference between a volunteer and a pressed soldier.

Now every day take notice of the willingness and unwillingness of your minds to that which is good. Look up to God, and beg of him to make you willing. Draw me. Consider how willing he is to do you good, and let that make you willing to do him service. Consider how willing Christ was to come, and die to save us. Think of this when you are unwilling to duty.

Remember the omniscience of God. He searches all hearts. He

* Dr. Sibbs would say,—Could we suppose sorrow in heaven, this would be our sorrow there, that we did no more work for God, before we came thither to receive so great wages. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, by Simeon Ashe. 4to. 1664. p. 43.

† See Charnock's Works. v. 8, p. 501, &c.

understands all the imaginations of the thoughts. He understands the unobserved motions of the fancy. Do you believe this? Improve it, as a bridle to keep you from all sin.* As a spur to put you on to duty, especially secret duty, especially sincerity in duty. There may be hypocrisy that you do not see, but he sees it. There may be also sincerity that you do not see, but he sees that. When you are from under the eyes of your parents, remember,—God sees.†

Consider the promise. *If thou seek him, he will be found of thee.* He hears prayer. Be not sparing in that duty. If you seek the pardon of sin, you shall have it. If any thing burdens us, he will either support or deliver us. We must seek him with our whole heart; early and earnestly. Observe how the promise is applied to Solomon.—*If thou seek, thou, though a child,—if thou seek him, he will be found of thee.* Promises must be particularly applied.

Recollect the threatening. If thou forsake him, he will cast thee off,—though thou art Solomon, *my son*. It is best that we be drawn to duty, but it is better to be driven than not to do it at all. Adam in innocency was awed by a threatening. You who have given up your names to God, take heed that you do not forsake him. Do not forsake his truths. Do not forsake the ways you have walked in. Do not forsake the people of God. *Go by the footsteps of the flock.* Unbelief causes departing. It may be you are thinking you will never forsake God, as Peter,—*though all men forsake, yet I will not.* Take heed of resolving in your own strength. It is by faith you stand. Fear, lest you should be a cast-a-way.

There are some who are especially concerned to know God, and serve him.

Those who are young are so. Solomon was young when this counsel was given him, and he counsels others, Ecclesiastes, xii. 1. *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.* God must have the flower of our age.‡ The beloved disciple was the youngest of the disciples.

The children of godly parents are especially concerned to know

* An ancient divine urging a "careful attention unto, and a heedful hiding of the word in our hearts,"—says, it "may restraints as a bridle from sinne," and "quicken us as a spur to every good duty." Sermons by Alexander Grosse, B. D. p. 237, dnod. 1640. And Dr. Barrow remarks, "Did we only believe the future judgment, with the results of it, that alone would be an effectual both *spurr and curb* to us." Works, vol. 2. p. 40, *ut supra*.

† This may be of use to us, when the thoughts of it are kept alive upon the heart in reference to these great concernments of our lives. In reference to *sin*,—it may teach us watchfulness. Beware of doing that which you would not have the Lord see you do, Genesis, xxxix. 9. Apply it to the sanctification of the sabbath.—In reference to *duties*. It concerns us to look to our ends in coming to duty, and to see after what manner we perform. Hebrews, xii. 28, 29. Servants work hard when the master stands by. Soldiers fight stoutly when the general is present. And when we have done duty, it may support us in expectation of our reward; though unknown to men. Matt. vi. 4. vi. 18.—In reference to *wants*. Despond not. Be not careful. Matt. vi. 32.—In reference to *dangers*. Ps. xvi. 8. P. Henry. Orig. MS. See P. Henry's Eighteen Sermons, *ut supra*, p. 87.

‡ See 1 Sam. ii. 23. 1 Cor. vii. 36.

God. *Know the God of thy father.* Thy father hath served him, and doth not repent it. Godly parents dedicate their children to God in a special manner,—*the son of my vows.* The children of many prayers should seek and serve God; indeed, every prayer for them will turn to a curse if they do not. God is a tried friend.

Those also who are advanced above others, in honour, or estate, in the world, are especially concerned to know God. Thou Solomon my son. David had other children, but we do not read of any such charge to them. Solomon was to sit upon the throne. Those who have more than others, should render accordingly. Others will be apt to do as they see them do. The higher the place is, the greater is the danger if we are not religious. And consider the advantage to be gained by it; those who *honour God he will honour.*

Suffer the word of exhortation. Labour always to keep up right and good thoughts of God. He is not a hard master, but a good master. He accepts the will for the deed. Let Jesus Christ be always precious to you. Let him be your Alpha and Omega, your strength every day. Take him along with you in all your studies, in all you do. Let him commend his word to you; it is the book of books. He is not a true christian that doth not love the word of God. The more of this love there is, the more is the evidence of a good work wrought upon the soul. Be sure you practise prayer; you have need of strength from God in every thing, and that must be fetched in by prayer. Pray continually, The praying christian will be the thriving christian. Beware of bad company; choose such as are good for your companions;—say, *Depart from me ye evil doers, for I will keep the commandments of my God,* Psalm, cxix. 115. I cannot keep in with you, and keep in with God too. Be watchful; we walk in the midst of snares.*

* From Mrs. Savage's MS.

APPENDIX, No. XIII.

It was, possibly, in reference to this, that the following testimonial was written.

These may certify those whom it concerns, that Mr. Philip Henry, Master of Arts, and Minister of the Gospel at Worthenbury, in the County of Flint, is orthodox in doctrine, well-qualified with learning, parts, gifts, and graces for the work of the ministry, laborious and successful in his calling, unblameable in conversation, and hath continued well-affected to his Majesty.

N. Bernard,*
William Holland of Malpas, R.
Robert Fogg, Minister at Bangor.†
R. Steele, Pastor of Hanmer.‡

* D. D. See *ante*, pp. 269, 270. "1661. Oct. 15. Upon the evening of this day, Dr. Bernard, parson of Whitchurch, died, it seems suddenly. Nov. 7. I was at Whitchurch at the burial of Dr. Bernard. Mr. Bridge preached. Lake, xix. 44." P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† See *ante*, p. 272.

‡ From the Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XIV.

It was about this period, A. D. 1668, that the Rev. John Evans settled at Wrexham, as pastor of the Independent church. He was of Baliol College, in Oxford, and successively master of the free schools, in Dolgelly, Merionethshire, and Oswestry, in Shropshire. His father and grandfather were both clergymen and rectors of Penegoes, in Montgomeryshire, but, notwithstanding the zealous interference of relatives, his inquiries resulted in nonconformity; and though, like his brethren, an implicit follower of the dictates of conscience, he partook largely of the sufferings of the times. He was a man of good learning, great gravity, and seriousness; of a most unblameable conversation, and a laborious and judicious preacher.* Mrs. Evans, his second wife, was the daughter of Colonel Gerrard, Governor of Chester Castle; a woman of an excellent spirit, and of a strong understanding.† Their son, Dr. John Evans, was the author of the well-known Discourses on the Christian Temper.‡ Mr. Evans was “strictly congregational,”§ and “a high Dissenter:” there was, nevertheless, an intimacy kept up between him and the family at Broad Oak. Mr. Matthew Henry has thus recorded the termination of his course, which event took place, July 16, 1700.||

* The Noncon. Mem. v. 8, pp. 523-4.

† Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches. v. 2. p. 213.

‡ See Dr. Harris's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Evans, pp. 31—44. ed. 1730.

§ Mr. Tong's Life of Mr. Matthew Henry. p. 278, *ut supra*.

|| 1700, July 20. Satt. I heard of the death of Mr. Jenks, of Widinbury, a high conformist, formerly curate of Whitchurch; and also, of the death of Mr. Evans, of Wrexham, a high Dissenter,—both, I hope, good men, yet of such principles as that my dear father (of blessed memory) hath had many sharp censures from them both: from the one for complying so far, from the other for complying no further. Saith he in his diary,—Lord, which of these shall I seek to please? Neither, but thyself alone.—I hope they are now all happy together in that blessed vision, where Luther and Calvin are both of a mind. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

A little while before he died, which was in his seventy-second year, he spoke with more apprehension than usual, rejoicing in the Lord Jesus Christ as his only rock : and when it was said to him that he was going to his Father's house, he cheerfully answered,—It will not be well with me till I am there. Some present desired him to leave some good counsel with them ; to whom he replied,—Go to God by prayer.*

The reader will pardon the continuance of this narrative, for the purpose of perusing, in connexion with it, the following letter. It is transcribed from Mrs. Savage's hand-writing, and appears to have been copied by her in early life, while under the direction of her father. It presents an interesting specimen of the pastoral vigilance and affectionate care of those holy men who have been, and are, too much spoken against.

A Letter from Mr. Evans to his people in the time of persecution.

To the saints and faithful brethren in and about Wrexham, with whom I have walked in the fellowship of the gospel.

My dearly beloved brethren ;

Though the circumstances of the present day take me off from the main work of a watchman over your souls, in visiting, preaching to, and praying among you ; yet, being taken from you in presence only, not in heart, I desire still to be a faithful remembrancer of the Lord for you, that ye may be taught of him, and holpen by him to feed upon the truths, promises, and precepts of the gospel, and experience the same to be a *green pasture*, and *still waters*, to renew and strengthen your inward man, and further your growth into him,—into him in all things, who is the only head and lawgiver to the church, even our Lord Jesus Christ. What the apostle said with respect to the Corinthians, I may truly say, in some measure, with respect unto you, my desire with my poor weak endeavours have been to espouse you unto the husband, and to present you a chaste virgin unto Christ. Pardon me if my love to you make me jealous over you, and to fear (as he did) lest your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ ; and so another, to wit, a subtle, formal, lukewarm, self-seeking, men-pleasing, worldly, carnal frame of spirit grow upon you to the wearing off the gospel savour, that sometimes hath appeared in

* Tong's Life of Matthew Henry. p. 278, *ut supra*. See also the Welsh Non-conformist's Memorial, p. 210, *ut supra*.

you, and to the beguiling you of all you have hitherto done, and suffered. I speak not this, as having any demonstration hereof from most of you; but as considering the day of temptation and trial that hath overtaken both you and me, and earnestly desiring that herein both I and you, our knowledge, faith, love, patience, self-denial, sincerity, integrity, steadfastness, and constancy, may, when tried, be found to praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, that in such a day I may not be wholly wanting to you in point of advice, consider and improve the particulars following, which, under present circumstances, not so much I as Christ himself requires of you. Harken not to the instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge, Proverbs, xix. 27, nor to those that by reproaches, contempt, and scorn, would make you forget what of God you have seen and experienced in his own appointments, Jeremiah, xxiii. 16, compare with verse 27. Let your most familiar converse be, not with those that make it their study and discourse to palliate the neglect of God and conscience in their compliance with evil, nor with those that are mainly solicitous how they may shift off the cross, but with those that are most careful to keep themselves from sin, and to grow in grace to the pleasing of that God from whom they expect the crown.

Be much in searching the scriptures which are able to make you wise unto salvation, and thoroughly to furnish you with what is suitable to your case and condition, whatever it be. Pray, and wait for the Spirit's teaching through them. Neglect no means* God affords you to discover his mind and will in them, yet admit of no interpretation or gloss on them, but what is consonant to the main scope of the whole of them, which always and unchangeably is,—the advancing of the grace of God in Christ; the debasing of man in himself, with the bringing of him to a sole dependence on Christ for wisdom, righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; the destruction of sin, the furtherance of holiness; and, therein, the everlasting happiness of the soul. When you cannot take forth new

* "To convince those of error who say that believers need not trouble themselves further with reading and hearing,—if they believe, they are justified; if once justified, always justified. Consider;—such have cause to suspect they have no true faith, for a true believer hath that in him, which will stir him up to use all means to know Christ better, and grow in faith.—The best are ignorant of many things concerning Christ. Prov. xxx. 2, 3.—Though justification be an act absolved in one instant, yet the manifestation and assurance of it increaseth according as we increase in faith. Rom. xiii. 11. Our salvation is nearer than when we believed,—though such as believe are sure to be saved. Rom. viii. 1; yet a true believer, negligent in seeking to grow, shall be greatly abridged of his comfort in this life, and afflicted with many outward crosses, and inward terrors, so as he may lose his assurance and joy, and comfort in prayer, and be like a tree in winter. Yea, it may be he shall never, while he lives, recover his comfort. Though he shall go to heaven in the end, yet he shall have a hell here all his life." Mr. Herring, Oct. 14, 1619; on 1 John, v. 13. From a MS. of the Rev. Arthur Hildersam. *Penes me.* See Mr. Herring's Life, in Clarke's Lives, annexed to the Martyrologie, p. 160, *ut supra.*

lessons, learn the old better. Watch over your hearts, lest, through unbelief, they draw back from any thing of God or Christ that once you have received; or, through the deceitfulness of sin in them, they turn you aside to any crooked path. Acquaint yourselves well with the state of your own souls, especially, whether they grow or decline in their esteem of, love to, and delight in Christ and holiness; in their hatred of sin and vanity; as also in their weanedness from the world, and preparedness for the cross. Let every defect you find in yourselves still lead you to a more naked dependence on Christ, and be as a fresh incentive to lift your souls with more earnestness to God in prayer. In your addresses to him, forget not,

Your fellow-servant and brother, who desires
so to be found with you waiting for the gracious
and glorious appearance of our Lord Jesus,

JOHN EVANS.

APPENDIX, No. XV.

ANOTHER which was delivered not long after, shall be added more at length. The text was, Jeremiah, vi. 16. *Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and you shall find rest, &c.* The first words,—*Thus saith the Lord*, should be sufficient to engage attention; for, wherever God has a mouth to speak, we should have an ear to hear. Here he looks upon the children of men as a company of travellers out of the way,—he calls after them,—come to me, I will put you in a better way. The way is Christ, John, xiv. 4, 5, 6.

The ways of religion, like others, have an entrance,—the strait gate. They are hedged in with the commandments of God. They are tracked by others who have gone before; and, they have an end,—life and salvation. The way of godliness is the *old way*, and it is the will of God that we should walk in it. It is also a *good way*, and those who walk in it shall find *rest*.

Many look upon *these* ways to be upstart, and the way of sin to be old. It is true, the way of sin has been of long standing, and in it we all set out; but the way of godliness is older. The devil was not up so soon, but God was up before him, Ecclesiastes, vii. 29.

There are four remarkable periods of time,—two concerning the old world, and two concerning the new; but in both, godliness had the start.

The first edition of the old world was when Adam was created. He was made upright, and walked in uprightness. The way of religion was the *first way*. The second edition was in Noah's time, 1600 years after. The old world was filthy and vile, and it was drowned; eight persons were saved, to be the seed of the new. Then godliness got the ascendancy. *Noah walked with God*; so did Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.

The first edition of the new world, was in the days of the incarnation; called, in the Old Testament, the world to come. Jesus

was the great exemplar. There were also his apostles, divers holy men and holy women. Inquire how *they* walked. The second edition may be dated at the Reformation. Between the apostles' time and Luther's there was a great apostacy, but God raised him up, and the Spirit was then working. Many were eminent for piety, and strict and holy walking. This was the way of the blessed martyrs in the days of Queen Mary; and of the good old Puritans* in the days of Queen Elizabeth and King James. Some of whom some of us have known. Oh, walk in their way. Nay, it may be, you may be sent to your own old ways,—not your first: they were wicked; but, ask, What were my ways when first *converted*? Most Christians have their *first love*, and too many leave it.

The way of doctrinal faith is a good old way. The Papists ask us in scorn, Where our religion was before Luther? We answer, It was where their's was not, before or since; namely, in the word of God. We must try all doctrines by the scripture. Those doctrines are likely to be according to truth, and not error, which abase men, and lift up God.

The way of divine worship, in all the ordinances, is a good old way. The way of sabbath religion, Genesis, ii. 1, 2, is as old as paradise. Adam kept the sabbath. The disciples kept the sabbath, and Christ appeared to them again and again, Acts, xx. 6. They remained till midnight, praying and preaching. John was *in the Spirit on the Lord's day*.† This was the way of the old Puritans;

* In the preface, a like phrase was introduced from the pen of Mr. *Matthew Henry*, and it is gratifying to observe the representation as the joint testimony of two such witnesses. Though the idea conveyed is opposed to that which, for reasons best known to the promulgers, the persons called Puritans commonly receive, it appears in full consistence with truth; indeed, it seems to the writer, as the result of diligent investigation, that due allowance being made for defects, incidental to the times, and otherwise, without invidious distinctions easily accounted for, it would be difficult to find a body of men more loyal, useful, or devout. "Be not ashamed," said the pious Rector of Weston Favell, "of the name of Puritan; they were the soundest preachers, and I believe, the truest followers of Jesus Christ; I esteem them as some of the most zealous Christians that ever appeared in our land." See Mr. Brown's *Memoirs of Mr. Hervey*. pp. 223, 224, *ut supra*.

It may be remarked, that, in proportion as contemporary authorities, distinguished by their religious excellence, or attention to the simple verity, are consulted, and the assertions so frequently reiterated, watchfully scrutinized, the more wariness of observation will be discerned in the description given of a Puritan by Dr. Watts,—a separatist from the vain and dangerous courses of a vicious world. Works. v. 7. p. 565. *ut supra*; the more candid and favourable also, commonly, will be the judgment.

The following extract from an original relick, is a satisfactory corroboration of many others.—"The Puritane, whose fantastical zeal I mislike, though they differ in ceremonies and accidents, yet they agree with us in *substance of religion*, and I think all, or most of them, *love his Matie*." Letter from Archbishop Hutton, to Lord Cranborne, 18 Dec. 1604. Printed in Dr. Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, vol. 2. p. 315. See the "Character of an old English Puritane, or Nonconformist," by John Gerec, M. A. 4to. 1646.

† It is an excellent thing, and very desirable, and to be laboured after, that we be *in the Spirit on the Lord's day*; and that is, not to be,—either in the world, or in the flesh, or in the devil. Sabbath time must not be spent in worldly employments,

they were up early on the sabbath morning, diligent in the ways of God, and went far in denying lawful liberties. Many suffered much against the proclamation for sports on that day.* But now there is a new way. Many look upon family worship as an upstart. But it was in Adam's family, in Noah's, in Abraham's, Isaac's, and Jacob's. Abraham catechised his family, Genesis, xviii. 18. In the New Testament we read of the church in the house; of families walking together, hand in hand, in heaven's way. As for publick worship. *Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord*, Genesis, iv. 26,—that is *publickly*,—before, it was in families. Or; Then men began to be called by it—to make profession. In the New Testament, we read that they *continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine, and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers*, Acts, ii. 42. The old Puritans saw many corruptions in worship, yet they waited upon God in it.

The way of holiness and close walking is a good old way; as old as Adam, before he fell; as Enoch, as Noah. The primitive Christians so walked; not only in ways of worship, but in all manner of obedience, Hebrews, xi. 5. The way to please God is to walk with him.

The way of heavenly-mindedness, and contempt of the world, is a good old way. The patriarchs lived like pilgrims,—here to day, and gone to-morrow. So the primitive Christians, Acts, iv. 37. How many professors now carry it otherwise, as if they had a mind to have the world for their *portion*.

The way of plainness and simplicity is a good old way. In it Jacob walked, and Nathaniel, and the old Protestants, and Puritans.

The way of peaceableness and patience under the cross, is a good old way. The martyrs prayed for the Queen. The old Christians *took joyfully the spoiling of their goods*. This is according to rule; *let every soul be subject to the higher powers*.

—no manner of work, except necessity and mercy. It is a good rule to defer what may as well have been done before, or be left alone till after. Neither must we be in the flesh, in recreations. There should not be feasting on the Lord's-day; nor in the devil, in wrath and malice, in strife and envy. But we should be in the Spirit, that is, in a spiritual frame of heart, as walking, living in the Spirit; worshipping God in holy ordinances,—publick, private, secret; and also we should be *spiritual* in them; that is, sincere and serious. When we are out of actual worship, we must be spiritual in our thoughts and words. If we are doing works of necessity, or mercy, eating, drinking, travelling to and fro to ordinances, attending sick people, taking care of cattle,—we must not do it as at other times. The day is holy, and must be sanctified. Learn to keep sabbaths better. Christian resolution, care, and watchfulness, over ourselves, and one another, will do something. Let us so act for the *command's* sake,—an easy, sweet, command; for the *consequents'* sake; the promise and threatening sake, wherewith the command is backed; for the *conversation* sake the week following, for the Redeemer's sake, whose day it is. The King's friends are known by keeping the King's holiday; for *religion's* sake, which is adorned by it; for the *reckoning-account's* sake hereafter. It is supposed that Christ will come to judgment on the Lord's-day. Remember the sabbath, and prepare for it before-hand. Set out well; the Lord is risen. Look up for the Spirit's help. Do what you can. See to your families. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* A striking instance is recorded by Mr. Baxter in his *Divine Appointment of the Lord's-day*, p. 116, oct. 1671.

The way of brokenness and tenderness of heart is a good old way,—the way of godly sorrow for sin. I have heard an old Christian say, I think Christians do not come in at the same door that we did, for we were long under terrors of conscience, sound humiliation, before we tasted joy,*—but now it is otherwise. I fear, lightly come, lightly go. This made them more watchful.

The way of brotherly-kindness, and love, one to another, is a good old way. The way of unity and unanimity. See how they *love one another*, was the old remark. But now; see how they *hate one another*;—what strangeness and distance. There is no telling one another's experience; but jealousies and heart-burnings, Acts, ii. 46, 47. The way of love is called the old commandment and the new, 1 John, ii. 7;—old, because from the beginning; new, because a new edition of it, a new example in Christ and the apostles, and a new argument to enforce it.

Oh, love this old religion; strive to excel one another in good ways. You have a *cloud of witnesses*. You have Jesus Christ, who was a traveller in this way. Endeavour to make this new bad world like the old good one. There is a promise of a *new heaven, and a new earth*. Be earnest with God to hasten it, and endeavour, in your own practice, to hasten its coming.†

* In connexion with the above passage, the following observations by Dr. Doddridge may have their use. "Some sense of sin, and some serious and humbling apprehension of our danger and misery in consequence of it, must indeed be necessary to dispose us to receive the grace of the gospel, and the Saviour who is there exhibited to our faith. But God is pleased, sometimes, to begin the work of his grace in the heart, almost from the first dawning of reason, and to carry it on by such gentle and insensible degrees, that very excellent persons, who have made the most eminent attainments in the divine life, have been unable to recount any remarkable history of their conversion; and so far as I can learn, this is most frequently the case with those of them who have enjoyed the benefits of a pious education, when it has not been succeeded by a vicious and licentious youth." Preface to the *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. Works. v. 1. p. 215, *ut supra*.

† P. Henry. From Mr. Matthew Henry's MS.

APPENDIX, No. XVI.

WITH such sentiments, Mr. Henry's remarks, on the case of Job, evidently accord, and may be fitly introduced. They occur in a lecture delivered at this time in the neighbourhood of Broad Oak.* His text was Job, xiii. 26;—*For thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possess the iniquities of my youth.*

Considering Job as a good man, it may be noted, that, even against such, God, sometimes, writes *bitter things*. Regarding him as an old man, it is observable, that youthful sins are oftentimes the smart of old age; they are so when God is pleased to make us *possess* them. Viewing him as an afflicted man, we are taught, that, times of affliction are times of smart, often, for forgotten sins. Job was a remarkable instance. He was perfect and upright; one that *feared God, and eschewed evil*; and yet against him bitter things were written; or, as the word is, *bitternesses*. Many others of God's dear saints and servants have drank, in their several ages and generations, of the same cup, though some deeper than others; and Job, as deep as any. God had one Son, and but one, without sin, but none without sufferings.† *He, who had no sin, was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs.*

Against Job, as against others, were written bitter things of *affliction*. He was afflicted in his estate, in all his family-relations, in his servants, in his children, in his wife, and in his body. He endured the bitter things of persecution. His friends sharply and severely censured him; they charged him with the blackest crimes, and enormities; called him wicked, a hypocrite, an oppressor, Job, xix. 13. This was the more grievous, because they were good men; as for the jeers and scoffs of the multitude, he

* At Danford Hall, near Whitchurch, on the road leading thence to Wem. It is yet standing. See *ante*, p. 98.

† *Deus unicum habuit filium sine peccato, nullum sine flagello.* Aug. in Confess. P. Henry's Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

made nothing of them. To be the *song of the drunkard* was nothing; but, that so many, grave, wise, knowing, religious persons should combine to vilify him, was *bitter* indeed; especially, considering that they were his *friends*, from whom he expected different treatment, Psalm, lv. 12. When God lets loose our brethren to persecute us, either with hands, or tongues, or both, in our names, liberties, livelihoods; and that without cause, only that we will not say as they say, where our conscience tells us they say amiss; these are *bitter things*. He suffered also the bitterness of desertion. This, by what goes before, in the 24th verse, should seem, especially, to be meant. Whatever his professed enemies had done against him, or his professed friends had said against him; whatever losses, crosses, calamities, or distempers, had befallen him; if God had carried it as a friend,* all had been well; the burden would have been light. But for God, at the same time, to appear as an enemy,—to take him by the collar, and shake him,—to withdraw the light of his countenance, and to leave him in darkness and horror, must have been grievous indeed. This made him cry out,—*Thou writest bitter things against me*. This put a sting into all the rest;—the fire, says he, was *the fire of God*, chapter i. verse 16.

The phrase, *writest bitter things*, intimates deliberation, duration, and determination. The allusion, some think, is to a judge, or magistrate, to the king, or his secretary, signing an order for the apprehending, imprisoning, arraigning, executing a malefactor. q. d. Lord, there could nothing have been done against me, but by thy warrant, and that thou hast granted; not a verbal order only, but a *written warrant*, under hand and seal. *Thou puttest my feet also in the stocks*. Thus God deals with others of his dearest children.

And it is not because he hates them, but because he loves them. It is hard to reconcile bitter things with the love of God, but they are reconcileable. Job was greatly beloved, even when he was sitting upon a dunghill; and so it appeared afterwards. The sun broke out from behind the cloud. See chapter xlii. 7, 8, &c. He is called again, and again,—*My servant Job*. See Revelations, iii. 19.

Nor is it to hurt them, but to do them good. This also is hard to be believed; but it is so, Hebrews, xii. 10. It is like a bitter recipe under the hand of a skilful physician.

It is done to purge out their corruptions. That which doth this is certainly for *good*. Is it not? Doth not thy soul really think so? Is it not the thing thou art praying for, and longing for every day?

* *Carried it as a friend*. The friendship existed. Mr. Henry, noticing this, would say,—There are three evidences of God's being at peace with us. Are you friends with God, and at peace with him? If so, he is at peace with us, Colossians, i. 21. We were born enemies; Are we reconciled? Reconciliation is not yet perfected; but is it begun? There was enmity; but is there friendship? Proverbs, viii. 17.—Are you at war with sin? You cannot keep in with sin, and keep in with God too.—Have you taken hold of Christ? If so, God is at peace with you. P. Henry. From Mr. Matthew Henry's MS.

as Paul, Romans, vii. 24. Now afflictions, persecutions, desertions, are marvellously useful this way. As aloes, and such like purgatives, though bitter, are beneficial to the body, so are these things to the soul, Isaiah, xxvii. 9; xlviii. 10;—*I have refined thee; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction.* The reference is, especially, to captivity in Babylon, when very bitter things were written against them; but they were thus cured of their idolatries. See Psalm, cxix. 67.

It is done to purify and brighten their graces. We had never heard of the famous patience of Job, but for the bitter things which were written against him. His *tribulations worked patience.* The remark applies to the courage and fortitude of holy Jacob; to the meekness and humility, the constancy and perseverance of David, when Saul persecuted him. These bitter things are like frosts in winter, which, when clothes are laid out all night, whiten them. Daniel, xii. 10.

It is done to imbitter sin, and to make himself sweet to them. Afflictions put us in mind of the past,—of the *sins of youth.* And is not the remembrance bitter? Zechariah, xii. 10. They render the present pleasures of sin distasteful; whatever they have been formerly, now they are insipid;* and we never know what a friend God is till we have tried him in adversity. He is a friend, to whom we may safely and freely unbosom ourselves in hearty prayer. He is a friend at hand, to support us, when we cast our burden upon him, Psalm, lv. 22. Then he affords his choicest visits. He is a friend to save and deliver us out of our trials;—that he can do, and he doth, and will do it. Now this we know, at other times, doctrinally; but, in affliction, we know its use and application.

It is done to imbitter earth, and make heaven sweet. Though the world be that to us, which Sodom was to Lot, a place of trouble and temptation, and vexation, yet, like him, we are loath to go out of it till it be fired about our ears;—then we can say, Farewell. Bitter things are, to us, what wormwood is to the breast, for the weaning of little children. Heaven to an afflicted saint is heaven indeed. It is as the sun-shine after a storm. How pleasant is rest after labour! The blessed angels find not that sweetness which the saints do, because no bitter things were ever written against them.

We must not, therefore, think, concerning the *fiery trial*, personal or publick, that doth, or may, at any time, try us, *as though some strange thing happened.* It is the common road,—the highway. We must not, from thence, infer, that we are not

* Let the bitterness of punishment make us all distaste the sweetness of sinne. Say sinne what it will, believe thou the word of God, which saith,—*The wages of sinne is death*;—believe thou the well-experienced in godlinesse, which say,—*Dulce peccatum, amara mors.* Salves for the Soule's Sicknesse, by Robert Lovell. 4to. 1621, p. 30.

God's children, or are not beloved of him. Such thoughts are apt to arise, Isaiah, xlix. 14.

But, say you, my afflictions are extraordinary for kind, for continuance. And were not Jonah's? Was ever any one so afflicted before, to be confined alive, in the belly of a fish, in the depths of the sea? And yet he was beloved of God. And were not the Jews' afflictions extraordinary for continuance, when they were seventy years captives in Babylon? Yet they were the Lord's dear people; nay, his *only* people.

Sometimes the love of God is questioned, because persons are *without* affliction, and a conclusion is drawn, that they are *bastards, and not sons*. Alas! What would we have the great God to do? But, as we must not make wrong inferences concerning ourselves, so neither must we concerning others; as if, because God is pleased, in his providence, to write bitter things against them, therefore they are none of his. God hath been a great while writing bitter things against the protestant churches. How long have they been afflicted, *tossed with tempests, and not comforted*? Yet, certainly, he hath mercy in store. So, also, against his ministers and people, in these three nations, *bitter things* have been written; though, blessed be his name, not without some mixture. The same is true as to particular persons. Now, when the arrow is fixed in the deer's side, the rest of the herd thrust him from them.* But we must not do so. Take heed how ye carry it at such a time. Times of affliction are critical times. They are called *trials*, because they find what metal we are of.

Do not you write bitter things against God while he is writing them against you. Be sure you entertain no hard thoughts of him, of his love, wisdom, faithfulness, or providence. Say,—All is well that God doth.† Neither write nor speak bitter things against instruments. Remarkable is that of David concerning Shimei, 2 Samuel, xvi. Look to the bitter root that is in you; the corrupt nature, that it bring forth no gall, nor wormwood, as at such a time it is apt to do. There should be no murmuring, no repining, no complaining.‡ There is great danger in this respect. When the water is upon the fire it is very apt to send forth its filthy scum. The Psalmist said, his *heart was grieved*; Hebrew, *soured, leavened*.

Labour to answer the ends before mentioned. Is love at the

* When the deer, pierced with the arrow, and pursued by the hounds, runneth to the herd for shelter, they will not admit her among them, out of a principle of self-preservation, lest the dogs, in fetching her out, should fall on *them*. Swinnock's Christian Man's Calling, part i. p. 97, 4to. 1665.

† See Clarke's Lives, annexed to the Martyrologie, p. 171, *ut supra*.

‡ When God's hand is on our back, our hand should be on our mouth. P. Henry. Common Place Book. Orig. MS.

Dear brother (Matthew Henry) would say, if you have the use of reason, and peace of conscience, do not complain of any other affliction. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

bottom, notwithstanding? Then let us love him. Doth he design to do us good? Does he aim, by weaning us from the world, and its enjoyments, to win us to himself, and to make us long to be with him? Then let it have that effect. Sanctified afflictions are good promotions;* that is, when they further us in sanctification. Believe,† and pray, and wait, and, ere long, God will arise for deliverance and salvation. There is no such remedy against inordinate dejections and despondencies, in an afflicted condition, as a lively faith, and a lively prayer, Psalm, xxvii. 13; xlii. and xliii. 5; James, v. 13. To bring us on our knees is one end, sometimes, wherefore God afflicts. See 2 Samuel, xiv. 29, 30.

Those of you against whom God writes, at present, sweet things, and not bitter, should be very thankful. His ways towards you, in this respect, are distinguishing; with some he deals otherwise. Be very faithful; summer time is fruit-bearing time. While he is doing for you, you should be doing for him,—improving opportunities. Be very merciful and pitiful; *remembering those who are in bonds, as bound with them.* Be very watchful. Expect and prepare for changes.

Let the whole be applied in the words of the Apostle;—*For the time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God: and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God?* If God write such bitter things against his Jobs, what will he write against the Cains, Pharaohs, Ahabs, Judas's, of the world? Take heed that none of you be such, 2 Corinthians, v. 11.‡

* A saying of Mr. Dod's. *Life, ut supra*, p. 171.

† Faith is that to the soul, which the cork is to the net, when the lead sinks it;—which the anchor is to the ship in a storm. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

So Dr. Sibbs says of hope,—It will, “as corke keep the soul (though in some heaviness) from sinking.” *The Soule's Conflict*, p. 486, *ut supra*.

‡ P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XVII.

The following notes of this discussion, though evidently incomplete, having been preserved, are here inserted, from an authentick MS.

Bishop. Mr. Owen, to enter into that matter as soon as I can which is the cause of our meeting, I do desire you here that you would give some satisfactory account of your title to the ministry which you exercise, and also of the reason of your separation from the Church of England. I call that the Church of England which is by law established. I desire you to give account in the first place, by what right it is that you take upon you the ministry.

Owen. My Lord; I judge myself every way unfit to manage a discourse of this nature before so great an auditory. I am a child in years and knowledge, and your lordship a father in both respects; my converse hath been with a few modern authors, and your lordship's with many venerable and ancient; and, therefore, you have every way the advantage; I can speak but very little, and possibly to little purpose; but the reasons are in print, and to nominate them will be but *actum agere*. There is Ames's Fresh Suit,* Alsop's Melius Inquirendum; the answer of the London divines, who were commissioned to debate with the bishops; there is Mr. Baxter's Plea, and his late Reasons, why ejected ministers ought to preach; and what Dr. Owen hath written; and none of these, that I have heard, answered. These strenuously vindicate our cause, and might effectually vindicate my silence at this time; but,

* See Reliq. Baxter. part i. pp. 13, 14.

my lord, having had more satisfying experiences, of your candour and goodness, I cast myself at your feet, not as an opposer, but as a learner. You were pleased to promise me protection with reference to the laws, that I may fully speak my thoughts. Your lordship knows that we cannot speak our reasons, but we render ourselves obnoxious to the severity of the law, and it would be satisfactory to me if you would please to move the magistrates present that they will manifest the same candour towards me, if I should, by unwary expressions, transgress the limits of the law. My lord, to come to the business;—I have been three times with your lordship, and have given you, as I thought, a pretty full account of my call to the ministry, and of the lawfulness of it. I was ordained by presbyters, whose ordination I look upon as valid;* that which I insisted upon, as one of my first arguments.

Bishop. You go on and leave me some things to say, which I cannot say, unless I will speak them now presently. Those books that you mentioned, I have not read one of them. I am not so happy to have time to spare to read all the late books that come forth. I hope I shall not need the reading of any of them. We have abundantly enough out of those books that have been anciently written. For that which you speak of, that you desire that whatever you say, you may not suffer any prejudice by it; that, as for my own part, I do promise you, and I desire of the magistrates here, that whatever you say, by way of dispute, (I only promise as to my own part,) you shall not receive any prejudice by what you say, and I do not think you can speak within the compass of the magistrates; the matter doth not require it. I will preserve you from suffering any prejudice, so far as I am able, in way of dispute. Now to what you say as to your reason.

Owen. As to my ordination, I acquainted your lordship I was ordained by presbyters. My argument is this,—presbyter and bishop are identitive both as to name and office.

Bishop. That is, both those names of bishop and presbyter are used of one and the same person.

* Mr. Baxter, referring to an interview with Archbishop Usher, says,—“I asked him his judgment about the validity of presbyters’ ordination; which he asserted, and told me, that the King asked him at the Isle of Wight, wherever he found in antiquity, that presbyters alone ordained any? And that he answered,—I can show your Majesty more, even where presbyters alone successively ordained bishops; and instanced, in Hierom’s words, *Epist. ad Evagrium*, of the presbyters of Alexandria choosing and making their own bishops, from the days of Mark till Heraclius and Dyonisius.” Reliq. Baxter. lib. i. part ii. p. 206.

- Owen. They have the same commission, the same work, and, therefore, are the same order.
- Dodwell. They who receive their order from them, which are the same with bishops, are the same with bishops. But, *ergo*.
- Roberts. I suppose there is no time to form syllogisms.
- Dodwell. Without a syllogism, it is easy to evade one argument, with starting a new.
- Bishop. When you find yourselves hurt with syllogisms, you may waive the argument.
- Owen. They that receive their order from those that are the same with bishops, have the same call that those have who are bishops. But those persons have received their order from those that are the same with bishops, *ergo*.
- Bishop. The minor will be denied, that presbyters and bishops are of the same order.*
- Owen. Acts, xx. 17, 28. Paul came to Miletus, sends for the presbyters of Ephesus, and gave them a charge of the flock, calls them bishops; and that we may not conceive that it is only the mere name that is given them, he bids them rule the flock.
- Bishop. You produce that text, Acts, xx. 17, 28, when the same persons,—
- Dodwell. Methinks it were convenient that that hypothesis were understood. I say there are several times, of scripture, when we say presbyters, are not the same with bishops, we mean, that when there was a church government established, to last to the end of the world, they were distinguished; we suppose that in the first age. In the second, the church was governed by ———. In the third degree, there were churches imperfectly constituted; and possibly, in this time, there might be some instances. But, in the last age of the apostles, when churches were perfectly constituted by them, and left as a precedent for them to imitate, presbyters and bishops were left distinct.
- Roberts. We urge that they were the same at that time in acts; —prove any rule for the alteration.
- Bishop. The reason why they are all one, is because the same persons and officers are called presbyters, and afterwards bishops, and the same word ascribed to them, they were then all one. We do grant, that the same persons, the same officers, were called *presbyteri*, and *episcopi*. So the same apostles were called, *apostoli* and *diaconi*.
- Roberts. But not in point of office.
- Bishop. I will show you that, in point of office, they were the

* See Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. 1. p. 386.

same, Acts i. *Apostoli* and *episcopi*, who are all of the same office.

Henry. That makes for us. If one and the same office may have several names, that *apostoli* were *diaconi*, why may not *presbyteri* be *episcopi*?

Bishop. If the apostles were called *apostoli* and *diaconi*, they were distinct offices.

Henry. The presbyters succeed the bishops.

Bishop. You will say the same of the deacons.

Henry. No, not so, they were to take care of the poor.

Roberts.

Bishop. If you will refer it to St. Jerome, we shall soon determine it.

Dodwell. This is the case you are concerned in, if you will refer it to St. Jerome, we will refer it to him.

Owen. Leave St. Jerome.

Henry. If your lordship please, we are upon the foundation of the scripture. Please to give a satisfactory answer to that objection, that the same persons are called presbyters and bishops.

Bishop. I say, while the apostles were the sole officers in the church, they had all those names in themselves. I showed you the apostles were called *episcopi*, and *presbyteri*, and *diaconi*.

Henry. They had them all virtually and eminently in themselves.

Roberts. When they made standing officers for the church, they made only presbyters and deacons.

Bishop. It is denied that they made no other officers besides.

Henry. Be pleased to tell us what officers.

Bishop. The apostles made single persons to be governors of churches.

Dodwell. A single presiding presbyter.

Henry. If there were no more but this one place, it makes it as clear as the sun, that the same persons were presbyters and bishops.*

Bishop. It makes it as plain as the sun, that they were called so before they were distinguished; by the same rule, deacons may be applied to them.

Henry. Jesus Christ is called the deacon,—minister of the circumcision.

Bishop. He is called All; that I showed you that these words at first, before there were distinct offices in the church, were promiscuously used.

Dodwell. If you would please to say in those times wherein

* See Fox's Acts and Monuments, v. 2, p. 411. fol. 1641. The Answer of John Lambert to the Bishop's Articles.

churches were imperfectly planted ; for proving of the distinction, I suppose you will not make a difference about words ; if there were one of these presbyters or bishops, that had a presidency over the whole presbytery, and did preside for term of life, and had the power of calling and dissolving of assemblies ; this is all we desire to examine the ministry by, if you will grant that one of these presbyters were president over the assembly.

Henry. We are to distinguish between *episcopus præsæs* and *episcopus princeps*.

Dodwell. There were nine arcontes among the Athenians. I showed that in the same office ; yet there have been presidents that have had some prerogative by virtue of their place.

Henry. As the chairman of a committee, the presbyters that ordained us, had a moderator. You are pleading for the bishop. There was never a bishop to be found when I was ordained.

Dodwell. There were bishops, but they must not ordain out of their own diocese.

Bishop. For that which you produce, Acts, xx, it was before there was any single person settled in that church, while it was under the power of the apostles themselves ; but afterwards, there was a single person placed in that church, with a superiority over those persons that you call bishops and presbyters.

Henry. Prove that.

Bishop. 1 Timothy, i. 3., the church of the Ephesians of which we read, Acts, xx ; and there, after that which was spoken by the apostle, there he writes this Epistle to Timothy, wherein he minds Timothy wherefore he left him at Ephesus. He left him there with such a power as to govern the presbyters, and to ordain, govern, reward, and punish ; therefore, there was afterwards a person set over those presbyters, with such a power, as we ascribe to the bishops.

Roberts. That power comprised no more than the power of an ordinary presbyter.

Bishop. It hath a greater power than you ascribe to single presbyters.

Roberts. The power lies in the minister to declare God's judgments and mercies, and church censures.

Henry. There is no power committed to Timothy, but what did agree to him as a presbyter.

Bishop. Hath every individual person the same power that was here committed to Timothy ?

Henry. I see no passage there that doth not agree to the office of a gospel minister *as such*.

Bishop. Here is first a power given to him who should have a

greater or lesser maintenance among ministers; at first, all was in the hands of the apostles; whatever was given to the church, was laid at the apostles' feet; afterwards, it was committed to the governor of the church, and Timothy, as a governor, had power to judge who of the elders should be most rewarded; the labourer is worthy of his reward, chapter v. 17.

Henry. Those things, which I say, were committed to Timothy, were committed to gospel ministers as such; your lordship mentions this verse there, which says,—*Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, &c.* I suppose your lordship doth not question whether it belongs to the office of a presbyter to preach, but now, that verse that you mention doth expressly ascribe rule to presbyters.

Dodwell. I question that—there are several gifts of the spirit,—and among them government, which is one gift, for them that rule well, then for labouring in word and doctrine, there was *prophetia* and *didascali*, and *logos didakos*, there was a different gift of the spirit for preaching and ruling. Some presbyters had the gift of preaching, some the gift of government; so it is the rule of the apostle, that every one that had a gift, should apply himself wholly to it; they, therefore, that had the gift of government, were to apply themselves wholly to it.

Henry. Prove it that the apostles did observe men (there were several gifts) that had these gifts, and according as they were endued with these gifts, accordingly they employed them; that some persons that had the gift of government, and not the others, were to employ themselves that way.

Bishop. Romans, xii. 6, 7, 8.

Henry. Doth this prove that these might not be in the same person?

Dodwell. They were not always in the same person, that is enough for our purpose; and, therefore, where there was the gift of government, there the person.

Henry. If it should be said, he that hath a gift of memory, let him make use of his gift of memory, he that hath a gift of ——— is not this.

Bishop. Is that denied?

Henry. I understand him that the apostles did observe who had the gift to rule, and made them rulers, and what persons had the gift of teaching, they made them teachers. Shew us that the same persons there have the same gifts there mentioned.

Dodwell. But they had not always the same gifts, some had not the gift of government. I will not make them always separate.

Henry. If you please, I will prove. Hebrews, xiii.

Roberts. The lay-elders may as well come in, as the distinct office of a bishop.

Bishop. I bring it for this purpose, to show a single person, Timothy, that had the judging of this, who should be counted worthy of double honour,—he was that judge.

Owen. That he might as the apostle's substitute.

Bishop. So then every thing he might do as the apostle's substitute; a single person was to judge of the presbyters, and to that purpose to receive accusations against them, chapter v. 19, receive them.

Dodwell. You are opposing now,—that argument may be framed thus,—They by whom accusations are to be received against presbyters, are more than ordinary presbyters; but they who are endued with authority over ordinary presbyters, are more than ordinary presbyters; accusations were to be received by Timothy, therefore, he was more than an ordinary presbyter.

Roberts. We deny the major. We will show you a reason. A person might have power to receive accusations against presbyters, and be one himself; for one judge may receive accusations against another judge, and yet both have equal power. His having such power did not put him in any degree, but a presbyter might have done all that.

Dodwell. The proposition is this;—They by whom accusations are received against presbyters, are more than ordinary presbyters. The proposition is undoubtedly —

Henry. A superior order of presbyters?

Dodwell. We do not say so.

Bishop. Reduce questions to as few as you can.

Dodwell. I will not wrong you if I can avoid it. The proposition, as it lies, is undoubtedly true,—that they who are to receive, that is, the whole body, according to the hypothesis, and in the whole body, particular presbyters are contained, and by this means, particular presbyters, not acting as parts of the body, may receive accusations, and so are superiors, as parts of the body, they are above ordinary presbyters. Single presbyters, as parts of the presbytery, may have power over other presbyters, considered in their private capacity, where this is, the whole direction of the epistle would not be directed to particular presbyters, for it is not one particular presbyter that hath constantly this power. Here is a whole epistle directed to one person,—they who have a constant superiority and power of receiving accusations without mention of any other, are more than ordinary presbyters. But St. Timothy, a single person in the church of Ephesus, hath this constant authority. If he had been written

to as a presbyter, it would have been written to the whole presbytery.

Bishop. I charge thee that thou observe these things.

Henry. Do you think that doth not belong to every presbyter?

Bishop. No.

Dodwell. Give me leave to tell my medium. This you say, that St. Timothy had a power of hearing accusations against presbyters as a private presbyter. I prove not; that power which it supposes to be constant in Timothy, cannot be the power in particular presbyters, therefore not the power.

Henry. I deny your major.

Dodwell. I will prove it. Every particular presbyter may become a *reus* as well as a judge, that is no constant power which doth not always agree to the office. I deny that bishops may be *rei* before presbyters.

Owen. We spoke of the college of presbyters.

Bishop. I say a bishop is not to be *reus* in a synod of presbyters, but only in a synod of bishops.

Dodwell. A common presbyter may sometimes be a judge, and sometimes *reus* himself.

Bishop. He is not only to receive the accusations; but to judge.

Henry. That is only to reprove, I conceive.

Owen. *Elenchyn* is to cut off from the church.

Henry. It is to reprove sharply.

Owen. 2 Corinthians, xiii. that I may not use *apologos*.

Henry. But your lordship uses *elenchyn*; it is that which is fraternal: an equal may reprove his equal.

Bishop. The authoritative is called *elenchyn*.

Owen. Against an elder receive not an accusation.

Dodwell. That is an elder in age. Let no man despise thy youth, in age not in office, the younger as brethren.

Henry. You were speaking of Timothy, as a superior officer in the church, and now your lordship grants it may be meant of elder in age.

Bishop. Take heed, Mr. Henry. I expected better from you. It is the apostle's charge,—*against an elder receive not an accusation*, &c. those that are found guilty, *elenche*, correct that others may fear.

Henry. Will your lordship give me leave to read the words?

Bishop. That place spoken of by Mr. Owen, was spoken of elders in age; pray go to the other place, chapter v. 19, 20, 21.; that spoken of preferring one before another, may be meant of rewards spoken of in the 17th verse, it is spoken with relation to the power he had over presbyters.

Henry. Why may not presbyter, in that place, be taken in the

same sense that it was in the first verse concerning elders in age?

Bishop. Because it follows what is spoken in the 17th verse, of elders in office.

Henry. He speaks of elders offending, it is necessary I should grant that, verse 19.

Bishop. After that which is spoken in the first verse, there are twenty verses spoken in the chapter concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which he considers as all in the hands of that single person, for that may deserve to be taken notice of; he gives him, as a single person, still rule concerning those women that belonged to the ecclesiastical body, verse 11, the younger women refuse;—do not receive them into the rule of the office, so verse 16 and verse 17, he goes on to other ecclesiastical officers, those which indeed were the principal.

Henry. Under your lordship's favour, this proves what was before asserted, that there is nothing said to Timothy by the apostle, but what belongs to a particular minister over a particular congregation, and lays before him his duty; suppose a particular member of a congregation offend, suppose he be an aged person, complaint is to be made to the minister concerning this man, he is not to receive an accusation, but before a witness; in his reproving of him, he is exhorted to carry himself towards him, not as a younger, but as his elder, especially he being himself Timothy, a young man.

Dodwell. This seems to proceed somewhat rationally, if the case in the apostle's time were the same as now.

Henry. The scripture is our rule.

Dodwell. If every particular presbyter in the apostle's time had had a particular portion of the flock allotted to his charge, as parish ministers have now, you speak something, you read not of any government among presbyters, but only in the whole body; not one presbyter for one place, and another for another; they are always mentioned together in the scripture. Ignatius in the —

Henry. This makes directly against episcopacy, and for presbytery.

Dodwell. This was the case in the apostle's time, it was not as now, that every particular presbyter had a particular parish by himself, but the whole governed by the common body. Now judge, whether it were requisite for the apostle to write a whole epistle, particularly of that which belonged to him only in common with others.

Henry. Do not you think, —

Bishop. Lay hands suddenly on no man.

Henry. I believe it belongs to presbyters, you do not lay hands yourself alone, you have your authority from these words,

I do not know where else; their power was given by Jesus Christ.

Dodwell. Christ doth not give by immediate revelation.

Henry. It is inherent in them by virtue of their office.

Dodwell. This government being, as it was, in the apostle's time, administered by a whole body of presbyters, whether you, in such a case, would have written to one of this body only, and not the rest.

Bishop. Ordain elders in every city; it is not a thing done one time.

Henry. If the government of the church in the apostle's time, were by common authority, it ought to be so now. But it was so according to this gentleman's argument.

Dodwell. As far as I say, it is so still, for I only mentioned common authority, in opposition to particular presbyters not having particular proportions of their flock committed to their particular charge; that is not now by your doctrine.

Henry. The apostle's doctrine is my doctrine, that I am to be ruled by those that preach to me.* Obey them which have the rule over, that preach to you, &c. That is one argument we have against diocesans, that *they* rule us that do *not preach* to us.

Bishop. Show this to be scripture, or else wipe it out.

Dodwell. I have showed the office of government and preaching to be different, and, therefore, they may govern you that do not preach to you.

Henry. Hebrews, xiii. 7. Remember them that have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, compare it with verse 17, for they are the same persons.

Bishop. Those in the seventh verse, are those that were dead, those in the 17th verse, are those that were living.

Henry. They were such, as while they did live, did rule and preach.

Bishop. That cannot be proved. Put that into a syllogism.

Henry. Remember them which have the rule over you, verse 17, obey them.

Owen. *Egoumeni*,—it is the same word.

Henry. Your lordship supposes them dead,—that is not the argument. Grant them to be either dead or alive, the argument is the same; when they were alive, they did rule over them, and did preach to them the word of God.

Bishop. That did the Apostle James, and James, Bishop of Jerusalem.

* In scripture we find, what ruling any minister hath, it is over such people as he speaks the word of God to, Hebrews, xiii. 7. See Gospel Conversation, by Jer. Burroughs. p. 30. 4to. 1648. See *ante*, p. 107.

- Henry. Doth your lordship think nobody else did preach to them?
- Bishop. I know none that did but those.
- Henry. The argument is still the same; those that had the rule over them, were those that preached to them the word of God.
- Bishop. You saw in that text, 1 Timothy, v. 17, they are spoken of as distinct offices.* Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially, &c.
- Henry. By your lordship's favour, that is the thing that is urged against those, against lay-elders; you make use of that interpretation in that place. Let the elders, &c. especially they who labour, &c.; that is, if they are such rulers as are preachers; therefore, ruling and preaching are in the same person.
- Bishop. Therefore there may be rulers that are not preachers.
- Henry. It is a presbytery that is spoken of there, and not bishops.
- Bishop. You infer hence, that those only are to be their rulers, that are their teachers.
- Henry. Yes. Why should they be called by the same name, and the one be apostles, and the other, ordinary presbyters?
- Bishop. The Hebrews, if they are to speak of a christian bishop, call him *egoumenos*.
- Henry. So is every minister to his flock.
- Dodwell. Those distinctions were really distinctions of government, and of teaching. So there are distinct offices.
- Henry. That doth not follow. What, so many offices as gifts? An office of memory then.
- Dodwell. The scripture doth not mention that; utterance it doth. I am showing the names of the offices; as these are distinct gifts of the Spirit, so there are offices suitable to those as distinct, they that had the gift of government, they are called —, they that had the gift of teaching, are called pastors or teachers.
- Henry. Resolve to lay by names, and speak of things.
- Dodwell. They that were both pastors and teachers, were particularly to be respected.
- Henry. I think every pastor is to be a teacher.
- Dodwell. I say not. *He ascended up on high, he gave gifts unto men, &c.*
- Henry. It is some pastors and teachers; it is not some pastors and some teachers.
- Dodwell. They seem to be in that place as much distinct pastors and teachers, as apostles and evangelists.
- Bishop. All this is not worth the while.

* See Baxter's Nonconformist's Plea for Peace. p. 194. oct. 1679.

Henry. What is gathered from thence, that is, as in the government of the Church of Scotland, they have their doctors, that is, teachers, that is to manage controversies, and preach on such subjects. Pastors are to apply themselves to practical preaching. I do not know what the gentleman would infer thence.

Dodwell. That text, that those which rule, count worthy of double honour, especially, &c. shews that they might be very separable offices; as they were separable offices, so the rulers might be distinct from the labourers in word and doctrine; some might do one, and some the other, and some both.

Henry. I do not understand any thing you drive at by that.

Dodwell. That consequence that you spoke of just now, I overthrow, wherein you made governing and teaching synonymous,—none to govern you, but those that taught you, this proves that the same persons were not necessary to do both.

Henry. No. Let the elders that rule, &c.; but if they be rulers, and do not labour in the word and doctrine, they are to have but single honour; and, therefore, both might be in the same person.

Bishop. We have been about that which is of little moment. Here is plainly a command to Timothy, to see to that matter of distributing honours and rewards among the elders of the church, and to receive accusations, and judge upon them, and to punish whatever it is that *elenchyn* signifies. Here is also a power of ordination given to the same single person, (for that is in the singular number,) the apostle charges him to lay hands suddenly on no man; the same is given to another single person, Titus. These epistles were written to Timothy and to Titus, after Paul came out of prison.

Owen. Be pleased to prove that the 1st of Timothy* was written after his coming out of prison at Rome.

Bishop. I will prove it. That which was written by St. Paul, going into Macedonia, to Timothy, abiding still at Ephesus, must be written after his coming out of prison.

Owen. I deny the major.

Bishop. Paul was but twice at Ephesus, he could not be there sooner than we read, Acts xviii.

Owen. You speak of Macedonia. I deny your major, that it was written after his coming out of prison.

Bishop. That which was so circumstanced, I must prove that by texts;—that which was written by Paul, going into Macedonia, and leaving Timothy at Ephesus, must be after

* As to the controversy respecting the date of this Epistle. See Dr. Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, v. 5. pp. 356—362.

he was at liberty, because there could be no such thing before he went into prison; before that, he was only twice at Ephesus, and it could not be either of those times.

Owen. You say it was neither the first nor the second journey, therefore, it was not till after. I suppose it might be.

Bishop. He was so far from leaving Timothy at Ephesus, that he, being there, sent Timothy into Macedonia, and there met Timothy.

Owen. But, my lord, you will find that after Paul sent Timothy to Macedonia, he designed speedily to go after him, but there fell out an uproar, that detained him a considerable time; and Grotius thinks Timothy did return to Paul, to Ephesus, before he went into Macedonia; and so Paul leaves Ephesus, goes to Macedonia, thence to Greece,—stays there three months, comes to Macedonia again, and Timothy came to meet him there.

Bishop. I grant you that Paul went into Macedonia, and all that which follows, that there he did meet with Timothy; but that he returned to Ephesus, I do not at all sit down by Grotius's opinion. Pray give me a reason. His opinion is, that the 2nd of Thessalonians was written before the 1st of Thessalonians, which is a senseless thing.

Henry. He had his faults.

Owen. It is the opinion of most writers on the text. You can hardly produce any author that will stand by this notion of your's; that it was a third journey that was intended in the Epistle to Timothy. Hammond. Lightfoot is of another mind.

Bishop. He wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians at that time. The Son of God, Jesus Christ, was preached among you by us, &c.—2nd of Corinthians was written by Paul and Timothy.

Owen. It was so, my lord.

Bishop. There are several things to be considered in the proof of this, being a point of chronology, he sent Timothy from Ephesus into Macedonia; he finds afterwards, Timothy in Macedonia; it lies upon you to prove that Timothy was at Ephesus between; and you should prove also, that St. Paul left Timothy at Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia. Here it appears to be quite contrary. I will show you another argument; it appears,—

Owen. I have produced several authorities to prove it, which I thought sufficient. Capellus.

Dodwell. There are chronologers of many minds.

Bishop. All their authorities do not weigh with me against one word of scripture.

Owen. I will show that it is a new way you go. I cannot

find any one that times this Epistle so late as your lordship mentions. Baronius quotes several authors.

Bishop. ¶ The Epistle which was written after Timothy's suffering for the christian faith. I have shewed that St. Paul sent Timothy from Ephesus into Macedonia, you do not bring him back again. I will show you farther.

Roberts. Let that lye, and go to another argument.

Bishop. That Epistle which was written after Timothy had been a sufferer for the christian faith, was written after Paul's imprisonment at Rome; this was written after Timothy had suffered for the profession of the faith.

Owen. What does this prove?

Bishop. Therefore it was written after Paul was set at liberty.

Owen. Prove that consequence.

Bishop. St. Paul being at Rome, we find Timothy with him. What is said in this Epistle of Timothy's sufferings, makes it appear that it was written after he was set at liberty.

Owen. What is said of Timothy's sufferings?

Bishop. Chapter vi. 12; *Fight the good fight of faith; lay hold on eternal life whereunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses*;—it is the same which follows in the next verse, — even as Christ before Pilate had witnessed a good confession, so had Timothy before this time.

Owen. My lord, you are to prove that this was at Rome. He was Paul's companion in many of his troubles; it is conceived, Timothy went with Paul to Rome, and he suffered much by the way, and it is like he might suffer with him. This is no clear proof.

APPENDIX, No. XVIII.

AFTERWARDS, Mr. Henry despaired to see an accommodation; and, among his papers, the following document, in his own handwriting, is preserved. It bears internal evidence of being his composition, but to whom it was sent cannot now be ascertained. Probably it was a communication to the ecclesiastical commissioners, who, in 1689, were appointed for making alterations in favour of the dissenters.* His friend, Dr. Lloyd, the Bishop of St. Asaph, was of the number. It is an interesting specimen of the catholic moderation which pervaded all his feelings and deportment; and it conveys his sentiments on some points which were, at the time, the occasion of angry controversy.

1. Concerning Ministers.

It is our humble desire that all those that have received ordination by ministers, with imposition of hands, by fasting and prayer, whether of late, or heretofore, may be declared to be true ministers of the church of Christ, and equally capable, with others, of ecclesiastical employment and preferment.

That when they shall any of them be called to any particular charge, they may be admitted freely thereunto without oaths other than those of allegiance and supremacy, whereby to evidence themselves good protestant subjects; and without subscriptions, other than such as are unquestionably clear and scriptural.

That, being so admitted, in case of failure in their duty afterwards, either by error, negligence, or other immorality, they be liable to censure and suspension for it, by such ecclesiastical superiors as shall be thought fit; which ecclesiastical superiors, our opinion is, should be a single person, assisted with other ministers, grave, pious, and experienced, residing, if it may be, in some one

* Abridgment of Baxter's History of his Life and Times, by Calamy, vol. 1, p. 452, *ut supra*.

the most convenient place in each shire or county; which same society may henceforward be concerned both in ordinations, and in the placing of ministers also where they are wanted in those precincts.

We are likewise inclined to think it may do well, that that single person be, as now he is, styled the bishop, and those assistants in the stead of deans and chapters; and their vacancy, from time to time, to be supplied by the substituting of such aged ministers, in the said precincts, whose infirmities disfit them for the ordinary parish work, especially if they be themselves desirous thereof; there to be comfortably accommodated till their death.

Our desire is, that each minister may have so much authority over his own people, as to call them together in assemblies as oft on week-days as he shall think fit, not compelling any to join with him therein, but as volunteers in such duties, according as they find it profitable to them for their spiritual improvement and edification.

Also, that he may himself, with the advice of the churchwardens, or parish eldership, both admit adult people, after trial of their fitness, to the communion of the Lord's Supper: and also, in case of unquestionable scandal, and wilful persisting therein, to suspend offenders from the said communion; exhorting the congregation, till they repent, to withdraw from them, as from disorderly walkers, that they may be ashamed.

More than this, in this matter, we desire not; for we are taught that the *weapons of our warfare are not carnal*.

2. Concerning Worship.

The ordinary parts and ways of worship, are, the word, and prayer, and sacraments, and singing of psalms, &c.

1. For the word, our way is, and we desire to be allowed in it, not only to read the scriptures without being imposed upon, either what, or how much, but also to expound it to the people, and to give the meaning, which is found to be for edification. To preach also, according to the ability given to us of God, *for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness*.

2. For prayer; (concerning which we differ, whether by form, or no form; if by form, whether by the established Liturgy only, or by some other joined with it;) that which we desire is this, that ministers may be wholly left to their freedom, to do as they shall judge best, and most conducent to the good of their congregations.

3. For the sacraments, our method and way in the administration of them is well and sufficiently known.

(1.) In baptism, we conceive the parent's profession of the christian faith gives the child its title to it; and, therefore, we use not godfathers and godmothers; and in baptizing we use no other dedicating sign than washing with water. In both which particulars,

if our brethren be otherwise persuaded, let them do as they see cause; we shall not be against them in it.

(2.) In the Lord's Supper, we prefer the gesture of sitting as most agreeable to the nature of the ordinance, being a feast of remembrance, and to the practice of Christ and the apostles at the first institution, yet we deny it not to communicants standing or kneeling. We use no words of prayer in the time of the administration, therefore we kneel not; and, as for the people's either taking it immediately from the minister, or handing it from one to another, whether at a table, or in seats near adjoining within view, we lay no stress, either one way or the other.

4. For singing of psalms, we use it after the accustomed way, only forasmuch as the common translation, in many things, is defective, and the words, divers of them, obsolete, we desire we may have the liberty of such other translations as we find better,—as Barton's, Patrick's.

5. For catechizing, we have found much good done by the use of that of the assembly, and desire we may be still allowed the use of it till we find a better.

6. In marrying, we dislike some of the words made use of and enjoined, and do desire they may be altered, and that the use of the ring may be either wholly omitted, or the reason of using it better explained.

7. In burying, we would desire not to be required, either to meet the corpse, or to read, or say, or sing any thing at or over the grave, but to do what is to be done in the usual place of worship.

3. Concerning Ceremonies.

We desire there may be no law to impose them either on ministers or people, and do not desire a law to forbid them; but, *let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind*. Such as wearing the surplice in worship; bowing to the east, or at the name of Jesus; churching of women; observation of holy days; consecrating of churches; keeping of Lent.

4. Concerning the Sabbath.

We desire that all possible care may be taken for the due sanctification of the Lord's-day, not only by laying restraint upon unnecessary travelling, worldly labours, and especially upon riot and recreations, but also by appointing, that all persons whatsoever, not disabled by age, sickness, or other justifiable reason, do attend ordinarily upon some publick place of protestant worship, of one kind or other, if within their reach.

5. Concerning Courts.

Our desire is, that a difference may be put between those things that belong to, and are of a spiritual concern, and other things that

are not. The former to be managed by ministers only; the latter, only by others. We think (if authority so please) it may do well, that, in every county, there be a trust in the hands of lay-persons with power, such as justices have, to inflict secular penalties:—

1. In things pertaining to churches and church-yards, pews, and burying-places.

2. In tithes, and other church-duties, and dues of that nature, for ministers' maintenance; and also monies left for charitable uses, and for schools.

3. In register of baptizings, marriages, and burials, to be transmitted thither, and lodged there for particular parishes.

4. In proving wills, and granting letters of administration.

Concerning the regulating of all which, as they are to hold their power immediately from the civil magistrate, so to him only we desire they may be accountable in case of mal-administration.

These are the things we do desire; which, if granted to us, we will be thankful; if denied, we pray we may be protected from violence and persecution in the circumstances of liberty and indulgence wherein we are. The act against conventicles, and the act for excluding ministers from corporations, being repealed, and as much of the act of uniformity as makes it penal to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments without episcopal ordination, and the use of the liturgy.*

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XIX.

THE following are specimens:—

An Alphabet of good Spirits.

An active spirit. 1 Corinthians, xv. 58.

An active spirit is an excellent spirit,
Always abounding in the works of God;
'Tis Christ-like, angel-like; such shall inherit
Heav'n's highest glory; sloth invites the rod.

A bold spirit. Proverbs, xxviii. 1.

The bold in spirit are the lion-like men,
That turn not back for ought in duty's way;
That run and fight, and, fighting, conquer; when,
The timorous coward never wins the day.*

Another mode of arranging subjects for the assistance of his hearers may be here introduced. The transcripts are from a manuscript in the hand-writing of his daughter, Mrs. Savage, and a volume believed to be the hand-writing of Mrs. Tylston:—

* From an authentick MS. See also the Evangelical Magazine, v. 25, p. 349.

Alphabetical Precepts.

- A. *Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace, and thereby good shall come unto thee.*
- B. *Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.*
- C. *Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee.*
- D. *Delight thyself also in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thy heart.*
- E. *Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not into the way of the evil man.*
- F. *Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.*
- G. *Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name.*
- H. *Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase.*
- I. *It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.*
- K. *Keep thy foot when thou goest into the house of the Lord, and be more ready to hear, than to give the sacrifice of fools.*
- L. *Let not thy heart envy sinners, but be thou in the fear of the Lord all the day long.*
- M. *Make no friendship with an angry man, and with a furious man thou shalt not go.*
- N. *Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.*
- O. *Offer unto the Lord thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High.*
- P. *Pray continually.*
- Q. *Quench not the spirit.*
- R. *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the evil days come, and the years draw nigh, wherein thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them.*
- S. *Seek the Lord while he may be found, call upon him while he is near.*
- T. *Train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.*
- U. *Unto man he said, Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding.*
- W. *Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.*
- X. *'Xamine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith.*
- Y. *Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary; I am the Lord.**

* Mrs. Savage's MS.

What are the promises?

- A. Articles of the covenant of grace.
- B. Breasts of consolation.
- C. Christians' charter.
- D. Declarations of the good will of God to poor sinners.
- E. Effects of the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ.
- F. Foundation and food of our faith and hope.
- G. Gifts of divine power.
- H. Heritage for ever.
- I. Joy and rejoicing of our hearts.
- K. Knit with the precepts, and the precepts with them.
- L. Legacies left us by the last will and testament of our Lord Jesus.
- M. Means of grace and sanctification.
- N. Number, numberless.
- O. *Ordered in all things, and sure.*
- P. Powerful pleas in prayer.
- Q. Quickeners to quietness under the cross.
- R. Ready refuge.
- S. Salve for every sore.*
- T. Truest treasure.
- U. Universally useful, every day in every thing.
- W. *Wells of salvation.*
- X. *Exceeding great and precious.*
- Y. *Yea and amen in Christ Jesus.*
- Z. Zion's peculiar.†

* "Give salves to every sore, but counsell to the minde."

Spenser. *Faerie Queene*, b. vi. canto vi.
st. v. Works, *ut supra*, v. 6, p. 464.

"Christ Jesus is a salve for every sore, a remedy for every malady."

Beames of Divine Light, by Dr. Sibbs, p. 6, 4to. 1639.

"St. Austin doth witness that the Holy Scriptures be the 'salves for every man's sore.'" See Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, App. b. iv. Numb. lxxiii. p. 135, fol. 1711.

† Mrs. Tylston's MS.

What is prayer?

- A. Access to the Father.
- B. Breath of the new creature.
- C. Caterer.
- D. Desires that should be offered up to God by us.
- E. Enemy to every evil work and way.
- F. Friend to faith and godliness.
- G. Guard against all temptations.
- H. Heart's ease.
- I. Incense in the ears of God.
- K. Key, to unlock all our treasure.*
- L. Letter to heaven.
- M. Musick in the ears of God.
- N. Nurse of holy joy.
- O. Ordinance of all ordinances.
- P. Privilege.
- Q. Quickener to all holy obedience.
- R. Remedy against care and fear.
- S. Salve for every sore.
- T. Terror to the devils.
- V. Voice of the Spirit of God.
- W. Wrestling with God.
- X. Exercise.
- Y. Yielding of ourselves to God in holy obedience.
- Z. Zion's artillery against all the Zamzummims† of the world.‡

* "Though prayer be the key to open God's treasures, yet faith is the hand that turns the key, without which it will doe no good." *The Saint's Daily Exercise*, by John Preston, D. D. p. 105, 4to. 1630.

† See Deuteronomy, ii. 20.

‡ P. Henry. From the MS. of his daughter, Mrs. Tylston.

APPENDIX, No. XX.

HIS subjects, besides those mentioned before, of the good and bad spirits, in 1688 and 1689, were, what Christ is made to believers. He was about a year (the whole year 1690) preaching over the history of Christ in twenty heads. His forerunner; his conception and birth; his circumcision and name; his being presented in the temple; his flight into Egypt; his dispute with the doctors; his being baptized of John; his being tempted of the devil; his disciples and followers; his preaching; his miracles; the obedience of his life; his sufferings at his death; his death itself; his burial; his resurrection; his ascension into heaven; his sitting at the right hand of God; his intercession; his second coming to judge the world;—which he closed up, and made a short rehearsal of, in one sabbath-day's work, from 2 Corinthians, iv. 5;—*We preach not ourselves, but Christ*. Then, what Christ is made of to believers, in 1691 and 1692. Afterwards, in the years 1692 and 1693, what the church is to Christ, in twenty-four particulars, alphabetical, from so many texts, each of them a sabbath-day's work. His army, Canticles, vi. 10; his building, 1 Corinthians, ii. 9, &c. After that, he preached in 1693 and 1694, upon the most remarkable passages in Christ's sermon upon the mount. And then, in like manner, went over, in the years 1694, and 1695, Christ's last sermon, in John, xiv. and xv. and xvi.; and his prayer, John, xvii. Then he preached over the beginning of 1 Peter, i.; and, the winter before he died, having had occasion in a lecture-sermon, to warn people against four common and scandalous sins;—dishonesty, drunkenness, uncleanness, and unquietness;—and, finding them all together in one scripture, in the same order, he preached it

over, Romans, xiii. 13, 14; subjoining to it Galatians, v. 16. Then he began 2 Peter i.; and, when his Lord came, he found him thus doing.

A little before he died, he said,—he scarce knew now what subject to choose that he had not preached upon already.*

* Life. Orig. MS. *ut supra*.

APPENDIX, No. XXI.

TRUTH, he would remark, is a jewel of inestimable value ; and we should prize it accordingly. We must buy it, and not sell it, Proverbs, xxiii. 23. Hold it fast, and not let it go, 2 Timothy, i. 13. Abide in it, and not fall from it, 2 John, 9 ; 2 Peter, iii. 17. And, as a mean of all the rest, we must love it, Zechariah, viii. 19 ; 2 Thessalonians, ii. 10. We must love it *more than thousands of gold and silver*, Psalm, cxix. 127.

Errors, on the other hand, are sins ; sins, because transgressions of the divine law. *Do not err*, because errors are works of the flesh, Galatians, v. 20 ; and because they are invasions upon God's rule and government. He has authority over our understanding ; we owe the same subjection to his truths as to his commands. Errors in judgment are the causes of sins in practice, Matthew, vi. 23 ; Epistle of Jude. It is said that fishes first putrify in the head ; —so do many.

Error is very bewitching, Galatians, iii. 1. It works like poison, silently and insensibly ; it drinks up the good spirits, the sap and savour of a man. It is infecting, like the leprosy. A leper in the head was utterly unclean, Leviticus, xiii. 44. It is destroying ; a shot, or cut in the head, will as surely kill as in the heart. See Psalm, xcvi. 10, 11.

Lay a good foundation in being well acquainted with the principles of the doctrine of Christ. Take heed of pride and conceitedness. The low shrubs in the valley escape the storm when the tall cedars on the hill-tops are up-rooted ; weather-cocks, set high, turn. Seek grace, and special growth in it, Hebrews, xiii. 9 ; 2 Peter, iii. 17, 18. Take heed of living in any known sin, or indulging any secret lust against light. Avoid needless familiarity with false prophets, 2 John, 10, 11 ; Romans, xvi. 17, 18 ; 1 Timothy, vi. 5. Give yourselves to the word and prayer, Acts, vi. 4.*

APPENDIX, No. XXII.

THE cultivation of the memory, with a view to religious improvement, Mr. Henry both felt, and urged, as being of special importance. Of this his manuscripts furnish the following illustration.

In reply to the inquiry,—What means are we to use, that we may remember spiritual things better, to carry away with us more of what we hear, and to keep it more faithfully? He says;—

Get the heart filled with love to the things of God. I never yet saw a covetous old man forget where his money lay.* The reason is, his heart is upon it; see Psalm, cxix. 16. Labour to see the worth and excellency of heavenly truths; so many truths, so many jewels. Jewels we lay up. See your own concern in them, Deuteronomy, xxxii. 46, 47; yet a clear and distinct apprehension, Psalm, cvi. 7; and the more distinct the better. A man may carry a great deal more upon his back, if the things be well-ordered and packed up,† than if they lie loose and confused. So it is with the memory. Hence catechisms are exceedingly useful. Submit to the power of the word; the sermon that doth us most good we shall best remember, Psalm, cxix. 93. Attention is a special help, Hebrews, ii. 1. It is said the people hanged on Christ while he was preaching to them, Luke, xix. 48. See Luke, viii. 18.

Meditation,‡ Luke, ii. 19. A garment that is double-dyed, dipped again and again, will retain the colour a great while; so a

* "*Nec verò quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset.*" Cicero de Senect. p. 155. Op. tom. 8, *ut supra*.

† "One will carrie twice more weight trussed and packed up in bundles, than when it lies untowardly flapping and hanging about his shoulders. Things orderly fardled up, under heads, are most portable." Fuller's Holy State, p. 164, *ut supra*.

‡ Meditation keeps out Satan. It increases knowledge, Psalm, cxix. 99; 1 Timothy, iv. 15. It inflames love, Psalm xxxix. 3. It works patience, Psalm, cxix. 23; Psalm, lxxvii. 6. It promotes prayer, Psalm, lxxiii. 5, 6. It evidences sincerity. See Proverbs, xxiii. 7. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

truth which is the subject of meditation. What harrowing is after sowing, the same is meditation after hearing,—it hides the word.

Conference. See this and the former in one scripture, Psalm, lxxvii. 11, 12. As an orange, by being tossed to and fro, from hand to hand, leaves a scent behind it,—so doth truth.

Prayer. We should turn sermons into petitions. Pray for the Spirit. There is great encouragement from promises, Luke, xi. 13.

The memory is a lazy faculty, unless rubbed up, 2 Peter, i. 12, 13. Exercise your memories. The way to have limbs is to use them.

Consider the great advantage we shall get by it; by the help of a faithful, sanctified memory, truths may do us good long after we have heard them. See John, x. 41, 42; Psalm, cxix. 52; Lamentations, iii. 21.

But there are some things which God would have us especially to remember. In general, every part of his revealed will. Particularly, our Creator, Ecclesiastes, xii. 1; *To keep holy the sabbath-day*, Exodus, xx. 8.

Also, our *latter end*, Deuteronomy, xxxii. 20. *Shortly, we must put off this our tabernacle*; the thing itself is certain, the time uncertain. Could I be contented death should find me in my present state, in this place, company, so employed? Forgetfulness of our latter end makes us careless and secure, Isaiah, xlvii. 7; Lamentations, i. 9.

The *days of darkness*, Ecclesiastes, xi. 8; not only that we must die, but also what comes *after* death; our state after death is to be an abiding state. If we die in sin, eternal darkness follows. Think of this. What a misery were it to be shut up in a dungeon, though in ease, for a few years; much greater, to be shut up in hell under *chains of darkness*,* and flames of brimstone,† and that for ever! We have little cause to envy wicked men those merry days which they now enjoy, for they are but few; the *days of darkness*, which are coming, are like to be *many*.

Those who are in bonds, Hebrews, xiii. 3; our poor, distressed, afflicted, brethren; those, especially, who *suffer for righteousness' saks*. When we are at meat, we should think of those who are hungry, for whom nothing is provided; when at ease in our beds, of those who are sick, and in pain. Such a thought may conduce much to seriousness, sobriety, and thankfulness. Their condition might have been our's, and our's their's. They are our fellow members. See Psalm, cxxxvii. 5, 6. We must remember them so as to relieve them, when we have opportunity, Hebrews, xiii. 16; which God will remember, Acts, x. 31.

Our past sins, Deuteronomy, ix. 7. The sins of our youth, of our unregenerate state; not barely to talk of them, much less to please

* 2 Peter, ii. 4.

† Revelations, xxi. 8. See Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Works, vol. 3, p. 517, *et supra*.

ourselves in the remembrance of them, but for holy, spiritual ends and purposes; as to mourn over them that they may be pardoned, if that be not yet the case. If they are forgiven, the remembrance of them may be useful to keep us humble and low in our own eyes, 1 Corinthians, xv. 9; Ezekiel, xvi. 63; to provoke thankfulness, 1 Timothy, i. 12, &c.; to quicken us in our obedience. See 1 Peter, iv. 2, 3.

The mercies we have received, Psalm, ciii. 2; Deuteronomy, xxxii. 6, 7, though long since. Herein the people of God have been very careful; sometimes compiling long songs of remembrance, Exodus, xv.; Judges, v.; sometimes setting up monuments of remembrance, Exodus, xvii. 15; 1 Samuel, vii. 12; sometimes imposing names of remembrance, Genesis, xli. 51, 52; Exodus, xviii. 3, 4.

There is good reason why it should be so; for God remembers our kindness towards him, Jeremiah, ii. 2.

The judgments of the Lord. Towards ourselves, Lamentations, iii. 19, 20. Thus and thus the Lord chastened me, and my sin was the cause. Shall I then continue in sin? Towards others, Luke, xvii. 32, so as to be warned.

The words of the Lord Jesus, and of those whom he hath sent, Acts, xx. 35; Jude, verse 17.

What are those special things which God would have us to forget? Injuries done to us, Romans, xii. 19, 20; *our own people, and our father's house*, Psalm, xlv. 10; *i. e.* the persons of our nearest, dearest relations, when they seek to keep us from Christ, Deuteronomy, xxxiii. 9; the customs, fashions, usages, of those with whom we conversed in our ignorance,—*those things which are behind*, Philippians, iii. 13.*

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XXIII.

THE following specimen of Mr. Henry's paternal counsel, will not, it is presumed, be unacceptable.

Advice to the Rev. Matthew Henry, and Mrs. Henry,
newly married, 1687.

Dear pair, whom God hath now of two made one,
Suffer a father's exhortation.
In the first place see, that with joint endeavour,
You set yourselves to serve the Lord together.
You are yok'd to work, but for work, wages write,
His yoke is easy, and his burden light.
Love one another, pray oft together, and see
You never both together angry be.*
If one speak fire; t'other with water† come;
Is one provok'd? be t'other soft or dumb.‡
Walk low, but aim high, spotless be your life,
You are a minister, and a minister's wife.
Therefore as beacons, set upon a hill,
To angels and to men a spectacle.
Your slips will *falls* be call'd, your falls, each one
Will be a blemish to religion.
Do good to all, be affable and meek,
Your converse must be preaching all the week.
Your garb and dress must not be vain and gay;
Reckon good works your richest, best array.

* If an offence be given by one, it must not be taken by the other: for if both be angry together, the fire will be the greater. Shute's Sarah and Hagar. p. 85, fol. 1649.

† "A good man, being vehement with the 'Reverend and faithfull servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Richard Greenham,' he said,—'You are fire, and I will be water.'" Greenham's Works, p. 742, *ut supra*.

‡ See Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, p. 148, *ut supra*. The Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, *ut supra*, p. 297. Sermon xvi.

Your house must be a Bethel, and your door
 Always stand open to relieve the poor.
 Call your estate God's, not your own, engrave
 Holiness to the Lord on all you have.
 Count upon suffering, or you count amiss,
 Sufficient to each day its evil is ;
 All are born once to trouble, but saints twice,
 And, as experience shows, ministers thrice.
 But if you suffer with and for your Lord,
 You'll reign with him according to his word.*

On the marriage of Mrs. Savage, March 28, 1687, he founded an address, on Genesis, ii. 22, *And brought her unto the man.*†

Weddings are likely, he observed, to be comfortable, when God brings the married couple to each other. All who come together, do so by his common providence. A sparrow doth not fall to the ground without him. But there is a special providence to be owned, when people marry *in the Lord*. That a marriage may be *in the Lord*, it is necessary that the proceedings be according to rule.—In respect of parties, they must not be too near in relation, nor too far off in age, quality, and profession. The more suitableness, the more likely is it that they were brought together by God. Solomon missed it in marrying strange wives, and it was his ruin. Sons of God should not match with the daughters of men. Be not unequally yoked. There should be free consent of both parties, and parents also. Parents are not to infringe children's right, by forcing them, nor children their's, by disposing of themselves. It should be managed as an ordinance of God, *sanctified by the word of God and prayer*.

What God brings, he will bless to us, and what he blesses, must needs be comfortable. When God blows upon any thing, it never prospers, Psalm, cxxvii. 1.‡

At Mrs. Hulton's marriage, he selected as a topick for advice, Ephesians, v. 24, 25. *Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, &c.* And thus pleasantly remarked ;—I am loath to invert the apostle's method and order, and, therefore, shall keep to that. Though the husband be the superior, and have the pre-eminence in other things, he must not be offended, if his wife go before him learning her duty. The church, (that is, of the first-born, considered as such, all the true saints in the world,) is subject to Christ. He is owned by them as their Lord and Ruler, both in word and deed. They have learned to deny their own wills, whereinsoever they

* From a copy, in the hand-writing of Mrs. Savage.

† Dear father preached at family prayer that night, from that scripture in Genesis, —and brought her to the man. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

‡ From Mrs. Savage's MS.

come in competition with his, both as to what they must have, and as to what they must do. Now just thus, in like manner, are wives to be subject to their own husbands. It is called reverence. 1 Peter, iii. Their speech is to be accordingly, 1 Peter, iii. 5, 6. They are to be obedient to their lawful commands and appointments. I am unwilling to call them *commands*, unless in a soft sense, 1 Peter, iii. 6. They are to be patient under their rebukes; be never both angry together, 1 Peter, iii. 4, 5. Thus God will have it; your place requires it, 1 Timothy, ii. 12, 13, 14. Genesis, iii. 16. You will have most comfort when it is so. Observe one caution,—it must be *in the Lord*, not absolutely and universally without exception, but,—*in the Lord*.

Husbands must learn to love their wives, by Christ's love to his church, that was, a sincere, upright, unfeigned love; a special, singular, superlative love; a permanent, abiding, and fruitful love. The husband should show his affection to his wife, by dwelling with her, by bearing her infirmities, by going in and out before her, by guiding her way, and providing all things that are fit for her.*

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XXIV.

THE following memoranda respecting the duties of the aged,* drawn up by Mr. Henry, in his latter days, will serve, still further, to illustrate his views in the nearer prospect of eternity.

God expects old persons to be very penitent for past sin. Repentance is unravelling our ill-spun-thread;† going back our missed way,—and this, when old, should be our special work,—our repenting work is almost done. Some are never merrier than when telling stories of their youthful extravagancies. But this must not be,‡—it is to act them over again. Never think, nor speak of them, without a tear, or a sigh, and that towards God; see Psalm, xxv. 7. As you should never think of a friend without a praying thought, so you should never think of sin without repenting. And this should extend to present sins also. The pump of repentance must be kept going continually. It is a rare sight to see old people melt in tears for sin.

The aged should be strong in faith, giving glory to God. Abraham was so when he was one hundred years old, Romans, iv. Zechariah believed not the angel's message, and he was struck dumb, Luke, i.

The whole word of God, particularly concerning Christ, the Saviour, is to be believed, and by old people especially. Though others have as many promises, yet they have more experiences. It aggravated Zechariah's unbelief, to have had the instance of

* See "A Discourse concerning Old Age, by Richard Steele, M. A. 1688."

† How wilt thou untwist the former web, which thou hast been so long a weaving? Dr. Manton. Works. vol. 2. p. 76, fol. 1684.

‡ See the Works of Bishop Taylor, *ut supra*, v. 8. p. 505.

Abraham, who had a son when old, before him. Be exhorted then, by faith, to close with the Lord Jesus as your's, though with a trembling hand. Close with him for pardon, peace, acceptation. Live by faith in all things, setting the word before you; eyeing unseen things. Be filled with joy in believing, and be not doubting and disquieted.

They should also be dead to the world.* All its riches, honours, and pleasures, are the vainest vanity. Now to be dead to them, is to be weaned from them; to see in them no such beauty, excellency, or desirableness, as most persons think there is; and to carry it accordingly; see 2 Samuel, xiii. 19—35. It is commonly said, that covetousness is one of the reigning sins of old age. How strange that it should be so! Especially considering what they have seen, and known, and it may be, *felt* of the emptiness and uncertainty of riches. They have witnessed how often they make themselves wings. What! and not yet convinced! What! almost at the end of thy journey, and yet loading thyself with thick clay!†

* Though your affections are not only upon earthly things, yet are they not principally so? This appears, when we affect earthly things in the first place. (The rule our Saviour gives, is to seek *first the kingdom of God*, and to trust him for other things,)—when we affect earthly things for their own sakes, and not in subordination to a higher end. It is only right, when we find the comforts which God hath given us, excitements to obedience.—When heavenly things must give way to earthly.—When we can be content to forfeit a good conscience, that we may gratify our affections towards earthly things. Herod affected John the Baptist, and heard him gladly. But Herodias must be gratified.

It may be you can say,—“I bless God I am in Christ;—I have chosen him,—earthly things shall not keep me from him.” Be it so. But if thy affections are towards earthly things, thou mayest, nevertheless, wrong thy soul. You will be exposed to a multitude of temptations and snares, 1 Timothy, vi. 9. A man, whose affections are upon *things above*, is like a bird flying in the air; whatever gins are laid, she is out of danger. It is the earth that is the devil's walk, Job, i. 7. Here he lays his snares. Many a good man hath met with temptations to pride, security, carnal confidence; which, if his heart had been in heaven, he would have escaped, Ps. xxx. 6. 2 Kings, xx. 13.—It will exceedingly hinder thy communion with God. Earthly things are prejudicial to our fellowship with God in duty,—when they put us by it, when they dispose us to it, when they distract us in it, when they choke it, as thorns, Matthew, xiii. 22.—It is the very root of apostacy. Though a child of God cannot finally fall away,—for the foundation of God stands sure, having this seal,—*the Lord knows them that are his*; yet he may fearfully backslide both in opinion and judgment, from truth to error; and also in affection and conversation from his first love, and former zeal, and forwardness in the ways of God. Therefore, *let him that thinks he stands take heed, lest he fall*, &c. 1 Tim. vi. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 10. It unfits us for death. A Christian should always be in such a frame of mind, as he would be willing for death to find him in. Now, if death should find thee drunk with cares, it were as bad a case as if he should find thee drunk with wine, or ale; the one would make thee as unfit as the other, to go forth to meet the bridegroom. Luke, xxi. 34.

Let us use God and the world, as God and the world use us. God is our daily friend,—the world our daily enemy. A man that hath friends, must show himself friendly, Prov. xviii. 24. Is God thy friend? Show thyself friendly towards him. Love him. Delight in him. Beware of displeasing him. Is the world thy enemy? Watch against it. Stand upon thy guard, lest it ensnare thee. Take heed of it. It hath slain thousands. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

† Hab. ii. 6. *Gravioribus sumptibus se onerare festinat cum jam pervenerit quod uidebat*. Augustine. Ser. de temp. 247. See Steele on Old Age. p. 61. *ut supra*.

Think of the time of day. It is almost night: even sun-set. And art thou unmindful of the grave? Thy body is bending downwards, let the heart be upwards. Remember,—covetousness is idolatry. Set *your affections on things above*.

God expects them to be very meek, and gentle, and patient. Old people are apt to be hasty and angry. But they should put on meekness. Sometimes distempers and infirmities are a cause of frowardness. Old age is often attended with deafness, blindness, lameness; but to quarrel with these, is to quarrel with God. They are the fruits of sin. Sometimes the disappointments and disasters which happen in the estate, the family, the relations, children, or perhaps children's children, occasion fretfulness. Remember in all these things to acknowledge God; Psalm, xxxix. 9. Lamentations, iii. 39. Only by pride comes frowardness. Old people are apt to think themselves wise, whether they are so or not, and to despise the young. The cure for this is humility, 1 Peter, v. 5. Consider how sinful it is in the sight of God, how much uneasiness it causes relations, and how much hurt it does to yourselves. Moses's meekness prolonged his days, and made him young when he was old.

The aged should be knowing in the things of God, and communicate what they know. Many old people are shamefully ignorant in the scriptures; blind spiritually. See Hebrews, v. 12. Think how often you have read, and heard the scripture read over; think how many sermons you have heard. What! and all gone! Has nothing remained? How will you answer it? What a shame it was to old Nicodemus, not to know what regeneration meant. Bestir yourself yet to grow in knowledge. Be often speaking to the young. Tell them what you have learned concerning God and Christ, and holiness and sin; what you have seen of the wisdom and righteousness of God in past events. See Psalm, lxxviii. 1, 2, &c. Titus, ii. 2, 3. You should be teachers of good things.

I have known several, who are dead; and do know some in this neighbourhood, yet alive,—aged men, of such competent knowledge, and so well experienced in the things of God, that I could wish they were made ministers, as being more likely to convert and save souls, than many youths who can talk Greek and Latin, but have little savour of God upon their hearts. There is a reverend prelate, yet living, in the Church of England, who hath lately, in print, declared himself of the same mind.* See the Bishop of Hereford's Naked Truth.†

* And see Fuller's Church History, book viii. pp. 24. 25.

† "The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Primitive Church," 4to. 1675. See particularly the chapter concerning preaching. *Ib.* p. 25. The worthy bishop (Dr. Croft) styled himself in the title page, "An Humble Moderator." And, says Baxter, "because he wrote to heal us, and strengthen us against popery, they gnash their teeth at him." English Nonconformity. pp. 221, 222, *ut supra*. See Walton's Lives, by Dr. Zouch. v. 2. pp. 349. 391, where there is some account of this celebrated pamphlet, and its effects.

The aged should redeem as much time as may be for their souls, and the duties of God's worship. All time is our souls' time, principally and ultimately, and it concerns us all to use, and improve, and redeem it accordingly. But it especially concerns the aged, for they have lost much, and they have little remaining. They know not how little, perhaps, less than we are aware of. How busy then should we be in praying, reading, hearing, meditating, sanctifying sabbaths, communicating in the Lord's Supper. See Luke, ii. 25, 26, 27. This would be work for your souls,—work in which you would have comfort to eternity. Many aged persons have, in a great measure, put off their worldly business to children and grandchildren; they can do little in the fields, or in the barn. The more then should be done in the closet, and in the assembly. And let me warn you of one fault, and that is,—drowsiness in the duties of God's worship. I know what may be said from bodily infirmities,—the spirit willing, and the flesh weak. But yet we should strive all we can against it, and grieve that it should be so.

Old people should be mindful of death and judgment, and careful always to prepare and make ready for it. Two things are to be set in order,—the house and the heart. The house,—by settling our worldly estate. We shall die none the sooner, but we shall certainly be readier for death.* Isaiah, xxxviii. 1. The heart, by settling our spiritual estate; that is, making our calling and election sure; repenting of sin, receiving Christ Jesus the Lord, walking in all his commandments blameless. He who hath done this, is ready for death. Romans, viii. 1. It is delay in doing it that spoils all. Nobody says they will *never* do so; nobody says they will never make their will;† but they say, Not yet; not till such an affair be settled. And, alas! death comes, and prevents both the one and the other.

Now, consider what a mercy it is that we have lived to be so old, when so many have been cut off. How many have died, who never saw the sun. And how many thousand suns hast thou seen. How have thy days been multiplied. As many three years as thou hast lived, so many thousand days, and upwards, have been given to thee. As many twenty years as thou hast lived, so many thousand sabbath days hast thou enjoyed. And should not this engage us? Lord, thou hast been good to me,—in reprieving, and sparing, and prolonging, and shall I forget thee?

Consider, what an honour he hath put upon us. Old age is a ray or beam, of the divine image. God is called the *Ancient of Days*. Daniel, vii. 9, 13, 22. But he is not, therefore, to be

* Setting a man's house and heart in order, will not make a man die the sooner; it will help the man to die the better. *Canaan's Flowings*, by Ralph Venning. p. 47, *ut supra*.

† One of the three things of which Aristotle repented, was,—That he had lived one day, not having his will made." Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, *ut supra*.

pictured as an old man.* As magistrates bear the image of his authority and sovereignty, he says,—they are gods. So in a sense old men are gods. Yea, they are all children of the Eternal. Oh, then, make sure of his other image, which is called the image of his son, and consists in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness.

Consider what an encouraging example it will be to others. Our neighbours and relations will take occasion from thence, both to glorify God, and to reverence us. The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness; otherwise, it is a crown of shame. Noah was drunken but once, and then he was mocked. The apostle, exhorting Timothy, said,—*Let no man despise thy youth.* So I would say to you,—*Let no man despise thy age.* Do nothing to be despised. Watch against sins you may think you are in no danger of. Be an example of the believers. The young will dress themselves by you, as by their glass.†

Consider how comfortable it will be to yourselves, living and dying. Old age is attended with many evils. But much of their effect is taken off by religion and godliness.‡ *He that is of a merry heart, hath a continual feast.* A merry heart, that is, a good conscience, bearing testimony to our integrity, 2 Corinthians, i. 12. This will lighten all our burdens. We shall have the smiles of God's face, and favour, and we may boldly entreat for them, as David, Psalm, lxxi. 17, 18. Isaiah, xlv. 3, 4. Psalm, xxiii. 4.

Consider what a foundation it lays for a happy eternity. All the good fruit we bring forth now, will be fruit abounding to our account for ever. I say, for ever.§ Thou thinkest seventy, eighty, ninety years a long time, and so it is. But what then is *eternity*? An ocean, without bound or bottom. A circle, without beginning or end. Oh, eternity, eternity! How should the thought thereof fill us. To be miserable to *eternity*! How miserable! To be happy to *eternity*! What happiness!

Shall I prevail with you to bring forth fruit in old age? You will

* Alluding, probably, to the celebrated picture in the window of St. Edmund's Church, Salisbury. See Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*. fol. 1646. p. 102.

† So Mr. Swincock, in his *Heaven and Hell epitomized*, addressing, in an epistle dedicatory, his friend, Richard Beresford, Esq. says of great men, — You are the looking-glasses by which others dress themselves, *ut supra*.

‡ In all the troubles and afflictions that befall us, it is matter of some comfort, they are to last but a while. *Behold, thou hast made my days as a hand-breadth.* At furthest, death will set us free, and that cannot be far off; then sinning will cease, and sorrow and sighing will flee away. They that are in Christ, as David was, may comfort themselves with this. Others cannot. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

§ It is said of holy Mr. Ward, that being in the midst of a dinner, very contemplative, and the people wondering what he was musing about, he presently breaks out, *For ever, for ever, for ever*; and though they endeavoured to still him, yet he still cried out,—*For ever, for ever, for ever.* Oh, eternity! to be for ever in heaven with God and Christ, how shall this swallow up all other thoughts and aims! Looking unto Jesus, by Isaac Ambrose. 4to. 1658. p. 594.

not repent it. Your *labour shall not be in vain in the Lord*. Not a prayer, a tear, an alms, a good thought, a good word, a good work, shall be in vain.

In all your fruit-bearing, see your need of Christ. See your need of his grace and strength to enable you, John, xv. 5. And come to him for it daily. See your need of his merit and righteousness, to make you and your fruit accepted, Ephesians, i. 6. And let his love to you, in suffering and dying, be the prevailing motive in every thing, Philippians, i. 21.*

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XXV.

IT may be gratifying to some readers to know, that Mr. Henry was an advocate for common-place books. He used two. The one was adapted for the pocket, being merely a volume of reference: titles were placed on each leaf, and a blank left underneath, in which to note the names of authors and pages. The other was a large folio volume, divided into 1250 pages.*

The volume† thus commences.

*“ Quod legis intentè meditare ac imprimè menti,
Ne si charta cadat, tunc cuncta scientia vadat.”*

I read a book the first time, to see and like it; the second time, to note and observe both method and matter; the third time, to carry away and make use. A saying of Sir Edward Maunsell, cited by Mr. H. Holland, in his Preface to the second part of Mr. Greenham's Works.‡

The first part of the volume is miscellaneous, and is arranged under the ensuing titles.

Holy Scriptures. Their excellency; the love and study of them, *et contra*; their authority; their perspicuity; their harmony; translation; interpretation; apocrypha.

God. There is a God; names of God; attributes of God; will of God; holiness; wisdom of God; power of God; mercy of God; justice of God; omniscieney.

* 1665. Jan. 17. Exchanged with Mr. Thomas, my common-place book, wherein something written for a larger of clean paper.—19. New common-place book, ruled and prepared, wherein I purpose to take pains. *Non sera si seria.* P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

† In the possession of Joseph Lee, Esq. Jun., Red Brook Farm, near Broad Oak.

‡ See *ante*, p. 201.

Trinity of persons.

Holy Ghost.

Decrees of God.

Election.

Reprobation; creation; providence.

Angels. Their creation and nature; their number and orders; their offices; not to be worshipped; their fall.

Devils. Given to the devil; possessed; apparition.

Man. Woman. Man in innocency; man in misery.

Christ. Godhead of Christ; incarnation; life of Christ; sufferings of Christ; death of Christ; burial; descent into hell; resurrection of Christ; satisfaction of Christ; intercession of Christ; kingdom of Christ.

Covenant. Covenant of works; law; covenant of grace.

Gospel. Decalogue; promises; threatenings; redemption; idleness; vocation; calling; conversion; regeneration; adoption; justification; sanctification; mortification; assurance-wanted; growth in grace; perseverance; apostacy; good works; obedience; perfection; spiritual gifts; grace; knowledge; ignorance; of self; faith; repentance not to be deferred; godly sorrow; tears; confession of sin; sincerity; hypocrisy; humility; pride,—in clothes,—in long hair; meekness; charity; forgiving injuries; lending; not judging; fidelity; patience; impatience; contentment; discontent; justice; liberality; frugality; fortitude; sobriety; temperance; gluttony; drunkenness; of healths; self-denial; publick spirit; unity; division; differences; duties; meditation; occasional prayer,—a duty; prayer,—fervent; success of prayer; secret prayer; family prayer; posture and gesture in prayer; Amen; thankfulness; thanksgiving; alms-giving; watchfulness; reproof taken; oath; vow.

Sin. None little; excuses of sin; others' sins; evil of sin; reigning sin; God not the author of sin; original sin; inherent.

Atheism. Idolatry; blasphemy; swearing; perjury; cursing; superstition; will-worship; temples.

Sacrilege. Punished.

Murder. Prevented; discovered; revenged.

Duels. Uncleanliness; adultery; fornication; incest; sodomy; beastiality; chastity; theft; restitution; bribery; lying; equivocation; dissimulation; slander.

Flattery. Checked; courted.

Envy. Covetousness; prodigality.

Usury. Heathen; canons.

Ambition. Omissions; presumption; despair; sin against the Holy Ghost; temptation; desertion.

Persecution; judgments on persecutors.

Martyrdom. Martyrs; courage of dying martyrs.

Soul. Understanding.

Will. Free will; *contra*.

Memory. Defect; vast memory.

Conscience. Thoughts; affections.

Love. Of God; of self; of friends; of enemies.

Hatred.

Joy. In tribulation.

Grief. Desire; hope; fear and boldness.

Anger. Yielding pacifies; revenge.

Zeal. Examples.

Sympathy. Antipathy.

Body of man. Eye; face; hand; veins.

Tongue.

Recreation. Plays; gaming; tables, cards, and dice; chess; dancing.

Melancholy. Infancy; childhood; youth; old age; health.

Sickness. Stone; king's evil; French disease.

Honour. To be denied for Christ; nobility; riches contemned.

Poverty. Prosperity; afflictions; life.

Death. Desirous of death; afraid of death; of the godly; to be thought of.

Burial. Resurrection of the body; last judgment.

Heaven. Shall we know one another there.

Hell. War.

Peace. Peace-making.

Plenty. Famine; company; solitude; time; eternity.

Fathers. Schoolmen; christian religion; church; church government; toleration; reformation; censures.

Excommunication. Who are to excommunicate; who are to be excommunicated.

Councils. Synods.

Ordination.

Ministers. Dignity; duty; industry; skill in languages; conversation; success; opposition; contentions; pluralities.

Lay elders. Deacons; prelacy; prelates; ordinances; publick worship; liturgy; Lord's Prayer.

Ceremonies. Bowing at the name of Jesus; surplice.

Christian liberty. Preaching; hearing; catechising; psalm-singing; confirmation; sacraments; baptism.

Godfathers and godmothers. Of infants.

Lord's Supper. Names; nature; elements; abuse; preparation; administration; place; gesture.

Lord's day. The doctrine of it; the love and practice of it.

Fasting. Feasting; festivals.

Tithes. First fruits; impropriations; mortuaries.

Marriage. Polygamy; divorce; husband and wife; parents and children; master and servants; magistrate and subjects; minister and people; residency; respect.

Heresy. What it is; qualities; necessity; refutation.

Hereticks. Cunning; seeming holiness; pride; sin and punishment.

Schism. What is it.

Schismatick. Antichrist; pope's supremacy; pope's infallibility; indulgences; purgatory; extreme unction; transubstantiation; mass; image worship; relics; prayer for the dead; praying to saints; merit; supererogation; traditions; miracles; truth; error; papists; protestants.

Popish orders. Cardinals; jesuits.

Arminians. Socinians; Antinomians; Ana-baptists; Quakers; Jews.

Jewish rites. Sabbath; circumcision; passover.

Jews' conversion. Schools; universities; learning; grammar; rhetoric; poetry; philosophy; history; mathematicks; musick; opticks; politicks.

Laws. Lawyers; judges; physick; physician; astrology; meteors; dreams; witch-craft; jests; riddles; proverbs; emblems; anagrams; chronograms; mottoes; epitaphs.

The Second Part is geographical, and thus arranged :—

World. Europe; Asia; Africa; America. England,—London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Wales; Scotland; Ireland. France,—Paris; Spain; Italy; Naples; Florence; Siena; Verona; Milan; Geneva; Venice; Padua; Rome, Old, New; Germany; Low Countries; Denmark; Swedland; Hungary; Poland; Transylvania; Russia; Greece; Turkey; Palestine; Jerusalem; Tartary; China; Persia; East Indies; Arabia; Egypt; Islands; Crete; Cyprus; Zante.

The Third Part is biographical, consisting of four sub-divisions.

Viri celebriores.

Ab orbe condito ad Christum natum.

Adam; Eve; Homer; Lycurgus; Hesiod; Romulus; Thales; Socrates; Pythagoras; Æsop; Pindar; Heraclitus; Democritus; Hippocrates; Euripides; Sophocles; Herodotus; Thucydides; Aristophanes; Isocrates; Xenophon; Demosthenes; Plato; Euclid; Aristotle; Alexander; Theocritus; Aratus; Zeno; Berosus; Diogenes; Hannibal; Cato; Polybius; Archimedes; Chrysippus; Plautus; Ennius; Terence; Lucretius; P. Scipio; Cicero; Catiline; Pompey; Julius Cæsar; Augustus Cæsar; Ovidius; Virgil.

Viri celebriores.

A nato Christo ad Constantinum.

Peter; Andrew; James of Zebedee; John; Philip; Bartholomew; Thomas; Matthew; James, of Alpheus; Lebbeus, *alias* Thaddeus; Simon, the Canaanite; Judas Iscariot; Philo; Simon Magus; Menander; Nicolaus; Plinius Secundus; Lucan; Tiberius Cæsar; Caius Caligula; Claudius Cæsar; Nero Cæsar; Sulpitius Galba; Salvius Otho; Aulus Vitellius; Flavius Vespasianus; Titus Vespasianus; Flavius Domitianus; Coccejus Nerva; Ulpius Trajanus; Ælius Adrianus; Lucius Ælius Verus; Antoninus Philosophus; Antoninus Pius; L. Aurelius Commodus; Helvius Pertinax; Didius Julianus; Pescennius Niger, a usurper; Clodius Albinus, another usurper, with Niger; L. Septimus Severus; Ignatius; Justin Martyr; Irenæus; Clemens Alexandrinus; Tertullian; Origen; Cyprian.

Viri celebriores.

A Constantino ad Lutherum.

i. e. ab A. D. 307. ad A. D. 1517.

Constantine, surnamed the Great; Julian, the Apostate; Lactantius; Ambrose; Augustine; Monica; Hierome; Athanasius; Chrysostom; Hilary; Germanus St. Germane; St. Patrick; Columba; St. Kintigern, or Mungo; Mahomet; Joannes Duns Scotus; Columbus.

Viri celebriores.

A Luthero ad usq. nunc.

Martin Luther; Joannes Capnio; Henry the Seventh, of England; Zuinglius; Œcolampadius; Melancthon; Erasmus; Scaliger; Paulus Fagius; Charles the Fifth; Philip the Second; Henry the Eighth; Edward the Sixth; Queen Mary; Lady Jane Grey; More; Wolsey; Paracelsus; John Calvin; Peter Martyr; Roger Ascham; Ursin; Beza; Junius; Francis; Patrick Hamilton; George Wischart, *alias* Wishart; John Knox; Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots; John Rogers, martyr; Cranmer; Latimer; Ridley; Brown; Queen Elizabeth; Leicester; Cecil; Drake; Rawleigh; Sidney; Greenham; Faustus; Socinus, *hæresiarcha*; Bancroft; Whitaker; Perkins; John Craig; George Abbot; John Welsh; Heinsius; Henry the Fourth, of

France; Jacobus Arminius, al, Van Harmin; Hugh Broughton; King James; Camden; Rogers; Gustavus; Jansenius; Francis Bacon; John Preston; Grotius; Herbert; Selden; Salmasius; John Spotswood; John Cotton; Abraham Cowley; Mary Boyl; Lady Warwick; Robert Foulks; James Sharp; Mr. Thomas Gouge; Sir George Booth; Lord Delamere; Mr. John Flavel; King William the Third.

This interesting volume contains a variety of valuable and curious reading, selected principally from the writings of Ovid; Terence; Juvenal; Horace; Martial; Tacitus; Cicero; Quintilian; Velleius Paterculus; Seneca; Pliny; Plutarch; Augustine; Tertullian; Nazianzen; Chrysostom; Cyprian; Lactantius; Basil; Origen; Bernard; Ambrose and Epiphanius; Luther; Calvin; Melancthon; Beza; Scaliger; Erasmus, and Grotius; Melchior Adam; Bacon; Camden; Stow, and Spelman; Jewel; Rivet; Peter Martyr; Musculus; Thuanus; Fox; Bishop Hall; Dr. Harrison; Ames; Nehemiah Rogers; Perkins; Bolton; Dr. Harris; White; Quarles; Arrowsmith; Stoughton; Strong; Hildersham; Taylor; Burroughs, Gouge; Trapp; Shepherd; Greenham; Capel; Burgess; Tuckney; Rutherford and Blake; Heylin; Newcome; Hales; Baxter; Case; Caryl; Cudworth; Reyner; Bridge; Calamy; Clark; Howel; Sanderson; Reynolds; Lightfoot; Stillingfleet; Leigh; Hammond; Prideaux; Mede; Spurstowe; Dr. Owen; Polehill;* Gurnal; Rycaut, and Gale.

Much of the volume still remains unwritten, scarcely a sentence having been added to it, since Mr. Matthew Henry's decease. It served as a common-place-book to that gentleman, as well as his venerable father.

To the volume are added three indexes. The first biographical; the second, miscellaneous; the third, geographical.

From the preceding analysis, Mr. Henry's taste and habits, as a student, will, in some degree, be apparent. It has been much desired to ascertain his judgment upon the authors he consulted; but the search has been, as, at this distance of time, might be expected, almost ineffectual. The following are the only instances, and, though brief, can scarcely be omitted. They may serve as specimens, and being transcribed from his own hand, are genuine.

Herodotus. Tully calls him the father of history, which title he deserves in regard of antiquity, being the oldest Greek historian extant.

* I read in Polhill's Precious Faith; of which book, dear father once said,—It was hard to say which excelled, the gentleman, or the divine. Mrs. Savage. Diary. Orig. MS.

Thucydides. A most grave and accurate Greek historian, than whom scarce any Grecian ever discovered a more impartial love to the truth in what he wrote.*

Fathers. It is a good rule in reading the Fathers, to begin with the most ancient; to know which of their works are genuine, and which spurious; consult Photius *Μεγίστοις*; Possevin's *Apparat*; *Bibliothec*; Bellarm. de *Script. Eccl.*; Abbas Trithemius. And among the Protestants,—Scultetus *Medull*; Rivet's *Critic. Sacr.*; Cooke's *Censur. Patr*; Erasm. in his *Prefaces*, *Epistles*, and *Annotations* on all those Fathers put forth by him.

To know the best edition of the Fathers, it is a general rule, those which Erasmus set out, are freest from corruptions; and in particular, Clemens Roman. edit. Oxon. A.D. 1633. Ignatius, by Dr. Usher. Oxon. 1646.†

* Common-place Book. Orig. MS.

† *Ib.* See Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*. 4th edit. v. 2. Appendix. p. 739.

APPENDIX, No. XXVI.

WHAT am I? In sin, or in Christ? Am I effectually called, or am I not? If not, it is dangerous coming. Ask what am I, that if I am not as I should be, I may mend my state. If not alive, then go to God for spiritual life. And when God gives life, then away to the sacrament for the support of the spiritual life. Those mentioned in Acts, ii., as soon as they were converted, were presently in church-fellowship.

What have I done? Here is work for self-examination. To consider our sins; the sin of our nature; the sins of our hearts and lives; the sins of our particular relations; sabbath sins; tongue sins, &c. When we have found out our sins, then we must repent. Repenting includes contrition, hearty sorrow; contrition is the breaking of the heart, pounding it as in a mortar. Confession, telling God what we have done. Conversion, turning from sin. With all these, hearty prayer must be joined.

What do I want? A condemned malefactor wants a pardon; a hungry soul wants bread; a debtor wants a surety; a traveller wants a guide; a guilty person wants a city of refuge; a blind man wants eye-salve; a weak soul wants strength; a graceless heart wants grace; a sinner wants a Saviour. Now all these are to be had with Christ. All these are offered in the sacrament. In one word, Christ and all his benefits. When we are going to a market, we look about the house to see what is wanting. The sacrament is the market. When we have found out our wants, we must represent them to God in prayer.*

* P. Henry. From a MS. in Mr. Matthew Henry's hand-writing. 1663-4. See Matthew Henry's Communicant's Companion. Miscellaneous Works. p. 203, &c.

In referenceto this subject he would say;—Self-examination is required before the communion; and he was urgent in pressing it; he frequently explained the nature of the duty, and pointed out the hinderances of it; such as laziness, self-love, pride, and ignorance of its necessity. Many think, he remarks, every man is bound to believe his sins are pardoned, and that God is his Father;—that it is a fault to question it. They are ignorant of the nature and way of the duty; know not how to examine, where to begin, nor what to inquire after. Some are hindered by a desperate resolution—To what purpose should they try?—They resolve to continue as they are, come what will; this preciseness will not suit them; they must have liberty. The world is a snare to many. False persuasions, that the work is done already, hinder others.* Many who do examine, yet do it by halves; they go about it in their own strength, and so miscarry.

As motives to it, he would urge, that multitudes perish who thought all was well, Proverbs, xiv. 12; Luke, xiii. 25; xviii. 10, 11; Revelations, iii. 17;—it is an easy and a common thing to be mistaken; there are many bye-ways; *the heart is deceitful*.

The least despairing are most desperate, Isaiah, xlv. 20. What if death should come before thou hast tried? Thou wilt be lost for ever;—there will be no trying in the grave. Shortly, God will try you. Besides, there is great advantage in it. If unconverted, it will be a means to bring thee out of that condition. If in Christ, it will marvellously further consolation; in this way, and no other, thou mayest attain assurance, 2 Peter, i. 10; which will produce admirable sweetness;—sweetness in every condition, let publick troubles be what they may. It will abate the terribleness of death and judgment, and add wings to obedience.

He would say, by way of direction;—Art thou resolved to set about it? Sequester thyself from all other employments. Implore the Spirit's assistance by hearty prayer, Psalm, cxxxix. 20. Pitch upon such a time when you are fittest for the work,—best disposed. Have in readiness some scripture marks of truth and grace, and then try,—Is it thus with me, or is it not? Give not over till it be brought to some issue; let the sentence pass without fear or flattery. When thou knowest thy condition, be affected accordingly. If thou find thou art, to this day, in thy sins, oh, tremble, and make haste! Do not conclude it is in vain to turn. If otherwise, *rejoice, and be exceeding glad*.

On another occasion he writes;—*Are ye passed from death unto life?* There is such a thing, and it may be known, and we can have no comfort in living the life of nature, if we are not spiritually alive;

* They are fully persuaded that Christ died for them, and that they shall be saved. How they came by this persuasion they cannot tell. But it is suspicious to have goods, and know not how one came by them. The Doctrine of Faith, by John Rogers, p. 52, duod. 1634.

if we do not live the life of grace. Now, one good mark to know it by, is the *end* that we live to. Is that God, or self? Another, is by the *food* that we live upon. Is that Christ?—His merit and righteousness for justification; his Spirit and grace for sanctification? Another, is by the *rule* that we live by. Is that the rule of the new creature,—the word of God? Is that the card and compass we sail by,—the light and lamp we walk by? Or, is it something else,—the dictates of our own corrupt nature, carnal reason, fleshly appetites, the course and custom of this vain world? Try by this.*

* P. Henry. Orig. MS.

APPENDIX, No. XXVII.

AT this distance of time, any fact is interesting which illustrates the character, and perfumes the memory of such men as Mr. Nevett. The Elegy, composed on his death, by Mr. Henry, being the only additional document that can be found respecting him, will, therefore, form a fit appendage to the narrative; and if it adds no honours to the writer as a poet, it will furnish the reader with a pleasing relict of christian friendship.

Oh, that my head were waters, and mine eyes
 A spring of tears, like melting Jeremy's;
 That I might weep, and weep, and weep again
 O'er the sad hearse of a dear prophet slain.
 Slain by an arrow, darted from above;
 Tow'rds us in anger; towards him in love.
 A star is fallen, not from God to sin,
 But from this lower orb he shined in:
 Rather from sin to God from wandering here,
 To fix with him in a more holy sphere;
 New storms are rising, he's put into shore;
 A deluge coming, he is ark't before.*
 Oh, earth, earth, earth, hearken what heaven saith;
 Each rod a voice, this rod a loud one hath.
 The owner thought it much, three years to come
 To a barren tree, which hastened its sad doom;
 What then can they expect, that ten times three
 Had such a dresser, if they barren be?

* The evening before the death of the Rev. Daniel Burgess, a friend, who came to see him, speaking of publick affairs, said, it was feared there would be a storm; he answered with cheerfulness,—“But God will house some of his children first.” Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, p. 833, *ut supra*.

A faithful, self-denying shepherd, who
 Sought not the fleece, but flock ; not your's, but you.
 Many a time he to the pulpit went,
 Pain'd as a gorg'd breast, till he had vent ;
 And then his zeal so eat him up, that pain
 Being strait forgotten, all was well again.
 How far unlike those ministers, to whom
 A burden 'tis ; their only martyrdom.
 'Tis hard to say, whether he rather was,
 A Boanerges, or a Barnabas.
 Not one but both ; he did both wound and heal ;
 Preach law and gospel ; sin and Christ reveal.
 But his delight was chiefly to distil,
 Not from black Sinai, but from Sion's hill,—
 Such sweet refreshing showers of holy dew,
 As would at once both melt and comfort too.
 Great love, rich mercy, and free grace to all
 That truly do embrace the gospel call.
 This was his text, this was his doctrine, this
 The burden was in every song of his ;
 Ev'n to the last, for when his master came,*
 So doing he was found,—found in this frame ;
 And by his constant breathing in such air,
 His spirit, his converse strangely sweeten'd were.
 You'd think, sure he had lean'd upon that breast
 Where that disciple lean'd, that love so press'd.
 Jonathan's love, greater than woman's was,
 But his did even Jonathan's surpass.
 And one good argument 'tis to prove
 Him greatly lov'd, himself that did so love.
 Flaming affections, bowels that did stir,
 As husband, father, brother, friend, minister ;
 This was his fiery chariot, in this
 Living he rode, as th' dying prophet in his.
 'Mongst all his other graces, 'twere most fit
 That *loving* Nevett be his epithet.
 Methinks I see him, ever and anon,
 Casting up eyes and hands to heaven's throne ;
 Darting ejaculations thither ; where
 Heart-words are understood, and silent prayer.
 His conversation was above, and he
 Hath chang'd his place, but not his company.†

* His last subject was Ephesians, ii. 4, 5.

† An allusion, probably, to the death-bed scene of Dr. Preston. Expressing his belief of a " sudden change," he said,—“ Not of my company ; for I shall still converse with God and saints, but of my place, and way of doing it.” *Clark's Lives*, appended to the *Martyrology*, pp. 112, 113, *ut supra*.

That sacred knot tied between him and you.
 Law upon law, did not, could not undo.
 Still he was your's, you his, he would not part,
 For Oswestree was written on his heart.*
 But death hath done it, death the knot hath cut;
 And those whom God hath join'd, asunder put.
 Yet 'tis for present only; time *shall* come,
 When you shall meet again at Father's home,
 And be together ever,—with the Lord;
 Souls, take the comfort that these words afford.
 And may those hopeful young ones each inherit
 A double portion of their Father's Spirit:
 Copies of him, that so it may be said,
 While they survive, he is not wholly dead. †

* Queen Mary "letted not to say, that the loss of Callis was written on her heart, and might therein be read when her body should be opened." Speed's History of Great Britain, p. 1131, fol. 1632.

"—Had he opened been by surgeons' art,
 They had found London burning in his heart."

Dr. Wild, on the Death of Mr. Calamy.
 Iter Boreale, &c. p. 80, duod. 1671.

† From Mrs. Savage's MS.

APPENDIX, No. XXVIII.

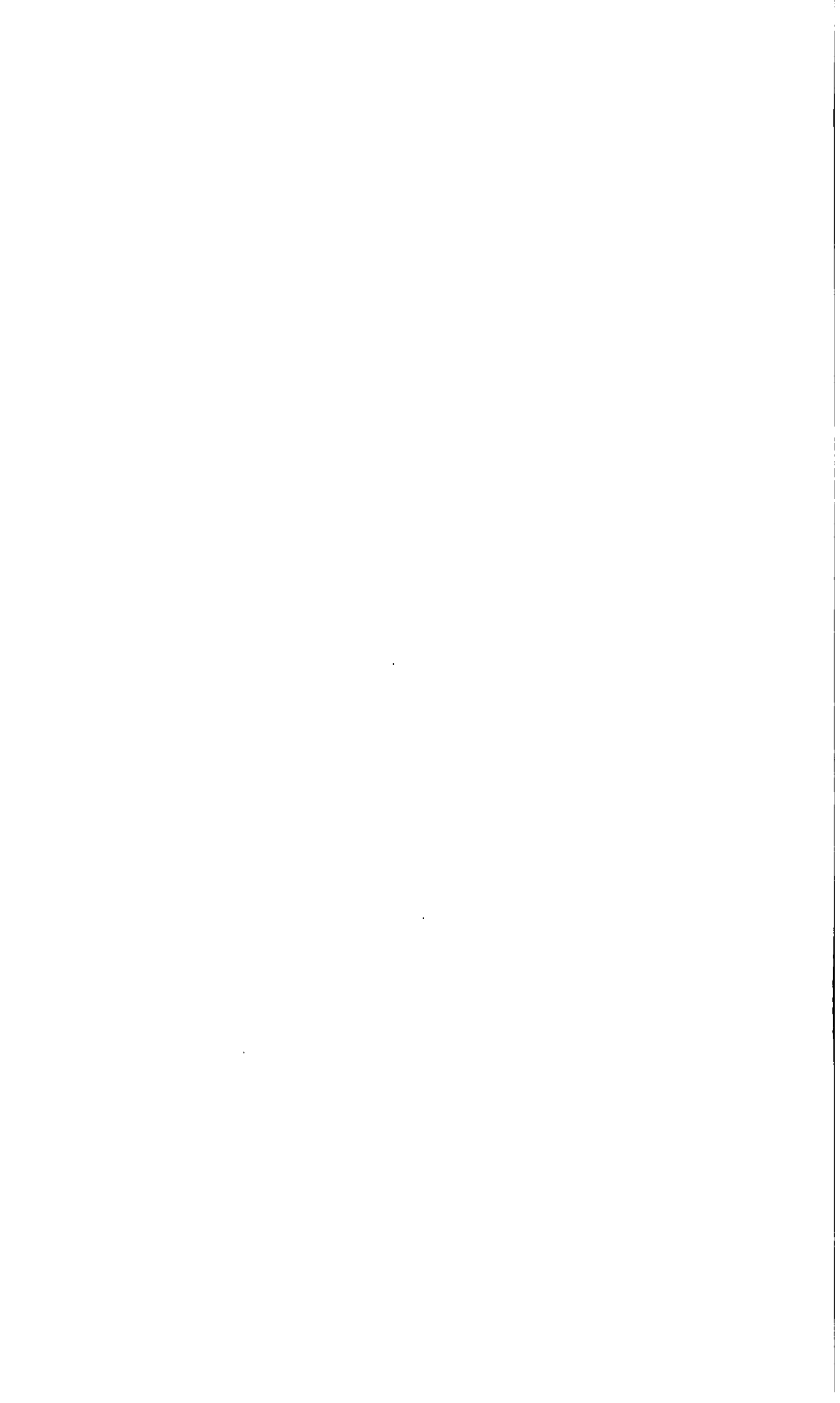
MR. BENYON'S mother is distinguished by Mr. Henry, in his diary, by a special memorial, of which the following is a transcript.

"1663. May 5. At ten o'clock, I was sent for to Ash, where I came at eleven, and found my worthy, dear aunt Benyon alive, and that was all. We went to prayer,—and her life and prayer ended together. She was, without comparison, the best friend I had in this country, and it is no small loss to lose such an one. Lord, make up the loss to me, and all her relations, and humble us for sin, that kill-friend.

7. My dear aunt Benyon was buried at Whitchurch. Mr. Thomas preached. Text, 1 Corinthians, iii. 22. Lord, take up the children, and come in her stead to all her relations, and to me. Amen.

She was daughter to Mr. Knight, of Shrewsbury, and had been married twenty-seven years to my uncle Benyon, by whom she had issue now living, Daniel, Martha, Mary, Sarah, Elizabeth. She was the fittest wife for him in the world, being patient and prudent, in opposition to his passion and rashness. She was, I verily believe, one that truly feared God, and was taught to do it from her youth. She was of the mourners of Sion, laying much to heart the sins and sufferings of the times. She was provident and diligent in family affairs, *laying her hands to the spindle, and her hands held the distaff*. She was an inward, real, true-hearted friend. Eminent for humility and self-denial. Witness that expression of her's, when speaking of her children. I said,—I did not doubt but God had a kindness in store for them for her sake. She answered,—“For my sake! Alas, poor things, if it be not for another's sake than mine, they are undone.”*

N O T E S.



NOTES.

—◆—

Sir H. Ashhurst,—p. xxxiii.

THIS excellent person was descended from the Ashursts of Ashurst, in Lancashire. His father, best known as Alderman Ashurst, appears to have been eminent for piety, and every christian virtue. His character was drawn at large by Mr. Baxter. Works, v. 4, p. 189, &c. fol. Reliq. Baxter. Part I. 290. Part III. 17, 189. The alderman died in 1680, æt. 66. A similar testimony has been borne by Dr. Bates, in the preface to his funeral sermon for Mr. Benjamin Ashurst, Sir Henry's brother. Works. 4, p. 390. Sir Henry Ashurst trod in the steps of his venerable parent, and distinguished himself on the trial of Mr. Baxter,* as a steady, faithful, friend. Reliq. Baxter. Preface, &c. Biog. Brit. v. 2, p. 16, &c. He published the Life of the Rev. Nath. Heywood, who was ejected, by the Act of Uniformity, from Ormskirk, in Lancashire. His intimacy with Mr. Henry, and also with Mr. Matt. Henry, was constant. Mr. Matt. Henry, in his Diary, May 8, 1707-8, notices the following incident. "Wrote to Sir H. Ashurst, who writes me, that, last Saturday, he presented the Queen [Anne] my father's Life, and my book of the Sacrament;—sapless things, I fear, at court, and, I am sure, unworthy to be so regarded."†

"Sir Henry died at his seat at Waterstoke, near Coventry, 15th April, 1710-11." Matt. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS. Afterwards, he notes: "He left £800, to be paid to me 3 years after his decease, to be disposed of by me, as I should think most for the glory of God. It is a surprise to me. God give me wisdom and grace to use it well." Ibid. May 26. Orig. MS.

See John Dunton's encomium upon him in his Life and Errors, v. 1, p. 350, *ut supra*. See, also, *ibid.* p. 273.

Object his nonconformity,—p. xxxv.

His non-compliance, observes a distinguished Clergyman, was a great injury to the Church, for he was eminently qualified, as a divine, a scholar, and a gentleman, for one of its Ministers. Noble's Continuation of Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, v. 1, p. 124.

The origin of the distinction between conformists and non-conformists must be sought for "in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the bloody rage and inhuman tyranny of Queen Mary, left the places of their nativity, in the year 1554, and took refuge in Germany. Of these fugitive congregations, some performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorized by Edward VI. while others preferred the Swiss method of worship, as more recommendable, on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called conformists, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the Prince now mentioned; and the denominations of non-conformists and puritans were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind than the Liturgy of Edward seemed to be." Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. v. 4, pp. 87, 88, ed. 1774, oct.

* "The pretence for this prosecution was a supposed reference of some passages, in one of his works, to the Bishops of the Church of England;" but "the real motive was the desire of punishing an eminent Dissenting Teacher." History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II. by the Hon. Charles James Fox, p. 97.

† Orig. MS.

Two of his four daughters died,—p. xli.

The one, Mrs. Radford, who died, Aug. 1, 1697. See a Memoir of her in Mrs. Savage's Life, Appendix, No. V. *ut supra*.

The other, Mrs. Hulton, who died, Sept. 6, 1697. A memoir of her, also, is appended to the third edition of Mrs. Savage's Life.

In reference to those affecting events, their eldest sister, Mrs. Savage, thus wrote to another sister, Mrs. Tylston.

Dear Sister;

Sept. 17.

I thank you for your letter, though loaden with heavy tidings. Dear brother wrote to me on Saturday, which would have prepared me for worse, but it came not till to-day. I too much discover that my heart is not fixed as it should be. God's will is done, and my judgment is satisfied, but breach upon breach causes double sorrow; that which comforts, is,—hopes of a glorious meeting in the other world, to be together for ever, and with the Lord. How shall we do to search and discover the Jonah that hath raised this storm? Certainly we have deserved worse. I find my heart too much glewed to creature-comforts, whereby I have procured this to myself, and, in particular, as to dear sister Hulton, now in glory. I did too much rejoice, and please myself with her correspondence; for, next to communion with God, (in whose favour is life,) converse with those that have acquaintance with him is the most desirable happiness that this world affords; but even this must not be overvalued. Indeed, we wither our flowers by too much smelling them. Blessed be God, that hath mixed the cup as to both you and I. We and our's are yet spared. And, wherefore? But because the work we have to do is not finished. This morning, as I lay on my sorrowful bed, that call of God to Joshua came to my mind,—*Up: Wherefore liest thou thus on thy face? Israel hath sinned, &c.* From whence I gather, that it is more proper work, when under the tokens of God's displeasure, to search for the cause, and humble myself under his mighty hand, than to lie down in despondency.

I think it an aggravation of my grief, that I am confined, and cannot come to pay my last respects to one so dear to us; but the wise God sees it best that thus it shall be. If not two sparrows, sure not two dear sisters, fall, without his providence. Why should not I expect to pledge the cup also?—God prepare me!—Welcome sickness, welcome death, if the sting be out. Blessed be God, that you are in any measure recovered;—the same hand that wounds, must heal. I trust he will heal the rest that are sick, and preserve the sound. Sister Hulton, in her last letter, but one, writes thus:—Oh, we want our Aaron, our prevailing intercessor, the priest of the family, who would have stood between the living and the dead, that the plague might have been stayed. Blessed be God, we once had such a relation, who had so much interest in heaven as he had; but, especially, blessed be God for Jesus Christ,—the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, seeing he ever lives to make intercession. My dear love to brother, and all your's; and believe me to be, as indeed I am,

Your affectionate, though sorrowful,

S. S.*

Matthew Henry,—p. xliii.

Ob. June 22, 1714, æt. 52. See an Account of his Life and Death, by W. Tong, oct. 1716. Also the Dissenting Doctors, by John Dunton. Life and Errors, v. 2, pp. 726, 727.

Mr. Henry of Chester. He is son (if I do not mistake) to that famous Henry, whose "Life" was lately printed in London. I am told he does patrizare; for all his actions appear to be perfectly devoted to God, strictly observing St. Paul's rule, in the fourth of the Philippians,—*"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things;"* which Mr. Henry does, with that exactness and sincerity, the very churchmen love him; and even malice is angry she can find no cause to be angry with him. The Life and Errors of John Dunton, *ut supra*, v. 1, p. 376.

Philip Henry was so pre-eminent in worth, that it would have been high honour to any man to have been his son; but he was blessed with such a son, that posterity reveres him as the father of Matthew Henry. History of Dissenters, v. 2, p. 269.

* Orig. MS.

Magdalen Rochdale,—p. 3.

She was the daughter of Mr. Henry Rochdale, was born, Oct. 19, 1599, and married to Mr. John Henry, Dec. 10, 1623.

Mr. Henry thus records her death :—

1644-5, Mar. 6, Thursday. My dear mother departed this life between the hours of 12 and 1 in the morning, and lies interred in Margaret Church, Westminster. Note. She was a woman of extraordinary piety and prudence, very careful in bringing up her children in the fear of God, a loving wife, a kind neighbour, a good mother. The memory of her virtues remains exceedingly dear and precious with all that were acquainted with her. P. Henry's Diary, Orig. MS.

Gave him his name,—p. 3.

Mr. Henry's name has been often adopted, and the custom, it is probable, will long continue.

The learned and excellent Dr. J. P. Smith, in an elegant memorial of his beloved son, Philip Henry Smith, assigns an instructive reason. "The name was given, not from the honour of relationship, nor from affection; but solely with the hope that, under the blessing of divine grace on the association of ideas, he might be trained up to feel a peculiar interest in the character of that distinguished servant of Christ, and to love, admire, and imitate it." *Evan. Mag.* vol. 26, p. 378.

Assembly of divines,—p. 6.

Usually styled the Westminster Assembly. They were convened by Parliament for the Settlement of the Government, Liturgy, and Doctrine of the Church of England. They first met July 1, 1643, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. See Fuller's Church Hist. *at supra*, Book XI. p. 197, &c. Dr. Lightfoot's Works, *in vit.* fol. 1684, vol. 1, p. 8. Hearne's Works, Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, v. 1, p. ciii. &c. And Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of those eminent Divines who convened in the famous Assembly at Westminster, by James Reid, 2 vols. oct. 1811.

Mr. Marshal,—p. 6.

Stephen Marshall, B. D. ob. Nov. 1665. The Lives of the Puritans, v. 3, p. 241, &c. "Going to hear Mr. Marshall, whilst I was nodding, and almost asleep, his powerful voice awakened me, thundering in my ears the dreadful danger of such as were drowsie, and slept and slumbered away their salvation; which I thought was spoken directly to me, and had such prevalency upon me, that I started up with an aching heart, being much terrified at his words, which he still pursued, and wounded me to the very heart, when he told us, — that, when time was passed, it could never be recalled again, and then there was no other way but to double our diligence, and redeem the time we had lost by making more haste, and taking more care and pains, or else we should be utterly lost and undone." Dyer's Heaven upon Earth, p. 6. ed. 1697, duod. In 1680 a quarto pamphlet was printed, entitled, "The Godly Man's Legacy to the Saints upon Earth, exhibited in the Life of that great and able Divine, and painful Labourer in the Word, Mr. Stephen Marshall, sometime Minister of the Gospel at Finchfield, in Essex." The object is to revile, and, by partial statements, so to represent, Mr. Marshall, as to check esteem, and lower the standard of his worth. It contains many curious things, and the title, though sarcastick, conveys a stronger testimony in his favour than the writer intended.

Mr. Palmer, &c.—p. 6.

The Rev. *Herbert Palmer*, B. D. He was born in 1601, and died in 1647. See *Clark's Lives*, annexed to the *Martyrologie*, p. 183, &c. fol. 1677; and the *Life* of the Rev. T. Cawton, p. 12, &c. *ut supra*.

The Rev. *Charles Herle*, A. M. was born 1598, ob. Sept. 1659. See the *Lives of the Puritans*, v. 3, p. 324. Mr. Herle was one of the *Licensers* for printing Books of Divinity. The order for regulating printing is preserved in *Rashw. Hist. Coll.* v. 5, p. 335.

Edmund Staunton, D. D. was born, 1600, ob. 1671. July 14, *Life*, duod. 1673.

The Rev. *Philip Nye* was born about 1596, ob. Sept. 1672. *Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches*, v. 3, p. 71, &c.

Jeremiah Whitaker, A. M. was born, 1599, ob. June 1, 1654. See the *Sermon* preached at his Funeral, by *Simeon Ashe*, *ut supra*.

Thomas Hill, D. D. died Dec. 18, 1653. *Lives of the Puritans*, v. 3, p. 170.

Chosen from Westminster School,—p. 12.

In May, that year, I was chosen to Oxford with four others, John Busby, nephew to Mr. Busby; John Vincent, brother to Mr. Vincent, Second Usher; John Carrick, and George Annesley, son to the Viscount Valentia, brother to him who was afterwards Earl of Anglesey and Lord Privy Seal. Of these I had the second place. Five more were chosen, at the same time, to Cambridge,—Palmer, Wickham, Stone, Stacey, Chandler. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

In the List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, by Joseph Welch, 4to. 1788, p. 39, it is stated, that "*Thomas Vincent*, Rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, London," was the person elected to Oxford with P. Henry. But Wood says, that that "*Thomas Vincent*, of St. Mary Magdalen, was made a Student of Ch. Ch. in 1648, by the favour of the Parliamentary Visitors," v. 3, p. 1174, *ut supra*; whereas P. Henry, and his colleagues, were elected from Westminster,—and the year before. The minute description above given renders Mr. Henry's correctness the more probable, especially as the office of Second Master was filled from 1645 to 1656, by a Mr. Vincent. See Welch, *ut supra*, p. 6. The same person was, most likely, usher prior to that appointment. See *ante*, p. 5.

Visitation of the University,—p. 14.

See Neale's History, v. 3, p. 395, &c. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy. Part I. p. 123, &c.

Dr. Edward Reynolds,—p. 14.

Afterwards Bishop of Norwich. Nat. Nov. 1559, ob. 28th July, 1676. Middleton's *Evang. Biog.* v. 3, p. 424. See *Reliq. Baxter. Lib.* 1, Part II. p. 283, *ut supra*.

Dr. Wall,—p. 15.

Dr. Wall, elected a Student of Christ Church, A. D. 1604, æt. 17. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* v. 3, p. 734, *ut supra*.

Mr. Wilkinson,—p. 15.

The Rev. Henry Wilkinson, jun. commonly called Dean Harry. Nat. A. D. 1616, ob. May 13, 1690. Mr. Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* v. 32, p. 84.

Mr. Pococke,—p. 15.

Edward Pocock, S. T. P. *Life and Writings of Dr. Pocock*, prefixed to his *Theological Works*, 2 vols. fol. 1740, vol. 1, pp. 1—84. Dr. Pocock died in 1691, in his 87th year.

Mr. Finmore,—p. 15.

Rev. William Finmore. Wood says he was afterwards Archdeacon of Chester. He died, A. D. 1686. Wood's *Fasti. Ath. Oxon.* v. 4, p. 121, *ut supra*. Walker says he died in 1681. *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part II. p. 111.

Bishop of Oxford,—p. 15.

Dr. Fell was born in 1625, and died 10th July, 1696. Mr. Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* v. 14, p. 176, &c.

"1665, Feb. 24. Dr. Fell, Canon of Christ Church, preached before the King, a very formal discourse, and in *blank verse*, according to his manner: however, he is a good man." *Mem. of John Evelyn, Esq.* v. 1, p. 356.

When the king was beheaded,—p. 18.

See Dr. Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*, p. 72, *ut supra*.

Wherein appeared, says Baxter, the severity of God, the mutability and uncertainty of worldly things, and the fruits of a sinful nation's provocations, and the infamous effects of error, pride, and selfishness, prepared by Satan to be charged hereafter upon reformation and godliness, to the unspeakable injury of the Christian name and Protestant cause. Ministers preached and prayed against disloyalty. They drew up a writing to the Lord General, (Fairfax,) declaring their abhorrence of all violence against the person of the King, and urging him and his army to take heed of such an unlawful act. But pride [and probably fear also] prevailed against their counsels. *Reliq. Baxter.* p. 63, *ut supra*. See the *Life of Dr. Owen*, by the Rev. W. Orme, pp. 93, 94; and also, the *Christian Observer*, vol. 19, p. 811, &c.

In vespertiis,—p. 20.

Vespérie. Thèse qu'on soutient dans les Colléges les après-dinées par un simple exercice, et sans cérémonie. C'est aussi le dernier acte que soutient dans les Universités un Bachelier la veille du jour qu'il doit prendre le bonnet de Docteur, où celui qui preside donne quelques avis au Répondant; et cette Thèse a pour titre "pro actu vespertiali." *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*.

The University of Oxford borrowed the *Vesperiae*, name and thing, (which must not be confounded with *Vesperæ*, *vespers*,) from that of Paris. *Vespertial Disputations* were, in Oxford, formerly performed once a year, on the Saturday evening preceding the Act, which was held on Monday. There is a full account of them in the Statutes, Tit. vii. Sect. 1. in which it is provided, that the respondent of the *Vesperiae* of one year, shall the next year be appointed magister replicans of the *comitia* or Act, i. e. of the Monday morning disputations. This appointment (which was esteemed honourable) vested with the Senior Proctor.

In comitiis,—p. 20.

The *Comitia* are the stated times at which the University meets, or comes together for the purpose of *conferring honours*. Plutarch, recording the ratification of certain articles during the government of Romulus, states that the place where it was done "is still called *Comitium*, from the Latin word *coire*, which signifies to assemble." *Lives*, v. 1. p. 71, *ut supra*.

No less a poet than an orator,—p. 20.

Mr. Palmer remarks in this connexion, — "Wood says not a word about Mr. Henry, though he was a noted Oxonian." Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 489. Had not the *Athenæ* and *Fasti* included living characters, the death of "Toney," the year before Mr. Henry, might have accounted for the omission. It may be said that the work, at least the most important part, professes to record "the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford." But Mr. Henry having published the Latin Poem, would, therefore, strictly speaking, come within the arrangement. Had he, however, printed nothing, the omission is observable, inasmuch as many names, equally distant with his from the mitre and authorship, are there perpetuated. See *Ath. Oxon.* v. 1, p. cxlv. *ut supra*. Note 3.

Dr. Calamy, in his abridgment of Baxter's *Life and Times*, v. 2, p. 708, has, indeed, assigned a cause, and too accordant with the historiographer's celebrity, but its incivility is such as to render an application objectionable, even to a more universal contemner of the non-conformists, not to mention "some of the greatest men in the Church of England." See Calamy's *Abr.* *ut supra*. v. 2, pref. pp. vii.—xiii.

It has been excellently noted, that "God would have us judge the best in matters doubtful;" and the same writer adds,—*"Beware how thou judgest of actions, for thou mayest judge amisse, and speake amisse."*—The Watchful Shepherd, by Nehemiah Rogers, p. 104. 4to. 1632.

The work of the ministry,—p. 30.

What is meant by the work of the ministry? *Something is pre-supposed.*—Godliness. 1 Tim. iv. 7, 12. Our lives should be the book of the ignorant. This is essential to save ourselves, though not others. It will be small comfort to us to be as conduits, and have no relish of what they convey to others; or to be as one who opens a gate the wrong way. Others go in; he remains out. *Something is preparative.* Reading, meditation, prayer. *Something is practical* in private exhortation. 1 Tim. iv. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 2. Reproof, in public, preaching, sacraments, discipline. Mr. Steel at an ordination.—From a MS in the hand-writing of Philip Henry.

An edifying form of "serious self-examination before ordination," is preserved in Tong's *Life of Matt. Henry*, p. 58, &c. *ut supra*.

Constituted by ordinance of parliament,—p. 30.

By way of probation. See Neal's *History*, v. 3, p. 274, &c.

"The Parliament, though they had early abolished episcopal authority, had not, during so long a time, substituted any other spiritual government in its place, and their Committees of Religion had hitherto assumed the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but they now established by an ordinance the presbyterian model in all its forms of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies. All the inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and chuse elders, on whom, together with the minister, was bestowed the entire direction of all spiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court which governed this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with two, three, or four elders chosen from each parish. The provincial assembly retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed entirely of clergymen; the national assembly was constituted in the same manner, and its authority extended over the whole kingdom." Hume's *Hist.* vol. 7, p. 420, 421.

Mr. Houghton,—p. 30.

He published "An antidote against Henry Haggar's poysonous pamphlet, entitled the *Foundation of the Font discovered*," 4to. 1658. The volume is dedicated "to the truly honoured, and his indeared friend the worshipful Thomas Hunt, Esq. Major of the Corporation of Salop. A praiseworthy patriot, and professed pattern of piety, without respect of persons, even of all that love the truth in sincerity." See *ante*, p. 269.

He set up a monthly lecture, &c.—p. 41.

It appears that the lecture thus referred to occasioned offence; at this Mr. Henry expresses his regret; but it being "owned by a good attendance," and as it would be "matter of great rejoicing to the ungodly there if laid down," he was encouraged to go on. And, "for myself," he writes, "if I am allowed to preach to them on the Sabbath day, why not on a week day?" "For Mr. Lewis," he proceeds, "he is a godly man, a scholar, intending the ministry, approved of by those who are able to judge; desired often by Mr. Fogg himself, to preach, and others." P. Henry, Orig. MS.

Mr. Lewis was evidently a lay-preacher. The following notices are curious:—

When the Select Assembly met at Windsor Castle, various questions were propounded for their resolution. Their judgments were accurately summed up by their venerable head—Cranmer, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. One query was, "whether, (if it fortune a prince christen lerned, to conquer certain domynyons of Infidells, having none but the temporall lerned men with him,) it be defended by God's law, that he and they should *preche and teche the word of God* there, or no, and also to make and constitute priests, or noe." The answer follows,—“It is not against God's law, but contrary; they ought in dede so to do, and there be historyes that witnesseth, that some christen princes, and other laymen unconsecrate, have done the same.” Orig. MS. cited in the Irenicum, by Dr. Stillingfleet, p. 392, 393.

Secretary Fowler in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 3 Oct. 1604, says,—“My Ladye Arbella [Stewart] spends her tyme in lecture, reiding, hearing of service, and *preaching*.” Lodge's Illustrations of British History, &c. v. 3, p. 236.

He laid by the tenth of his income for the poor,—p. 53.

See Riches increased by giving to the Poor, or the surest and safest Way of Thriving, by the Rev. Thomas Gouge, duod. 1700, of which a reprint has lately appeared. Dr. Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond, p. 139. duod. 1662, and the Life of W. Stephens, Esq. by the Hon. Mr. Justice Park, p. 32.

It appears from Mr. Henry's papers, that he distributed many books. The Life of Mr. Nathaniel Mather was of the number. See Memoirs of Dr. Increase Mather, p. 14, oct. 1725.

In their judgments episcopal,—p. 54.

Those are said to maintain the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, who assert that Christ has appointed an order of ministers in his church, superior to the pastors of particular congregations, who are to exercise the highest acts of jurisdiction, especially ordination, excommunication, and confirmation; these they suppose to be, properly speaking, the successors of the apostles, in such a sense as no other ministers are; to whose authority, therefore, neighbouring churches with their pastors are to submit themselves in all matters which are not apparently contrary to the will of God. Doddridge's Works, v. 6, p. 300, *ut supra*. See Buck's Theol. Dict. v. 1. Title, Episcopacy.

Others congregational,—p. 54.

Those who hold every pastor to be so a bishop or overseer of his own congregation, as that no other person or body of men, have, by divine institution, a power to exercise any superior or pastoral office in it, may, properly speaking, be called (so far at least) congregational; and it is by a vulgar mistake that any such are called Presbyterians; for the Presbyterian discipline is exercised by synods and assemblies subordinate to each other, and all of them subject to the authority of what is commonly called a general assembly. Dr. Doddridge's Works, v. 5, p. 300. *ut supra*. See Buck's Theol. Dict. v. 1. Tit. Church.

Others classical,—p. 54.

The union of many particular congregations under one presbyterian government. See Neal's History, *ut supra*. Appendix, No. VIII. pp. 84—86.

Mismanagement of that difference,—p. 54.

See Mr. Matth. Henry's Misc. Works, p. 606, *ut supra*.

Excellent was the advice of Dr. Richard Gilpin:—"If you are not perfectly joined together in the same mind and judgment about some disputable things, yet censure not one another for differences. All of you may hold the Head, though your consciences be not alike satisfied in all things; nay, be not over-confident of your own understandings. I am speaking of the disputes about discipline and government." The Temple Rebuilt; a Discourse on Zech. vi. 13, preached at a General Meeting of the Associated Ministers of the County of Cumberland, at Keswick, p. 39, 4to. 1658.

The Cheshire Rising,—p. 57.

In the month of August, 1659, Sir George Booth, appearing in arms in Cheshire, at the head of an army of upwards of three thousand men, he was accompanied by the Earl of Derby, Lord Cholmondeley, Lord Kilmorey, and several of the principal gentleman of the county: they mustered upon Rowton Heath, the spot which had proved unfortunate to King Charles I. and there read and published a Declaration, setting forth that they took up arms for a free Parliament, and to deliver the nation from the slavery they then laboured under. General Lambert being sent by the Parliament, with an army against Sir George Booth, they met at Winnington Bridge, near Northwich, on the 16th of August, when an action ensued, in which Booth's forces were soon defeated, he himself escaped from the field in disguise, but was taken at Newport Pagnell, and sent to the Tower." Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, v. 2, p. 315. See also Ormerod's History of Cheshire, v. 1, pp. xl. xli. and pp. 210, 404; and the Earl of Clarendon's State Papers, v. 3, p. 552. Many of the nonconformists took an active interest in this measure for the restoration of the King, for which they suffered imprisonment. See Fawcett's Life of Heywood, p. 62; and the Select Nonconformists' Remains, p. 13, &c.

Sir George Booth,—p. 57.

He had two wives, the former out of Lincoln, the latter out of Stamford family, who survived him. He owned religion in the closet and family, especially during his first wife's time. He sided with the cause of the Long Parliament, but not in the death of the King. He had a Commission from Charles II. dated Aug. 9, 1659, at Brussels, whereby he was made Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in Cheshire, Lancashire, and North Wales; and was in arms accordingly, that month, but soon quelled by Lambert, near Northwich.

One of the Regicides said, he had conjured up the old monarchical spirit in the nation, which he feared would never again be suppressed.

Shortly after, when the King came in, he was made Baron of Delamere. These words, in his patent, were read by Mr. Cawdry, at his funeral, and by his son, at his trial for high treason, in Westminster Hall, in Jan. 1685-6.*

Idem Georgius summis majoribus nequaquam virtute minor, crudelissimo Patri nostri Augusta memoriæ Parricidio, nec non nostro miserrimo longoq. Exilio Sævisq. Regnorum calamitatibus, barbara et inhumana Regicidarum crudelitate. Mancipatorum gravissimè affectus, singulari in nos Amore in ruentem Patriam memorabili pietate impulsus incredibili virtute, Rei familiaris viteq. summo cum periculo, coacta fida et nobili fortium virorum manu à Comitibus Cestriæ et Lan-

* See Hargrave's State Trials, v. 4, p. 210.

castris Arma sumsit, nos Regnis, nobis Regna redditurus Quibus Ausis Ingentibus licet tunc temporis ceciderit, restaurationis tamen nostras tam felicit, tam diu exoptatæ Ansam præbuit.

Towards his tenants, according to the hereditary virtue of his family, he was one of the best of landlords.

He was buried at Boden, in Cheshire, September 9, 1684.

It was his pious custom, not only to search the Scriptures, and meditate on them, but also to refer the Scriptures to their proper subjects, that they might be of ready use to him on all occurrences. I have seen three books in quarto, writ by his lordship's own hand, of that kind: under the head of "certainty of salvation," was Rev. xiv. 13, his funeral text. P. Henry. Com. P. Book, Orig. MS. See the Life and Errors of John Dunton; v. 1, p. 178, *ut supra*. "He left it upon record to his children,—That whenever he happened, which was very seldom, to omit his secret devotions, though upon never so urgent an occasion, he always found some cross interruptions and disappointments in the business of that day." Dunton, v. 2, p. 541, 2.

See, also, Ormerod's History of Cheshire, v. 1, pp. 404, 405; and Mr. Turner's Remark. Provid. ch. lxiii. *ut supra*.

He wrote the notes of his sermons, &c.—p. 60.

And most of them twice over; the first short, and, as he would call it, the bones of his sermons. Life of P. Henry by Matth. Henry. Orig. MS.

See Observations on some Specialties of Divine Providence in the Life of Bishop Hall. Works, v. 1, p. xxxiv. ed. 1808. Mr. Baxter, noticing the objection, as put by the Quakers,—You read your sermons out of a paper, therefore you have not the Spirit,—says, It is not want of your abilities, that makes ministers use notes, but it is a regard to the work, and good of the hearers. I use notes as much as any man, when I take pains; and as little as any man, when I am lazy, or busie, and have not leisure to prepare. It is easier to us to preach three sermons without notes, than one, with them. He is a simple preacher, that is not able to preach all day without preparation, if his strength would serve; especially if he preach at your rates. Church History, 4to. 1680, p. 471.

God gave him six children,—p. 66.

Philip Henry was born at Whitehall, Aug. 24, 1631, London. Katharine Mathewes, was born at Broad-Oke, March, 25, 1629.

Philip Henry and Katharine Mathewes were married at Whitewell Chapel, April 26, 1660.

And had issue, which are the heritage of the Lord,

John Henry, born at Worthenbury, on Friday, May 3, 1661, about 5 of the clock in the evening.*

Mathew Henry, born at Broad Oke, on Saturday, Oct. 18, 1662, about 3 of the clock in the morning.

Sarah Henry, born at Broad Oke, on Lord's day, Aug. 7, 1664, about sun-sett.

Katharin Henry, born at Broad Oke, on Thursday, Dec. 7, 1665, about one of the clock in the morning.

Eleanor Henry, born at Broad Oke, on Tuesday, July 23, 1667, about two of the clock in the afternoon.

Ann Henry, born at Broad Oke, on Wednesday, Nov. 25, 1668, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

* I was then at Chester, but God was here, at Worthenbury, a present help. P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

He put his children to write these expositions,—p. 75.

I had almost forgot to mention the practice of my dear friend and correspondent, Mr. Henry, spoken of in the last chapter,* (which I am very unwilling to omit, because I would provoke myself, and others to some degree of emulation in the case :) besides his exercise on the Lord's days, mentioned before, every day of the week his custom was every morning and night to read a chapter to his family, and expound it distinctly and clearly, and after singing a psalm, and prayers, to appoint his children to retire by themselves, and write over a copy of his Exposition; by which means, as himself once told me, every one of his children, five in number, (one son, and four daughters,) had the Exposition of the whole Bible by them, written with their own hands. This custom he kept up constantly in his own house for above twenty, if not above thirty years, together, without any intermission, except in cases of absence from home, which happened but seldom. Turner's History of Remarkable Providences, ch. lxvi. p. 83, *ut supra*.

He would never be persuaded, &c.—p. 76.

Mr. Orton, in his copy of the Life, and from which his edition of it was printed, has written here. "This his wish was fulfilled to the utmost, by his son, Mr. Matthew Henry, in his well-known and excellent Exposition of the Bible." Orig. MS. The best edition appeared in 1811, in 6 vols. 4to. edited by the Rev. George Burder, and the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A. M. An esteemed living author, noticing M. Henry's Comment. says, "Others may excel it in profound discussion, in ancient lore, or elaborate criticism; but none has yet equalled it in the ingenuity, the richness, and the beauty of its practical reflections. This book should have a place in every christian family." Sketches of Life and Character, by the Rev. H. Belfrage, [now D. D.] p. 42.

The proper gesture for prayer,—p. 76.

One would think that no body should be so absurd as to dislike the gesture of kneeling in prayer. But because I have scene with mine eyes, and that not seldome, whole troops of men and women, and those not of the meanest, in the time and place of divine service, while prayers and supplications were made unto God, *sit* all the while, I think not altogether needlesse, to free the gesture of kneeling in God's worship, from all suspicion of superstition. And that by precept, practice, and reason; for precept, take the words of the Psalmist, *O come, let us worship, and fall downe, and kneele, before the Lord our Maker*. Ps. xcv. 6. For practice, we will looke upon the farest president. Our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ *kneeled down and prayed*. Luke, xxii. 41. If men will be ruled by reason they will not, when they are to petition the King of kings, omit such a gesture of humility, as kneeling is, being the most suitable for a man at his prayers. God's Holy House and Service, by Foulke Roberts, pp. 78, 79, *ut supra*.

Mindful of providences,—p. 78.

A new parliament to be chosen. My dear father usually prayed at such occasions that God would be seen in elections, that faithful men might be chosen. Mrs. Savage's Diary. Orig. MS.

* See Note, p. 443.

He closed his sabbath work, &c.—p. 81.

His friend and pupil, the Rev. W. Turner, has thus preserved Mr. Henry's habits. "Before I went to the University, from the month of August, till the latter end of February following, I was a boarder in the house of one Mr. Philip Henry, where I had the opportunity of observing his manner of life and conversation. He was formerly Student of Christ Church, in Oxford, Junior of the Act, Chaplain to Judge Puleston, and Minister of Worthenbury. But afterwards not conforming, he married an Heiress, and lived at Broad-Oke, in Hanmer Parish, in Flintshire. Bishop Wilkins sent twice for him in my time, with a design to draw him over to conformity, as he had done many of his brethren before in his own diocese. Dr. Bridgman, Bishop of Man, and his successor, at Worthenbury, spoke very honourably of him to Major Trevers and me, at his own table at Chester. Bishop Fell, of Oxford, lamented his going off from the communion of the Church of England, as by law established; and the present learned and ingenious Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry* is ready to give an honourable testimony to his sincerity, I doubt not, (having some knowledge of the correspondence between them.) This man (ever since I knew him, and whilst I was his neighbour) was careful to rise early on Sunday mornings, to spend a considerable portion of his time in his private devotions and preparations, then to come down and call his family together, and, after some short preparatory prayer, to sing a Psalm, (commonly the 100th,) and then read some part of the Sacred Scripture, and expound it very largely and particularly, and at last kneel down with all his family and pray devoutly; with particular references to the day and duties of it, and the minister that was to officiate. After which, a short refection for breakfast, he made haste to church, and took care that all his family that could be spared, should go in due time likewise: sometime he was before the preacher, and often before the rest of the congregation; (as once particularly, when I gave them a sermon in that place, he and I walked together a considerable time before the people came;) he behaved himself reverently and very gravely in the church during the service; stood up commonly at prayers, and always, in my time, wrote a sermon after the minister: when the morning service was ended, he commonly invited the minister to dine with him, who seldom refused; and many others, who either lived at a distance, as Mrs. Hanmer, Sir Job Charleton's daughter, married to a Justice of Peace in that country; or else such as were poor and needy. His discourse homewards was sweet and spiritual; at table it was seasoned as well as his meat; edifying, and yet pleasant, and taking; never wild or inoffensive. After meat, and thanks returned, they commonly (I think constantly) before departure from table, sung the 23rd Psalm. Sometime after, when the servants had dined, he propounded to such guests as he thought in prudence he should not be too free with, to retire into the parlour for a while, till he had attended upon his family, repeated over the sermon, and prayed with them; after which he returned to his guests again, and having entertained them with some short discourse, he retired awhile himself, and by and by called upon his family to go to church. After evening service and sermon ended, he retired again till six o'clock, (then called for prayers, catechized, took an account of children and servants of what they remembered at church, which accounts were given sometimes very largely and particularly,) sung a Psalm, kneeled down to prayers, (which consisted more of praise and benediction than at other times,) and at last his children kneeling down before him, (to beg his blessing,) he blessed them all, and concluded the service of the day with the 123rd Psalm; save that after supper, he retired for about half an hour more into his study before bed time. Sometimes after the publick service ended at church, he gave some spiritual instructions, and preached in his house to as many as would come to hear him: and in his last years, when the incumbents grew careless in providing supplies for two or three neighbouring churches and chappels, and the people cried out for lack of vision, he set up a constant ministration and preaching at home, never taking any thing by way of reward for his pains, unless with a purpose to give it away to those who were in greater necessities." Turner's History of Remarkable Providences, ch. lxx. p. 80, *ut supra*.

* Dr. Lloyd. Le Neve's, Fasti, p. 126, *ut supra*.

Religion, &c. did prevail,—p. 89.

See Neal's History, vol. ii. p. 553, *ut supra*. A sensible writer, with the above reference in view, has remarked,—“It hath been intimated by some historians, that the religion of these times was all hypocrisy, and dissimulation. The censure itself is ignorant and uncharitable. Hypocrisy and dissimulation there might be among them, but I should rejoice to see, in our day, such an appearance of religion.” Religious Exercises recommended by Job Orton, p. 230, duod. 1769. A similar testimony is borne by Mr. Baxter Reliq. Baxter. part i. p. 97.

Fifty years ago family religion was a fashionable thing. You could not go along some streets without hearing psalms sung, &c. but now it is not only neglected, but become reproachable. Men are ashamed of it. They are forced to retire for fear of being made a proverb and reproach. Sermon by Dr. Benion. See *ante*, p. xliii. Nov. 1702. From the MS. of Mrs. Tylston, Mr. P. Henry's second daughter.

Christmas-day,—p. 90.

See a curious collection of facts and customs respecting Christmas, in Brand's Observations on Popular Antiquities, v. i., p. 350, &c. In 1664, both Houses of Parliament issued an order for the observance of Christmas-day as a day of fasting,—“because it may call to remembrance our sins, and the sins of our forefathers, who have turned this feast, pretending the memory of Christ, into an extreme forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights, being contrary to the life which Christ led here on earth, and to the spiritual life of Christ in our souls, for the sanctifying and saving whereof God was pleased, both to take a human life, and to lay it down again.” Rushworth, v. 5. p. 317. Some time afterwards, this was succeeded by an ordinance for abolishing the observation of Christmas as a festival, altogether. Neal's History, v. iii. p. 390. In 1663, Mr. Henry thus notices the return of the season. “Dec. 24. As busy as people are to prepare their houses for Christmas, so much more busy should I be to prepare my heart for Christ. 25. No preaching at chapel, (viz. Whitewell Chapel, where he attended when silenced,) wherefore I stayed at home, making no conscience of the day as a day to be kept holy, for want of divine institution.” Diary Orig. MS.

All the parts of publick worship,—p. 95.

Concerning a practice not uncommon in publick worship, he thus expressed himself;—“Secret prayer is that which is performed between God and ourselves alone, which no eye or ear is a witness to. Mark, i. 35. Acts, x. 9. Of this our Saviour speaks, Matt. vi. 5, 6. From hence we derive a word of reproof to those who visibly address themselves to secret prayer in the publick congregation. Such are so far from shutting the door, that they rather throw it wide open, which our Lord Jesus plainly condemns, as savouring of hypocrisy. It is not only lawful, but necessary, to lift up our hearts to God in prayer, mentally,—for enlargement to him that speaks, for a blessing upon his ordinances to our souls, and yet so as to do it without those external expressions of worship, kneeling, &c. which, if we were alone, we might and ought indeed to make use of, but before others we may, and ought to forbear.” P. Henry. Orig. MS. See Baxter's Christian Directory, Part iii. quest. cxxi. Practical Works, v. 5, p. 490, oct. ed.

Submit to be re-ordained,—p. 97.

See Reliq. Baxter, Part iii. p. 38. And “A petition for peace with the reformation of the liturgy, as it was presented to the Right Reverend Bishops, by the Divines, appointed by His Majesty's Commission, to treat with them about the alteration of it.” pp. 2, 3, 10. 4to. 1661. The Petition for Peace is styled by the Author of the Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists, “most humble, grave, and pathetic.” Third Plea, p. 18. See also Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 39.

The Savoy Conference,—p. 97.

A meeting of a certain number of Bishops and Presbyterian Divines, by virtue of a Commission, granted by King Charles, dated 25th March, 1661, to consult respecting the expediency of making alterations in the Liturgy. As to the alterations and additions made, see Nicholl's Preface to his Comment on the Book of Common Prayer, p. x. A list of the individuals employed in the alterations, may be seen in Dr. D'Oyley's *Life of Archbishop Sancroft*, v. i. p. 112, &c. and a full account of the whole, with the exceptions and proposed alterations, is preserved in *Reliq. Baxter*. lib. 1. part ii. p. 303, &c.

He never took the Covenant,—p. 99.

This document appears at length in Fuller's Church History, b. xi. p. 201.

Mr. Henry's Diary contains the following memoranda:—

"1661, May 27, I saw an order from the House of Lords, for burning the Covenant.—See Jer. xxxvi. 23, 32,—which was done, in London, by the common hangman, May 22nd.

"June 18. The lords' order for burning the Covenant was hanged up in the church by Mr. Paleston's appointment, near the reading desk.

"June 23. Strong reports I should not be suffered to preach to-day, but I did, and no disturbance, blessed be God, who hath mine enemies in a chain. I took down the lords' order, knowing no authority but malice that caused it to be hanged where it was." Orig. MS.

Came to Broad Oak,—p. 101.

A house standing near the road-side, between Whitchurch and Wrexham, and situate in the township of Iscoid, in Flintshire, within the parish of Malpas, in Cheshire. See Tong's *Life of Matt. Henry*, p. 2. *ut supra*. The Broad Oak Estate was Mr. Henry's property. The oaks in the immediate neighbourhood, but on premises held by lease from Mr. Hanmer, from which the residence was denominated, seem to have been afterwards an occasion of dispute. "1710-11, May 2. Heard from Broad-Oak that Mr. Hanmer has cut down the lesser of the great oaks. I wrote to him about it:" "May 5. I hear Mr. Hanmer, when my letter was brought in, would not receive it or read it, but ordered it to be burnt, and the great oak to be cut down, though he had promised Mr. Key it should not. I would learn to take wrong. I have reason to think he could not justly do it." "May 14. The broad-oak was a week in falling." Matt. Henry's Diary, Orig. MS. A new dwelling-house, and also in part, new out-houses, have been erected on the site of the premises where Mr. Henry's house stood, so that there is nothing now left of former appearances, unless a portion of the garden wall, and part of the out-buildings. These may fairly be presumed to have been contemporary with the renowned occupier. The "Chapel Barn," as it is denominated, was taken down about twelve years ago; the cushion used in the pulpit is in the possession of the present tenant.

Provide a dwelling for them,—p. 103.

In one of Mr. Henry's Diaries is the following record;—"1663. July 7. A day of prayer at Mrs. F—— with much sweetness. Lord, hear, and have mercy. Is. xvi. 4. much upon my heart. *Let my outcasts dwell with thee, Moab.* 1. God's people may be an outcast people; when men cast them out of their synagogues, out of their country. 2. God will own his people when men cast them out: my outcasts. 3. God will provide a dwelling for his outcast people. 4. Even Moab, an enemy, shall be a shelter to God's people, when the Lord speaks the word." Orig. MS. See the Rev. Matt. Henry's Comment. in loc. Similar instances occur in that invaluable work.

One of the martyrs,—p. 104.

Mr. John Rogers. Fox's Martyrol. pp. 98—106, fol. 1664. Fuller's Church History, cent. xvi. b. viii. p. 23, *ut supra*.

Imputed to him as his crime,—p. 106.

To the assertion that Mr. Henry's attendance at a meeting for prayer, "was imputed to him as a crime," Dr. Wordsworth, in his edition of the *Life*,* has appended the following note. "His crime was disobeying an Act of Parliament."

This so directly affects Mr. Matthew Henry's statement, and his venerable father's impressions, as, evidently, to render some remarks necessary. They proceed from a conviction that the biographer is correct, and are offered with unaffected respect.

The great point, it is apprehended, upon which Protestantism, not to mention nonconformity, rests, may be thus stated. Have any Popes, however renowned, any Parliament however wise, any synods or councils however select, or any church however ancient or devotional, supreme authority† in matters of faith and practice; or can they make that unlawful, which, in its own nature, is right? If not, there could, in the instance before us, be no criminality, it is conceived, in noncompliance.‡ Happy had it been for the peace of the world, and the prosperity of undefiled religion, if the principle, thus negatived, had never struggled for domination. To the praise of heavenly mercy, indeed, it is now no longer considered a crime in our favoured country, even to protest§ against that which is deemed unscriptural, or to assert the unalienable rights of every Christian. Under the British legislature, divine worship is as unrestrained and protected in the unconsecrated meeting-house, as in the very precincts of ecclesiastical rule. Nor would one of the holiest, most peaceable, and loyal of men, were he now alive, be deprived of his liberty, examined as a felon, and rendered ignominious by bail, when the only occasion to be found against him had respect to the law of his God.

The more closely the charge of violating the laws of the country is considered, the clearer, it is thought, will be the conviction that Mr. Henry was not criminal.

By several statutes, indeed, it was made penal, under pretext of sedition,¶ for Christians to meet for religious exercises, unless under certain restrictions, both as to the number assembled, and the method of supplication. During the raging of the plague in London, Mr. Henry, and some others, as we have seen, whose habits were those of righteous intercessors, assembled for prayer. This may have been¶ within some of the enactments, and he is, therefore, charged with disobedience.

But disobedience is defined by Dr. Johnson to be,—the "violation of *lawful* command or prohibition; breach of duty due to superiors." Now it is evident that the Bible, which is the guide of Protestants, contains no authority for legislation as to divine worship, any more than faith and obedience; and, therefore, should a statute-book

* Ecol. Biogr. v. 6, p. 236.

† See Bishop Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, p. 118, *ut supra*.

‡ I believe that he that obeyeth not a law which was made against God's law, or without authority given by him, sinneth not against authority. Richard Baxter's Answer to Dr. Edward Stillingfleet's Charge of Separation. p. xx. 4to. 1680.

§ 1663, May 17. At Whitechurch, where preached Dr. Fowler concerning the nature and abuse of christian liberty. Gal. v. 13. Asserting the power of the magistrates about indifferent things; which is partly to be granted, viz. in civil things; partly to be denied, viz. in *sacris*. P. Henry, Diary, Orig. MS.

¶ See post. pp. 448, 449.

¶ It does not appear how many were present; and from the narrative, it seems not unlikely, that the magistrates had some doubts how far the meeting was strictly within the Act of Parliament.

dictate to an accountable creature where he shall render the homage required by his Creator,—whether in a house, or a cathedral, with a prayer-book, or without, with five persons, or a smaller number,—his obligations cannot be affected by such an ordinance; and should the parties to whom the execution of such laws is entrusted, levy upon conscientious objectors to their impositions the severest penalties; they would, indeed, be *persecuted*, but the rights of conscience being as spiritual as they are unalienable, there could be no correct imputation of CRIME.

The *Apostles* were beaten, and commanded, by existing authorities, that they should not speak in the name of Jesus,—but they *departed from the presence of the council, and daily, in the temple, and in every house, ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.** Were they criminal? They answered, “We ought to obey God rather than men.” “It should seem,” remarks an excellent clergyman, “that this (if any) may be called a natural maxim, and that the rudest savage, or the least child that can be made to understand the terms, must assent to the truth of the proposition, as readily as they perceive that two and two make four. How strange then is it, that men of the greatest parts and penetration in other things, so seldom receive it. There are few periods to be found, even in the christian church, in which those who steadily acted upon this principle, were not considered as hereticks of the worst sort.”†

Let an instance be submitted. Suppose any individuals, from aversion to a certain class of their fellow subjects, and opposition to their habits of sanctity, should obtain a statutory enactment, that no man should pray alone for thirty days, or that in spite of every thing divine as to the “communion of saints,” only so many, however excellent, should pray together. Notwithstanding their decree, one and another of the parties “kneel and pray, and give thanks unto God as before,”—overlooking such law. Suppose them to be apprehended and punished. Can it be credited that their acts were criminal, or that they were punished for disobedience to the law? True it is, without the existence of the law, no punishment could have been attempted,—but is it not equally obvious that the crime was praying, and that their course being known, the law was framed as a snare, and as a sanction for penal inflictions? “There was a time,” says the venerable episcopalian above quoted, referring to Mr. Henry’s days, “when the nonconformists groaned under the iron rod of oppression, and were exposed to fines, penalties, and imprisonment, as well as to cruel mockings, and the lawless rage of a rabble, *for worshipping God according to the light of their consciences.* Yet I apprehend their nonconformity was rather the occasional, and ostensible, than the *real cause* of the hard treatment they met with.”‡

The fact then appears to be, as stated by Mr. Matthew Henry, that praying with others was imputed to his father as a crime; the matter of the law being sinful, the criminality was there, and not in his conduct.§ That was good, and no exposure to temporal punishment could make it otherwise, any more than the severest human denunciations can render obedience to inspired prescriptions liable to eternal vengeance. And, what saith the Scripture? “*Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.*”|| “He says not, I will be, but I am, referring to his divine presence at all times, and in all places, and to his special presence, by the influences of his Spirit, to communicate blessings to his people, *whenever, or wherever, they wait upon him.*”¶

* Acts v. 41, 42.

† Newton’s Works, v. iii. p. 85, *ut supra*.

‡ Newton’s Works, v. v, p. 4, *ut supra*.

§ Diocessans were authorized, by Act of Parliament, to imprison and fine hereticks, and on relapse, to burn them. See st. 2, H. 4, c. 15. “And every man knows,” says Sir Matthew Hale, “that in the times of Henry 4th, and afterwards, the true professors of the christian religion were sentenced as hereticks.” Hist. Plac. Cor. v. i, p. 398, fol. 1736. What would have been our just amazement had that great Judge added,—Their crime was disobeying an Act of Parliament?

|| Matt. xviii. 20. See also 1 Tim. ii. 8.

¶ Rev. T. Scott’s Comment. Matt. xviii. 20.

Were it otherwise than as thus represented, consequences too absurd for enlightened contemplation would follow. Then, indeed, the freedom of the human will would be destroyed,—conscience would, at once, be subjected to any inventions or impositions, however anti-christian,—the necessary distinction between right and wrong would be confounded,—the Reformation from Popery would need special vindication,—the Puritans, instead of deserving eulogistick admiration,* would be more correctly reprobated,—the murder of martyrs would be capable of advocacy,—and even criminality originated, notwithstanding apostolick exhortations, by adhering to the liberty wherewith Christ hath made his people free. ‡

Let not the matter nevertheless be misconceived. The denial of magisterial controul over conscience and religion, does not infringe upon authority in civil affairs. Conscientious persons especially, and they are the individuals more immediately affected by laws like those under consideration, ever feel the sacredness of divine injunctions. And, notwithstanding Christ reigns in the hearts and consciences of his true subjects, “the princes of this world,” to borrow the appropriate language of the late admired rector of Aston Sandford, “have nothing to fear from the obedience of Christians to his authority. His servants are commanded to render tribute to whom tribute is due, honour to whom honour, to submit to the powers that be, to fear God and the King, and not to meddle with those who are given to change, though, at the same time, they must obey God rather than man, when man presumes to interfere out of his own province.” §

I shall go to him, &c.—p. 111.

Independently of the scriptural allusion, it is probable Mr. Henry had in view the following tender lines in a poem, called the “Exequy.”

Meantime, thou hast her, earth; much good
May my harm do thee! since it stood
With heaven’s will I might not call
Her longer mine,
See that thou make thy reck’ning straight,
And yield her back again by weight;
For thou must audit on thy trust
Each grain and atom of this dust.
So close the ground, and ’bout her shade
Black curtains draw, my bride is laid.
But hark! my pulse like a soft drum
Beats my approach, tells thee I come;
And slow how’er my marches be,
I shall at last sit down by thee.

Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonnets, by Henry King,
Bishop of Chichester, 12mo, 1657, p. 57.

Called Seditious Conventicles,—p. 113.

The word Conventicle, in strictness, signifies, according to some, a cabal, or secret assembly of part of the monks of a convent to make a brigade, or party in the election of an abbot. It was, according to others, first used as to the Schools of Wickliff. Encyclop. Brit. in Verb. But its adoption was earlier. Lactantius speaks of the conventiculum, or church, where the Christians met. And Arnobius, in like manner. See Bingham’s Works, vol. 2, p. 276, *ut supra*. The term occurs in the

* See the Works of the Rev. James Hervey, vol. vi, p. 24, ed. 1806, and Hume’s History, v. 5, p. 358.

† See 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11, &c.

‡ Gal. v. 1.

§ Mr. Scott’s Commentary, John, xviii. 33–40. Practical Observations.

decree of the fourth General Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215.—*Occulta Conventicula celebrantes*. Nay, in Maximinian and Constantine, the Emperors' proclamation, the places where Christians resorted to publick prayer, were called *Conventicles*. The Homilies, p. 223, *ut supra*. The third part of the Homily against peril of idolatry.

In the act touching Heresies, 2 Hen. IV, c. 15, Protestants are, by the then Popish Government, represented as, "A certain new sect, of the faith of the sacraments of the church, and the authority of the same damnably thinking;" and the statute alleges, that, "of such wicked doctrine and opinions, they make unlawful *Conventicles* and confederacies; they hold and exercise schools; they make and write books; they do wickedly instruct and inform people." Bishop Gibson's Codex. v. i. p. 328, *ut supra*.

The venerable composers of the Homilies evidently used the term favourably. "Lo," say they, "unto the time of Constantine, by the space of above three hundred years after our Saviour Christ, when christian religion was most pure, and indeed golden, Christians had but low and poor *Conventicles*, and simple oratories, yea, caves under the ground, called cryptæ, where they, for fear of persecution, assembled secretly together. A figure whereof remaineth in the vaults, which yet are builded under great churches, to put us in remembrance of the old state of the primitive church before Constantine." Homilies, *ut supra*, p. 223.

Afterwards, indeed, the epithet was applied by the Church of England herself to those of her fellow-Protestants, in the 17th century, whose conscientious scruples obliging them to seek a still further reformation, partially withdrew from her communion, and were accustomed, in consequence of their liabilities, to convene, if they assembled for divine worship at all, in each other's habitations. Such persons were then regarded as obstinate schismatics; and by Canon XI. A. D. 1603, the asserter that a Conventicle was a lawful church, was subjected to excommunication. Gibson's Codex. v. i. p. 503.

It being discovered that canonical denunciations were inefficient, the defect was supplied by statutory enactments, and an act passed to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. See Matt. Henry, Misc. Works, p. 634, *ut supra*. Henceforward the phrase, "*seditious conventicle*," was rendered permanently expressive,* in order that, by an innuendo of sedition, the meeting together of five, or more persons of the age of sixteen years, "in other manner than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England," might be fully obstructed.

In connexion with the consequences, an eminent clergyman made a remark not very favourable to the parties. "See," said he, "the piety of some of our suppressors of *Conventicles*. Preachers are threatened with hanging, and the death of traitors; they pull down a pulpit to set up healthing in it; tear the pulpit, distrain and sell the Bible to choose, when they might have made choice of other. The Conformist's Fourth Plea, *ut supra*, p. 76.

The subject cannot be dismissed without observing, that Bishop Latimer, at the commencement of one of his sermons, before King Edward, designates the Chapel Royal a "preaching place in the palace at Westminster;"† or, according to subsequent parlance, a Conventicle. "And," says Fuller, "no disgrace is imported in the notation of the word; Conventicle sounding nothing else but a *small convention*." Church History, b. ix. p. 102, *ut supra*. See Memoirs of the Rev. John Shower, by W. Tong, pp. 49, 50, oct. 1716.

Whence not to curry favour, &c.—p. 113.

This remark has attracted Dean Wordsworth's notice, (see Eccl. Biogr. v. vi. p. 236,) as though, coupling it with the statement of an imputation of crime, already discussed, it was intended to suit some mysterious purpose. What the innuendo was meant to accomplish, is best known to its learned author; but, judging impartially, as Mr. M. Henry's representation is no departure from the simple verity, so it would be unfair to surrender his reputation to any thing short of proof. And surely it is not presumptuous to inquire,

Who can blot that name
With any just reproach?

* See the 16th Charles II. c. 4, and 22d Charles II. c. 1. Walker had at an earlier period (A. D. 1649.) applied the term to the House of Commons, styling it, the better to inspire odium, a "*frighted Conventicle*." History of Independency, part ii. p. 167, 4to. 1649.

† Sermons, p. 24, *ut supra*.

Subjection to government,—p. 118.

Calvin in his chapter on Civil Government, says, "To entertain a thought of its extermination is inhuman barbarism; it is equally as necessary to mankind as bread and water, light and air, and far more excellent." *Institutes*, v. 3, p. 318. Allen's Translation.

All this and heaven too,—p. 181.

See an anecdote, very similar, in the *Christian's Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 202, oct. 1790.

Mr. William Turner,—p. 123.

See Mr. Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* v. xxx, p. 100. In Mr. Henry's *Diary* are the following memoranda.

"1668, Aug. 26. William Turner came to winter with us, and to teach the children.

"1671, Feb. 24. William Turner went from us towards Oxford, having sojourned with us, for the most part, since August last, in which time he entered Katy in reading English, and Sarah, in Hebrew. I pray God preserve him from University sins and snares."

"1672, Feb. 27. Jos. Mainwaring went with William Turner towards Oxford. The Lord prosper their studies, and keep them from present sins and snares." *Orig. MS.*

Time discovered,—p. 128.

Namely, the King's disposition to support the Roman Catholic at the expense of the Protestant interest. *Dr. D'Oyley's Life of Archbishop Saucroft*, v. i. p. 168, &c. and the *Gent. Mag.* v. 31, p. 253, where the Address, presented by the Dissenters, on that occasion, was first printed.

Spent in the work of the Lord,—p. 131.

Must we have no relaxation? We are servants to Christ, not slaves. The bow always bent becomes useless. Though we are ministers, we are men, therefore we need food, and physick, and friends to visit. Divinity excludes not humanity. But all should be made subservient to our work. As if our people love any creature more than Christ, they will be lost for ever; so, if we love and follow any pleasure more than our people, we fail in duty. We must prop the earthen vessel, but it is that it may hold the treasure, and so far as is useful. We must be merry with our people in all civility, that they may be cheerful with us in all religion. *Mr. Porter, at an Ordination. From a MS. in P. Henry's hand-writing.*

First spoken to the offender,—p. 137.

This rule is prominently noticed by the late Ambrose Serle, Esq., in his excellent Manual, "*The Christian Remembrancer*," part. iii. c. xiv. p. 276, oct. ed. 1823. An edition enriched by an introductory essay from the pen of Dr. Chalmers.

They are not lost, &c.—p. 138.

Thus Mr. Ratherfoord, writing to John Gordon, remarks;—"Your bairns, now at their rest, are not lost to you; they are laid up in Christ's treasury in heaven. At the resurrection ye shall meet with them there; they are sent before, but not sent away." Religious Letters, *ut supra*, Letter 25, p. 35. Again, addressing "Lady Gaitgirth," he says,—“If your Lord take any of them [your bairns] home to his house before the storm comes on, take it well; the owner of the orchard may take down two or three apples off his own trees before Midsummer, and ere they get the harvest sun; and it would not be seemly that his servant, the gardener, should chide him for it; let our Lord pluck his own fruit at any season he pleaseth. *They are not lost to you; they are laid up where our Lord's best jewels lie.*" Letter 76, p. 96, *ib.* And, addressing Lady Kenmaure, he writes;—"Ye have lost a child; nay, she is not lost to you who is found to Christ; she is not sent away, *but only sent before*; like unto a star, which, going out of our sight, doth not die, and vanish, but shineth in another hemisphere." Part 2, Letter 4, p. 252, *ib.* See the Gardener and Rose Tree, a Fable, addressed to Mrs. H. on the Death of her Child, by the Rev. S. Pearce. Memoirs of Mr. Pearce, by the Rev. A. Fuller, p. 247, oct. 1808.

Not to be obeyed merely because they were laws,—p. 151.

In Queen Mary's time there was a law to go to mass, &c. But, saith T. P. you do not compare this law with that. No, saith Mr. Henry, God forbid; but I only mentioned it, to show that all human laws are not to be obeyed merely because they are laws. Life of P. Henry by Matt. Henry. Orig. MS.

An illustration is furnished by the vacillations of religion, as by law established, in England. Four alterations were crowded, during one period of our history, into the short space of fifty years. Popery, on the accession of King Henry the Eighth, A. D. 1509, was dominant; and, in 1533, gave way to Protestantism. In 1553, Popery was again the religion of the state. In 1558, Mass was abolished, and the Liturgy of King Edward restored. Mr. Henry, it is likely, had this state of things in view; and, if his doctrine be incorrect, it must have been criminal to have done otherwise than go with the stream.

The times, says the witty "Prebendarie of Sarum," under Dioclesian, were Pagan; under Constantine, Christian; under Constantius, Arian; under Julian, Apostate; under Jovian, Christian again; and all within the age of man, the term of seventy years. And would it not have wrenched and sprained his soul with short turning, who, in all these, should have been of the religion *for the time being*? Fuller's Holy State, p. 200, *ut supra*.

Beza published an answer to the railings of Francis Baldwinns, who followed the steps of Ecebolus, both of them teaching,—that *men might change their religion as the state changed*. Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hist. p. 880, *ut supra*. Cicero says, Nihil tam absurdum, quod non dictum sit ab aliquo philosophorum.

Dispersion of the French Protestants,—p. 158.

In consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, nearly fifty thousand refugees passed over into England, and were so many proofs, in addition to numberless others, that, "persecution," as His Majesty King Charles the First well observed, "never was, nor will be, found a good way for conversion." Earl Clarendon's State Papers, v. 2, p. 267. It would furnish a source of interesting, as well as curious employment, to collect the various exhibitions of the evil of intolerance, and the dangers to which its instruments are exposed. Without recurring to the primitive ages of the Church, the space from the Reformation to the period respecting which Dr. Doddridge urged, with so much force, "the absurdity and iniquity of persecution for conscience sake, in all its kinds, and degrees,"* would supply ample materials, and which, placed together, would display a succession of reasoning, and illustration, almost as varied as the pens employed in their composition. One, and not a little curious, occurs in a scarce

* Doddridge's Works, *ut supra*, v. 3, p. 117, &c. See Bishop Hoadley's Works, v. 3, p. 763, *ut supra*.

volume, entitled, "A Rare Sight; or, the Lyon Sent from a Far Country, and presented to the City of Norwich; in a Sermon, June 18, 1650, by John Carter, pp. 105—108, duod. 1653." Mr. Carter was the gentleman to whom the letter for promoting the London Polyglott Bible, was addressed, by Archbishop Usher, Dr. Walton, and others, as preserved in the *Life of Dr. Pocock. Works*, by Twells, v. 1, p. 47, *ut supra*.

He doth not love you of the Church of England neither,—p. 169.

Mr. Henry's opinion was expressed by the Quakers to the King himself in their Address on his accession. "We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of England no more than we; therefore, we hope that thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself." *Rapin's History of England*, v. 15, p. 8, ed. 1731.

Books against Popery,—p. 170.

A learned antiquary, the Rev. Francis Peck, published in 4to, 1735, "A Complete Catalogue of all the Discourses written, both for and against Popery, in the time of King James II.; containing, in the whole, an Account of Four Hundred and fifty-seven Books and Pamphlets." See *Palmer's Vindication*, ch. iv. p. 31, 4to, 1705, for "the true reason why Dissenters writ no more against Popery in the reign of James II." Also, see *Matt. Henry's Misc. Works*, p. 446, *ut supra*.

Overtures made towards a comprehension,—p. 188.

Two similar attempts had been before made. The first by Sir Orlando Bridgman, in 1667-8. A full account of the whole, and the proposed alterations, is recorded in *Reliq. Baxter. Part III.* pp. 23—38, *ut supra*. The second, by Dr., afterwards Archbishop Tillotson; and Dr., afterwards Bishop Stillingfleet, in 1674. *Reliq. Baxter. Part iii.* p. 157, &c. *Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, p. 43. &c.

As to the comprehension more immediately referred to, see *Dr. D'Oyley's Life of Archbishop Sancroft*, v. 1, p. 326, and the *Hist. of Rel. Lib.* v. 2, pp. 183—190.

A comprehension was again talked of in the year 1748, and an interesting letter on the subject, written by Mr. Barker to Dr. Doddridge, may be seen in the *Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge*, p. 112, oct. 1790.

Heaven and Hell,—p. 198.

Heaven and Hell may considered *locally*,—so it matters not where they be; and morally, so Heaven is holiness completed; Hell is sin completed. Hence they are set out by the same names; *Hell and sin*, by darkness, *Jude*, vi. 2; *2 Pet.* ii. 4; comp. *Eph.* v. 8, 11; *Prov.* ii. 13.—by Death, *Rev.* xx. 6, comp. *Eph.* ii. 1; *Luke* xv. 32. *Heaven and holiness* by light, *Col.* i. 12; comp. *Eph.* v. 8, by life. *Rom.* vi. 22, 23; *1 John*, v. 11; comp. *1 John*, iii. 14; *Luke*, xv. 32, by glory, *2 Cor.* iv. 18, comp. iii. 18, *2 Pet.* i. 3. P. Henry. Com. Place Book. Orig. MS.

Thy God, thy sin, thy death, thy Christ,
The eternal pains of hell,
The joys of heaven, the day of doome,—
These seven, remember well.

"An ancient Minister now with God." See a *Treatise on Christian Conference*, by Edmund Staunton, D.D. p. 129, duod. 1673; also, the *Lives of the Puritans*, v. 2, p. 470.

All this he did gratis,— p. 199.

But few are of ability to do this, and when the power is enjoyed, it is, perhaps, questionable how far, on the whole, it is best to relieve the congregation from the privilege, to say nothing of the duty, of affording a due maintenance. Should a minister, by the kindness of Providence, be raised above the need of the supply, still the use of it would enlarge his capacity for usefulness, dissatisfaction towards those who are less supplied with outward blessings would be prevented, and his successor would be neither prejudiced by a feeling of inferiority, nor incumbrance. "If men held in as dear a regard their immortal souls, as they generally do their corruptible bodies, then would they never basely grudge unto the pastors of them a liberal affluence of all necessities: so that no want of worthy respect, nor of time, nor of means, might discourage them from making meet and manifold provision to lead, to feed, to fold, to defend, their flocks." A Liberal Maintenance is manifestly due to the Ministers of the Gospel, by Joshua Meene, Vicar of Wymondham in Norfolk. 4to. 1698, p. 55.

It should be observed, however, that reasons existed, in Mr. Henry's time, for the course he and others of his brethren pursued, which have long ceased; and before a conclusion is drawn from their example, they are entitled to consideration. The charge, for instance, was general, and not confined to a single calumniator; that covetousness was the ground of nonconformity. "Did I gain by nonconformity?" exclaims the dignified and benevolent Baxter, "that, from the day that I was silenced, had never taken a groat for preaching, nor ever had a church to maintain me, and had commonly refused even friends' gratuities, (save £10 from one man that I could not refuse,) for many years after this, and save from few, to this day? Who, by refusing a Bishoprick, and other emoluments, have lost, I think, above twenty-thousand pounds by non-conformity? What answer do these men deserve?" Penitent Confession, *ut supra*, 89, 90.

Mr. Steele, addressing a congregation at an ordination in 1659, thus expressed himself; "Help us with your prayers. Help us in maintenance, that we who should live to study, may not be put to study to live." From a MS. in Mr. Philip Henry's hand-writing.

Private academies,— p. 206.

There was a Prophet's School at Gilgal, 2 Kings, ii. 1, comp. iv. 38; at Jericho, 2 Kings, ii. 4, 5; at Bethel, v. 23; at Carmel, v. 25, comp. iv. 23, 25; at Samaria, 2 Kings, ii. 25.—v. 3; at Ephraim, 2 Kings, v. 22. P. Henry. Orig. MS.

A History of the early Dissenting Academies may be seen in Dr. Toulmin's Historical View, 215–261, *ut supra*; and, at the end of the same volume, a List of the Students. Appendix, No. V. pp. 559–592. See also the History of Dissenters, vol. 4.

A correct view of the internal arrangement of the Institutions above referred to, may be obtained from a Letter written by Archbishop Secker. See Dr. Gibbon's Mem. of Dr. Watts, p. 346, and the Works of Dr. Doddridge, vol. 5, p. 559, *ut supra*. Also, from Dr. Raffles's Life of Mr. Spencer; Appendix, No. I. ed. 1813; and the History of Dissenters, v. ii. p. 1, &c.

One who had been the pupil of Dr. Benion, observing that such Academies are by some most maliciously calumniated as nurseries of rebellion and sedition, and hurtful to kings and provinces, states, that, what insight the Doctor thought fit to give his pupils into politics, tended to beget in them not only a satisfaction in, but an admiration of, the established constitution of the English Government; and he doubted not, but they brought with them, from his instructions, a true value for monarchy, and as thorough an abhorrence of the execrable murder of King Charles I. as they could have brought from Christ-Church itself. Life of Dr. Benion by Matt. Henry. Misc. Works, p. 768, *ut supra*.

would have satisfied the law he might have continued vicar." Noncon. Mem. v. 3, p. 360. A like representation was applicable to each of those who adopted the Liturgy, but were afterwards ejected, as well as to those who disliked its use.

While some seceded early, (Mr. Baxter, for instance, in May, Reliq. Baxter, part ii. p. 384, *ut supra*,) most of the nonconformists continued in their respective churches until the statutory limitation had nearly expired. Mr. Heath not only did the same, but it is likely remained, according to the statement followed by Bishop Kennet, a few Lord's-days after. Many instances of such continuance may be referred to. See (*int. al.*) the Lives of Mr. Ashhurst, Noncon. Mem. v. 1, p. 281. Mr. Tapper, *ib.* p. 357. Mr. Hardy, *ib.* vol. 2, p. 146. Mr. Crossin, *ib.* p. 265. Mr. Creswick, *ib.* p. 260. Mr. Hawes, *ib.* p. 292. Mr. Angier, *ib.* p. 360. And Mr. Truman, *ib.* vol. 3, p. 92.

It may be noticed, that, immediately after the Restoration, the hazard of not reading the Common Prayer was great, and the results costly. See *ante*, pp. 73, 74; and Fawcett's Life of O. Heywood, p. 31; also the Lives of Mr. Thoroughgood, Noncon. Mem. v. 2, p. 342; Mr. Barret, *ib.* vol. 3, p. 103; and Mr. Slater, *ib.* p. 257.

It would be difficult to find an exemption from trouble between the Restoration and St. Bartholomew's-day, 1662, unless where the Liturgy was used, either in whole or in part. Mr. Heath remained, during that interval, undisturbed, which strengthens the probability, that, agreeably to Mr. Henry's assertion, he read the Liturgy, *before* August, 1662. On any other principle it is puzzling to account for his freedom from molestation. Mr. Tallents was indulged with like tranquillity; and Mr. Matthew Henry expressly says, that, "when the king was restored, in the year 1660, he (Mr. T.) intimated his readiness to conform, as far as he could, &c. He therefore read (as I think I have been told) some parts of the Liturgy at that time." Life of Mr. Tallents, appended to his Funeral Sermons. Misc. Works, *ut supra*, p. 788.

The only point of difference between the two narratives seems to be,—in Mr. Heath reading, according to Mr. Henry, *till* August 24, and then being silenced;—and, according to the register, at the persuasion of Bishop Walton, continuing, before actual silence, a few Lord's-days after, reading the Liturgy. Without pressing an inference in Mr. Henry's favour from his vicinity to, and intimacy with, Mr. Heath, it may fairly be observed, that his record derives confirmation from the very phraseology adopted by Bishop Kennet. The register does not say that Mr. Heath read the Liturgy *from* August, but that he *continued* a few Lord's-days after, reading it; thus implying the previous habit, as mentioned by Mr. Henry.

Mr. Henry's notice of the case is perfectly natural; for the silencing, "because Mr. Heath could not come up to the imposed terms of conformity," (in which both statements agree,) was, in pursuance of the act, which strictly operated on the Lord's-day preceding the 24th of August. The rigid effects of that statute were warded off in each instance, (and at great peril,) by special favour, which favour terminated, with a few exceptions only, speedily. It will appear less surprising, that the continuance of Mr. Heath, "a few Lord's-days after August 24," should not have been adverted to, when it is borne in mind, that, in such an occurrence, there was nothing singular. The habit of reading the Liturgy was more unusual, and was therefore memorialized.

Two objections to the other account present themselves. The register even mistakes the name of the church in which Mr. Heath officiated, St. Mary's, instead of St. Alkmund's. It asserts, also, that Mr. Heath's continuance a few Lord's-days beyond August 24, 1662, was at the persuasion of Bishop Walton. Bishop Kennet, indeed, properly notices, in the margin, that "Bishop Walton died Nov. 29, 1661;" it is added, however, he "yet might respect him, (Mr. Heath,) and advise him to church-conformity." Were the writer to abandon the explanation thus offered, he should, unhesitatingly, determine in favour of Mr. Henry's accuracy. It is conceived, that another circumstance, in addition to what has been submitted, would justify such a conclusion. The third, and best edition of the Life of Philip Henry, "corrected" by his biographer, (see *ante*, Preface, p. vii.,) was published several years after the promulgation of the account adopted by Bishop Kennet; but, in the statement in question, no alteration was made. Dr. Calamy's Abridgment appeared in 1702. The third edition of Mr. Henry's Life, in 1712. Mr. Tallents, too, who was the fellow-townsmen and associate of Mr. Heath, lived several years after the circulation of Dr. Calamy's statement, with two prior editions of Mr. Henry's Life, published in 1698 and 1699, before him. He had, as we have seen, special communications with Mr. Matthew Henry, relative to the facts introduced into that volume.

See *ante*, Preface, p. ix. Had, therefore, any inaccuracy crept in, it is difficult to conceive of it remaining unobserved by both of those excellent men,—Mr. Tallents, an acute, and indefatigable chronologist, and Mr. Matthew Henry, a vigilant and minute inquirer after truth.

On the whole, the conclusion seems justifiable, that, notwithstanding Mr. Henry's silence as to Mr. Heath's habits after Bartholomew-day, 1662, both his statement, and that adopted in the register, are entitled to credit. Mr. Henry's as an account not quite complete, but to the full extent correct; and Bishop Kennet's, or rather Dr. Calamy's, as perfect, evincing Mr. Heath's use of the Liturgy, not only before August 24, 1662, but also for a few Lord's-days after.

Mr. Joshua Richardson, &c.—p. 270.

The same power that displaced Mr. Moore, did, in his stead, place in Myddle Mr. Joshua Richardson, M. A. (Son of Joshua Richardson, of Broughton,) upon condition that he would allow the tythes of Hadnall's Ease, or pay a salary, equivalent to the value thereof, to a preaching minister, to be constantly resident in Hadnall's Ease. This Mr. Richardson was an able and laborious minister; his whole employment was about the concerns of his ministry. His wife, being a prudent and careful woman, managed the rest of his affairs with great diligence and discretion. After the death of Mr. Moore, the Right Honourable John Earle of Bridgewater, (knowing that Mr. Richardson was well beloved in his parish,) by a certain kind of state amnesty, permitted him to continue minister on the same termes and condicions that hee was putt in by the Parliament. This Mr. Richardson built that pt. of the parsonage house, which is the kitchen and the romes beelow it, in which hee made use of soe much of the timber as was left of the barne that fell downe in Mr. Moore's time. After the restauracon of King Charles the Second, when the act for conformity came out, Mr. Richardson refusing to subscribe the declaracon inserted in the act concerning the solemne league and covenant, lost his place, and with him fell the minister of Hadnall's Ease.

I had so much intimate acquaintance with Mr. Richardson, that hee would willingly have conformed to the discipline and constitacons of the Church of England. But hee told mee hee could not, with a safe conscience, subscribe to the declaration against the covenant; he received the tythes due before Bartholomew-tide, (according to the act of Parliament,) at which time all the ry and wheate was gott in, and some oates. Hee removed to Broughton, where he lived one year with his brother, Captaine Richardson, and afterward went to a farme called Ditches, neare Wem. But when the Act of Parliament came forth that noe outed minister should live within five myles of the place where he had formerly officiated, hee removed to Alkinton, near Whitchurch, (the place from whence his father came when hee had purchased his lands in Broughton, of Mr. Ottey.) Here Mr. Richardson lived a private, peaceable, and pious life, exercising himselfe in religious dueties, and instructing and teaching his owne, and some of his relations' children in good literature. He dyed at Alkinton, and was buried at Whitchurch. Dr. Fowler preached his funerall sermon, and therein gave him a deserved commendation. He bequeathed a certaine number of bibles, and of those books of Mr. Baxter, entitled "A Call to the Unconverted," to be given to certaine poore people in the parish of Myddle, after his decease; which legacy was faithfully performed by his prudent widdow, and executrix. Antiquities and Memoyres of the Parish of Myddle, written by Richard Gough, anno æt. sue 66, anno domini 1700. MS in folio, pp. 10, 11.

The following elegy on his death was written by Mr. Malden. See *ante*, p. 274.

Venture, I will, to fix a verse
On my dear brother's sable hearse.
This star did sometimes shine most bright,
Although the clouds eclips'd his light.
And now he's set, both grief and fears,
Express themselves in showers of tears.
But, let our hope, our grief refrain,
For he shall rise and shine again.

Two friends, at once, are lost, I see ;
 And both of them most dear to me.
 Two ways I'll tell my grief likewise,
 By ink and tears, by tongue and eyes.
 But how must I these two bestow ?
 Both these to both of them I owe.
 I'll, then, divide ; and, to be just,
 I'll write his fame, and wash her dust.
 And, now, I wish that any one
 Would pen his deeds as they were done :
 My glutted quill would write but dull ;
 I cannot speak, my mouth's so full.
 First, we unto the church will go,
 For one o'th' first he's there, I know.
 If he were absent, ask not why ;
 'Tis sickness, or necessity.
 No cold, nor heat, could him prevent,
 Through rain and snow he often went ;
 And yet on foot ; he thought it best,
 On sabbath-days, his beasts should rest,
 (If he more pains did take ;) though I
 May call it,—his humility.
 Unto his closet next return.
 Thither betake thyself, and mourn.
 But yet, my muse, awhile forbear ;
 Thou art too hasty ;—he's at pray'r.
 Search it throughout, and you will find
 Some relicks of a godly mind ;
 Some wit and ingenuity ;
 Some learning, but more piety ;
 Some memorandums of his end ;
 Some notes of sermons by him penn'd,
 And fix'd upon the wall, that he,
 Without a guide, might never be.
 Besides ;—he lov'd, unto the end,
 The king, his country, and his friend.
 A loyal heart he ever bore
 Unto his prince. Need I say more ?—
 He always took as great a care
 To do what he had sworn, as swear.
 A man of peace ; as such was known
 In ev'ry town, chiefly his own.
 Next, I appeal unto the poor,
 Which were relieved at his door.
 And, oh, methinks, I hear them say,—
 "Alas, we miss him ev'ry day !"

Much used, in our neighbourhood,
 A private man of publick good.
 His skill in husbandry was much,
 You'll scarce, in all these parts, find such.
 His house and orchards, all complete ;
 Not only needful were, but neat.
 Expect not I should tell you all :—
 Go, ask his garden, and his wall,
 His walks, his trees, his meads, and fields,
 Which of his care an instance yields.
 Next, I could tell you, might it be,
 How good a friend he was to me :
 At every time his readiness,
 In every thing, he did express.
 Few like himself he left behind ;
 A faithful friend is hard to find.
 And, now I've done, I do desire,
 My spark may kindle others' fire ;—

That better poets may amend,
 And finish what I did intend;—
 For, there's a great deal yet behind;
 My tongue could not express my mind.
 He's dead, and yet he lives; and, why?
 His lasting fame shall never die.
 The works he did shall live his praise,
 He died not old, but full of days.
 Though thou hast slain him, death, yet he
 Shall rise again in spite of thee;—
 And be partaker of that joy,
 Where he shall live, but never die.

From Mrs. Savage's MS.

A taking, popular preacher,—p. 275.

Dr. Wordsworth, in the work already referred to,* has, in this place, and another part of the volume, instituted a charge against Matthew Henry, as his father's biographer, which, if correct, would be not only detrimental to his fidelity, but opposed to his well-known simplicity and uprightness.

In allusion to the obituary of Mr. Bridge, Dr. Wordsworth says;—"It must be mentioned, though it cannot be told without regret, that this native dress † has not, in all cases, been so carefully preserved as it might have been wished. One instance, at least, will be specified where the biographer has departed from the original diary, for which departure, it should seem, no honourable motives can be easily assigned."‡

Again;—in that part of the Life where the present observations are introduced, Dr. Wordsworth thus writes:—"The passage in Mr. Philip Henry's own diary, upon which the above particulars are founded, stands (notwithstanding the declaration made at the commencement of the present chapter) in the following terms:—

"Oct. 7. Mr. Thomas Bridge, minister of the higher-parsonage of Malpas, near fifty-eight years, aged eighty-two years, was buried this day. Mr. Green preached. Text, 1 Timothy, i. 16, told what he had declared to him in a late fit which he had concerning his repentance; towards his latter end, very charitable; a taking, popular, good preacher; preached often, and, to the last, could read the smallest print without spectacles, having used glasses in private ever since forty. The decisive word "good," it will be remarked, is omitted in the printed account. The repentance is there "upon his death-bed;" but, by the manuscript, may have respected former repentance, as well as final. The circumstance of his being, "towards his latter end, very charitable;" that is, (probably,) towards the non-conformists, is totally omitted."§

On this, the only confirmatory instance, the following observations may be submitted.

It seems to be assumed, that Mr. Matthew Henry, having stated his selection of the materials to be from his father's papers, especially his diary, was thereby obliged if he found, as in this instance, a character, any where drawn, to print it as it stood, without any reference to any other papers, even on the same subject.

The truth is, that, although it was Mr. Henry's custom, on the death of some of his neighbours and friends, to preserve characteristic remarks, it was seldom (I am aware only of a solitary instance, ||) that he wrote, in one place, a complete account. His sketches of the same character are usually scattered in the diaries, though the most minute statement accompanies the record of dissolution.

* Ecclesiastical Biography, v. 6, p. 107.

† Referring to the phrase used in Mr. Matthew Henry's preface, see *ante*, p. xxxviii. as to the genuineness of the illustrations in the narrative.

‡ Ecclesiastical Biography, v. 6, p. 119.

§ Ibid. v. 6, p. 384, n.

|| Mr. Nevet, see p. 271, *ante*.

It may be noticed, that this part of the volume is, confessedly, from "his own papers,"* and not confined to the diaries, although those interesting documents are made prominent. It may be further remarked, that Mr. Henry, in compiling his father's Life, would not write it as one utterly ignorant of the parties to whom the manuscripts referred. He had lived almost all his days in the neighbourhood of most of them, and accurately knew his venerable father's opinion of their character and attainments. This, indeed, he has placed beyond doubt. In a letter addressed to Mr. Tallents, he thus wrote:—"My project is, to put the collection concerning my dear father, (which I have now finished, *out of my own knowledge, and his diary,*) into the hands of my friend, Mr. Tong, who you know hath a very great facility of expression; and will, I hope, put it into an agreeable shape, such as may recommend it to those who, otherwise, would be apt to despise it. To these I would have to be added a brief extract of your sermon, (if you please,) and of Mr. Owen's, and Mr. Lawrence's, the Wednesday following, taking that out of each which is nervous, and which may not be liable to exception, and so the sermon will be much better preserved than if published in a loose paper by itself. What is historical will be much more accurately related in the narrative. His imprisonment at Chester being only cautionary, and in company with many that had little of religion, he never put much upon the score of suffering for righteousness' sake. Some little mistakes in your narrative I observed;—p. 13, Mr. Taylor, of Wem, was buried, not August 24, but June 28, 1695, just a year before my father: and, page 14, the 355th day of his climacterick, was not August 30, but August 13. Some other little mistakes also there are which should be rectified, and some things, likewise, which may not be so very proper to be spoken to all the world in this critical age. There are some of your friends here, (particularly Dr. Tylston, who truly loves and honours you,) who wish you rather to suppress it, at least for the present, especially considering that the occasion is such as will certainly bring it into the hands of many who are very industrious in seeking matter of cavil and reproach."† I think, after this authentic specimen of Mr. Matthew Henry's prudence, and desire of accuracy, it may safely be concluded he would not, by a misrepresentation of Mr. Bridge, his near, and well-known neighbour, expose himself to that, which, in the letter just quoted, he so explicitly deprecates.

Regarding the general tenour of the note in question, it seems only fair to remark, —that, as the word "good" evidently imported no moral qualities, its omission ought not to be so construed as to intend delinquency.

That Mr. Matthew Henry has rejected the term, and also added the words, "upon his death-bed," is admitted; nor need such an omission to be considered at all detrimental, since he retains, what in strictness, no doubt, though, perhaps, not common parlance, was more applicable,—"taking and popular." The introduction of the limitation as to repentance would appear, to a reader of Mr. Henry's manuscripts, in accordance with truth. The words used in the genuine Life were, in all probability, supplied from some document now unknown.‡ This is the more likely, because Mr. Bridge's name frequently occurs, and a manuscript account of him, now before me, (a transcript, by Mr. Matthew Henry, from his father's papers,) varies, in some particulars, though unimportant, both from the paragraph in the Life, and the record in Dr. Wordsworth's note; not to mention, that, in the several accounts respecting Mr. Bridge, which I have seen, the words, "towards his latter end very charitable," do not occur. The insinuation, as to these words, certainly does not agree with the record of those excellent clergymen, Mr. Haines, Mr. Edwards, and Mr. Cawdrey, *ante*, pp. 274, 277; nor, indeed, with the general features of

* See *ante*, chapter xi. commencement.

† This letter is in Mr. Matthew Henry's hand-writing, is dated September 30, 1696, and superscribed,—"For the Rev. Mr. Tallents, at his house in Salop, These."—*Pence* me. Mr. Tallents's sermon, to which it refers, was not printed entire till the year 1816. See *Eighteen Sermons*, by Philip Henry, *ut supra*; also, the preface to that volume, pp. vii. viii.

‡ Of Mr. Henry's regular diaries the loss is very great. It is probable they consisted of thirty-nine interleaved almanacks. The editor could never trace more than eleven:—

"1657. This was the first year in which I began to keep an account of my time in this method. If the Lord bless me, I mean to hold on, and I hope use will make me more and more perfect in it;—it is a pleasing, profitable, heavenly art. *O Deus, doce me numerare dies meos.*" P. Henry. Diary. Orig. MS.

the Life. The whole narrative supports the conclusion,—that neither Mr. Henry, nor his faithful biographer, felt any inclination to withhold just praises on account of ecclesiastical conformity. Nor can it escape observation, that all the publications of Mr. Matthew Henry discover an exemplary freedom, even from an approximation to bigotry or censoriousness. Both he, and his father, evidently agreed in sentiment with Archbishop Tillotson,—that, “there is no readier way for a man to bring his own worth into question, than by endeavouring to detract from the worth of other men.”*

Were it not for the note in Dr. Wordsworth’s volume, it may be queried whether the memorial referred to could, by possibility, have been construed unfavourably to Mr. Bridge. That Mr. Matthew Henry had no intention it should be so regarded, is sufficiently clear from the whole paragraph introductory to chapter xi. *ante*, p. 267. The object of that chapter is, professedly, to record “the gifts and graces” of persons to whom Philip Henry “delighted to do honour.” They are therefore mentioned “with respect,” as “the righteous,” and as “glorified souls, whose memories it was fit to embalm.”

As allusion is made to something more than variations, it may appear necessary to introduce instances in corroboration of the present statements. But, since no injustice of intention is imputed to the reverend annotator, it can answer no good purpose to remove the veil, which has, hitherto, concealed those parts of Mr. Henry’s diary, which relate to the subject, from public inspection; especially, as the learned and venerable communicator of the note† stated to the editor, that he was not aware of any other document than that which he quoted, and which seemed to support the assertion. It is only justice to add, that, from the many opportunities, an extensive and familiar acquaintance with the manuscripts has afforded of judging, the editor can testify, not merely the strict accuracy of Mr. Matthew Henry, but also his delicacy and tenderness in this and various other instances.

In the preceding remarks, the object has not been to raise an imputation against Mr. Bridge; his intimacy with Mr. Philip Henry seems to have been regular and neighbourly; and his preaching, judging from his sermons, preserved in Mr. Henry’s hand-writing, in accordance with sound doctrine, not to say evidential of respectable pulpit ability. The design is, simply, to defend a reputation, which is too brilliant to be easily sullied; and which, in the absence of something unequivocally gross, may, without offence, be permitted to retain its full share of blessedness.

Mr. Jonathan Roberts, &c.—p. 276.

Mr. Roberts’s character was drawn, and his loss deplored, by Mr. Matthew Henry, in the following tributary poem:—

Should I go charm the muses now?
Summon Parnassus’ top to bow
To my just griefs, or call upon
The purling streams of Helicon,
To fill mine eyes, as full of tears,
As is my heart of grief, and fears;
And make my lines breathe doleful tones;
Put words for sighs, and stops for groans?
Such high-strain’d raptures, those that knew
Our loss would think no more than due.
But yet, methinks, I see him stand
In glorious robes, at God’s right hand,
Triumphing in this happy day.
And thus, to us, I hear him say:—
Weep not for me, my brethren, dear;
Weep for yourselves, and children, there.

* Preface to Bishop Wilkins’s Sermons, oct. 1663.

† The Rev. Archdeacon Churton.

And so we do, blest soul, for we
 Do not lament so much for thee.
 Too well we loved thee, to express
 Repinings at thy happiness;
 As knowing well, that, though it be
 A loss to us, 'tis gain to thee.
 For, now thy blessed race is run,
 Thou hast received thy—*Well done*;
 And, seasonably, put into shore,
 When winds and storms are at the door.
 Now, got safe in thy resting-place,
 Just now, when tempests rise apace.
 Therefore it was thou mad'st such haste
 To hide thee, till the storm be past.
 But, for ourselves, we may, we must
 Shed showers of tears over this dust.
 We need not wonder if the wall
 Do tremble when the pillars fall.*
 Well may we fear an evil day,
 When righteous men are ta'en away.
 A sign night's coming o'er our head,
 When God thus calls his babes to bed.
 A sign he will no longer stay,
 When he sends for his pearls away.
 A sign he'll, as an enemy, come,
 When he commands his agents home.†
 What reason, then, with one accord,
 If ever, now to cry,—*Help, Lord!*
 His character I need not tell
 To those his friends, that knew him well.
 His learning, and his piety,
 His patience, and humility.
 How general a scholar he
 Always approv'd himself to be!
 How he, by long experience, knew
 Both study's pains, and pleasures too!
 How much he diligently read,
 And what a memory he had;—
 How readily he could produce
 That which he read for others' use;
 E'en as the good householder brings,
 Out of his store, old and new things.
 His warm and zealous British blood,
 He well employ'd for God and good.
 The faith he stoutly did defend,
 And for the present truths contend.
 But plainness was his master-grace;
 He was of honest Jacob's race;—
 A son of old Nathaniel,
 Without allow'd, approv'd of, guile.
 No welt, or gard;‡ a downright man,
 As preacher, and as Christian.

* It presageth the fall of an house when the pillars are removed. Rev. T. Watson's Funeral Sermon for Mr. John Wells, 4to. 1676, p. 32.

† Well may we all feare God intendeth wars,
 When he commands home his ambassadors.

Poem upon the Death of so many reverend ministers of late. See *Enoch's Walk and Change*, *ut supra*, p. 49.

‡ A plain man he was, as Jacob, without *welt or gard*; and a plain dealing man. † Nathaniel, without craft or guile; free from all courtship, either for counterfeit, or compiment. Clarke's *Lives*, annexed to the *Martyrologie*, p. 59, *ut supra*.

He learnt that lesson,—to despise
 Being despis'd in others' eyes.
 Much hated by the world, was he,
 As Christ's belov'd ones us'd to be;—
 For he, consulting the repose
 And quiet of his conscience,* chose
 The greatest suff'rings rather than
 The seeming least, and smallest sin.
 But now kind death hath sent him thither,
 Where sin and sorrow cease together,
 And placed him in that happy state,
 Where all their writs are out of date.
 Lo, he who was a planet here,
 Is a fixt star in glory there;—
 With freedom to his heavenly home,
 Though not to his earthly he could come.
 Death gave him his *quietus-est*,
 And laid him where the *weary rest*.
 Those that but little rest can have
 On earth, yet find it in the grave;
 Except some commissary know;
 And then, perhaps, 'twill not be so.
 But hold awhile:—Shall Jonathan,—
 Jonathan die,—do what we can?
 Nay; 'tis too late; too late to cry,—
 Shall Jonathan, dear Jonathan, die?
 The stroke is giv'n;—he is sent,
 To his father's house from banishment.
 Where now we leave him full possess'd
 Of everlasting peace and rest;
 While I, in these poor rhymes, do tell
 A prophet's fall in Israel.

HIS EPITAPH.

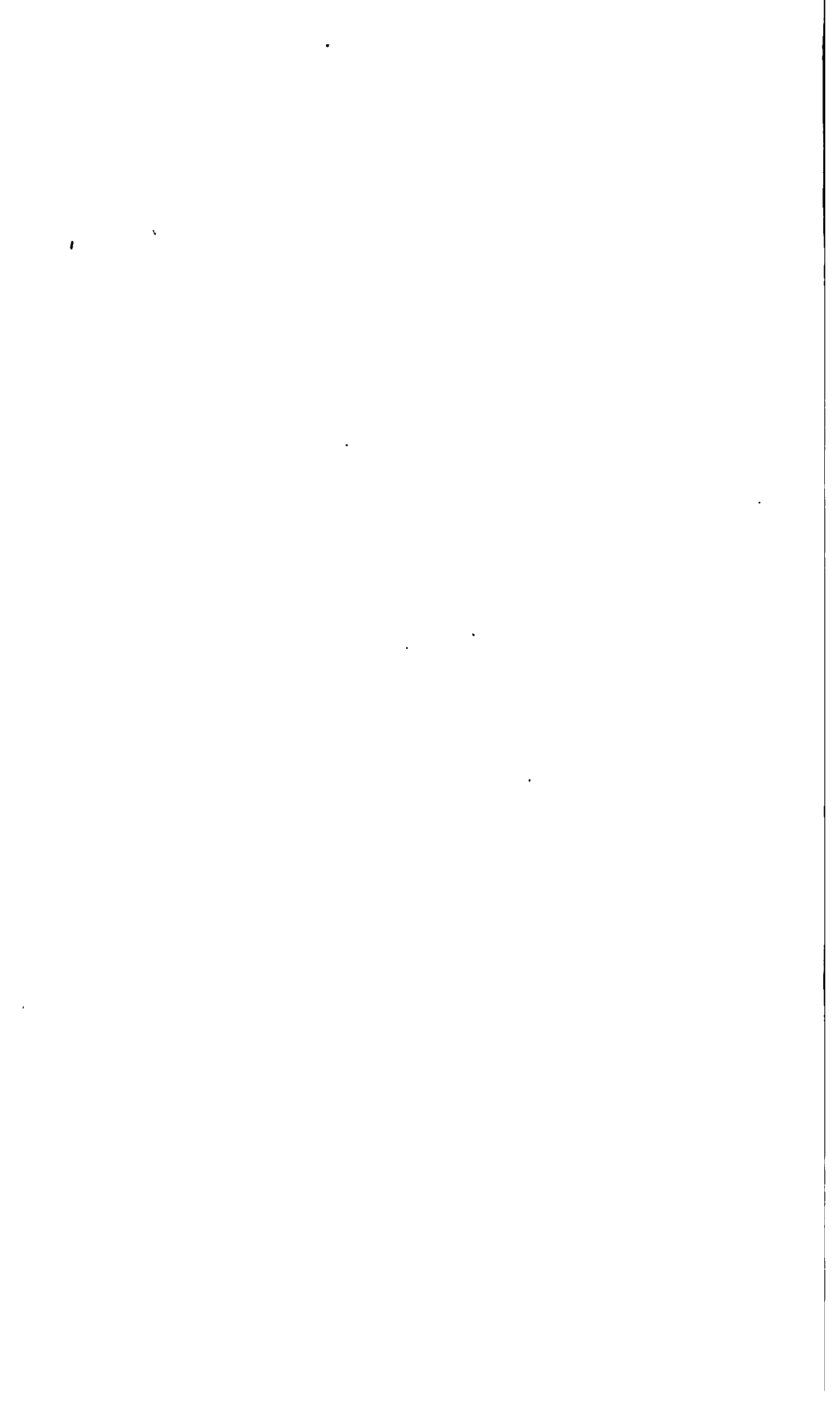
Reader! consider, and adjust
 Thy thoughts to this despised dust.
 'Tis learn'd Athenian dust; nay, more;
 'Tis sacred dust from Zion's floor.
 Here fell a star, that once did stand.
 A shining star, in Christ's right hand;
 A faithful, painful minister
 Of Jesus Christ, lies sleeping here.
 Consid'ring, then, it is his due,
 Come drop, with me, a tear, or two.

From Mrs. Savage's MS.

Mrs. Crew, &c.—p. 277.

See Dr. Ormerod's History, v. 2, p. 136. To the merits of this lady the following testimony appears in Sir John Crewe's manuscript journal. "Sunday, July 6, 1690. This day died my mother, the best parent, the truest friend, the best mistress, the greatest housekeeper of her rank, and the most pious Christian of her time." She was brought up under the direction of her kinsman, the celebrated John Bruen, of Stapleford, Esq. *Ib.* 136.

* To him, who must judge us all at the great day, we can appeal before angels and men, that it is not this thing, or that thing, that puts us upon this dissent, but it is conscience towards God, and fear of offending him. Dr. Jacomb. Farewell Sermons, p. 115, 4to. 1663.



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The Reader is requested to correct such errors as may have escaped in printing; and, at page 455, to read "the donation to Mr. Heath," instead of "the donation of Mr. Heath."

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